

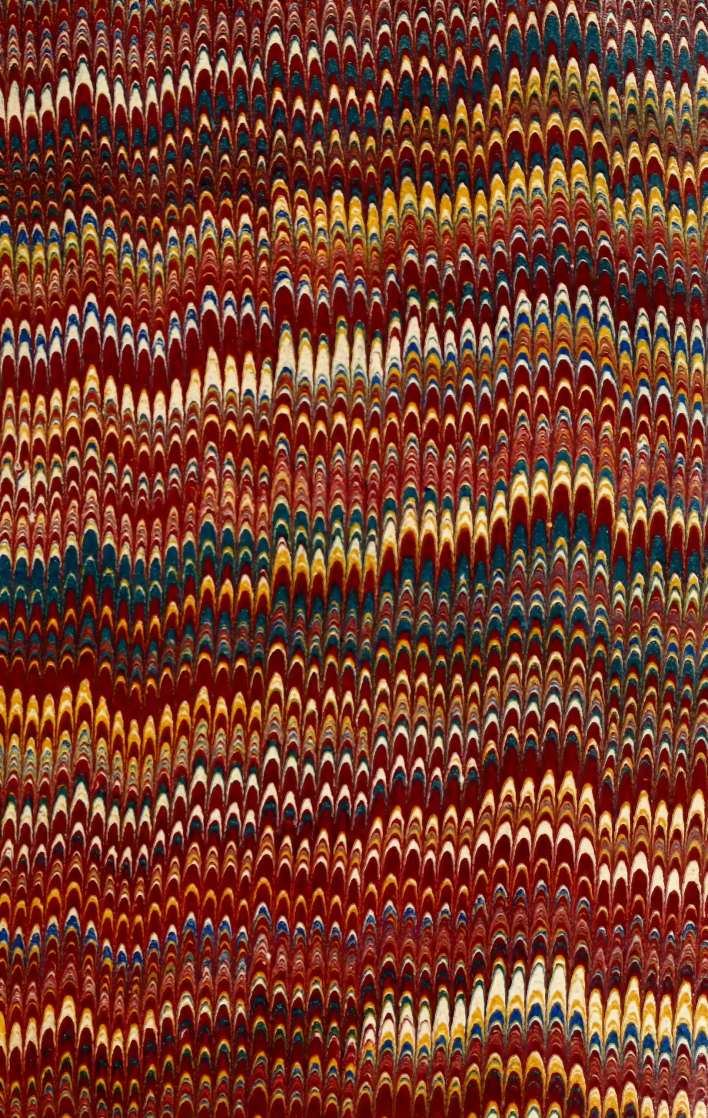


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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

BY
THOMAS WARTON, B.D.,
POET LAUREATE.

'A MOST CURIOUS, VALUABLE, AND INTERESTING LITERARY HISTORY.'

—*Lowndes.*

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLISH POETRY,
FROM THE
ELEVENTH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY

THOMAS WARTON, B.D.,

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LATE PROFESSOR OF POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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THE
HISTORY

OF THE
ENGLISH POETRY

FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

LONDON:

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THOMAS WATSON, B.D.

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EXTRACT FROM PREFACE.

'...To develop the dawns of genius, and to pursue the progress of our national poetry, from a rude origin and obscure beginnings to its perfection in a polished age must prove interesting, instructive, and be productive of entertainment and utility...The object being to faithfully record the features of the time, and preserve the picturesque representations of manners...I have chose to note but the history of our poetry in a chronological series, and often to deviate into incidental digressions to notice the contemporaneous poetry of other nations...My performance exhibits without transposition the gradual improvement of our poetry to the time that it uniformly represents the progress of our language. In the earlier sections of the work are numerous citations extracted from ancient MSS. never before printed, and which may illustrate the darker periods of the history of our poetry.'

T. W.

CONTENTS.

SEC. I. State of Language. Prevalence of the French language before and after the Norman conquest. Norman-Saxon poems. Legends in verse. Earliest love-song. Alexandrine verses. Satirical pieces. First English metrical romance,	9, 34
SEC. II. Satirical ballad in 13th century. The king's poet. Robert of Gloucester. Ancient political ballads. Robert of Brunne. The Brut of England. Le Roman le Rou. Jests and jestours. Erceuldoune and Kendale. Bishop Grosthead. Monks write for the Minstrels. Monastic libraries full of romances. Minstrels admitted into the monasteries. Regnorum Chronica and Mirabilia Mundi. Early European travellers into the east. Elegy on Edward I,	34, 74
SEC. III. Effects of the increase of tales of chivalry. Rise of chivalry. Crusades. Rise and improvements of Romance. View of the rise of metrical romances. Their currency about the end of 13th century. French minstrels in England. Provençal poets. Popular romances. Dares Phrygius. Guido de Colonna. Fabulous histories of Alexander. Pulp's Fables. Roman d'Alexandre. Alexandrines. French and English minstrels. Provençal writers. Troubadours,	74, 107
SEC. IV. Examination of the metrical romance of Richard I. Greek fire. Military machines used in the crusades. Musical instruments of the Saracen armies. Geography in the dark ages,	107, 118

SEC. V Specimens of other popular metrical romances which appeared about the end of 13th century. Sir Guy. The Squier of Low Degree. Sir Degore. King Robert of Sicily. The King of Tars. Ippomedon. La Mort Arthure. Subjects of ancient tapestry,	118, 145
SEC. VI. Adam Davie flourished in the beginning of 14th century. Specimens of his poetry. His Life of Alexander. Robert Baston's comedies. Anecdotes of the early periods of the English, French, and Italian drama,	145, 167
SEC. VII. The reign of Ed. III. Hampole's Pricke of Conscience,	167, 176
SEC. VIII. Pierce Plowman's Visions. Ancient state and institution of fairs. Donat explained. Antichrist,	176, 189
SEC. IX. Pierce the Plowman's Crede. Constitution and character of the orders of mendicant friars. Wickliffe,	190, 204
SEC. X. Specimens of alliterative poetry. Hymn to the Virgin Mary,	205, 210
SEC. XI. John Barbour's History of Robert Bruce, and Blind Harry's Sir William Wallace. Historical romances of recent events commence about the close of 14th century. Chiefly composed by heralds. Character and business of ancient heralds. Narratives written by them. Froissart's History. His life and character. Retrospective view of manners,	210, 224
SEC. XII. General view of the character of Chaucer. Boccacio's Teseide. A Greek poem on that subject. Tournaments at	

- Constantinople. Common practice of the Greek exiles to translate the popular Italian poems. Specimens both of the Greek and Italian Theseid. Critical examination of the Knight's Tale, 224, 243
- SEC. XIII. The subject of Chaucer continued. His Romaunt of the Rose. William of Lorris and John of Meun. Specimens of the French *Le Roman de la Rose*. Improved by Chaucer. William of Lorris excels in allegorical personages. Petrarch dislikes this poem, 243, 253
- SEC. XIV. Chaucer continued. His *Troilus* and *Cresseide*. Boccaccio's *Troilo*. Sentimental and pathetic strokes in Chaucer's poem. House of Fame. A Provencal composition. Analysed. Improperly imitated by Pope, 253, 261
- SEC. XV. Chaucer continued. The supposed occasion of his *Canterbury Tales* superior to that of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Squire's Tale, Chaucer's capital poem. Its fictions. Story of Patient Grisilde. Its origin, popularity, and excellence. How conducted by Chaucer, 262, 276
- SEC. XVI. Chaucer continued. Tale of the Nun's Priest. Its origin and allusions. January and May. Its imitations. Licentiousness of Boccaccio. Miller's Tale. Its humour and ridiculous characters. Other Tales of the comic species. Their origin, allusions, and merits, *Kime of Sir Thopas*. Its design and tendency, 276, 287
- SEC. XVII. Chaucer continued. General view of the Prologues to the *Canterbury Tales*. The Prioress. The Wife of Bath. The *Franklin*. The Doctor of *Physicke*. State of medical erudition and practice. Medicine and astronomy blended. Chaucer's physician's library. Learning of the Spanish Jews. The *Sompnour*. The *Pardoner*. The *Monke*. Qualifications of an abbot. The *Frere*. The *Parson*. The *Squire*. English crusades into Lithuania. The *Reeve*. The *Clarke of Oxenford*. The *Serjeant of Lawe*. The *Hoste*. Supplemental Tale, of *Beryn*. Analysed 287, 302
- SEC. XVIII. Chaucer continued. State of French and Italian poetry: and their influence on Chaucer. Rise of allegorical composition in the dark ages. Love-courts, and Love-fraternities, in France. Tales of the troubadours. Dolopathos. Boccaccio, Dante, and Petrarch. Decline of Provencal poetry, Succeeded in France by a new species. *Froissart*. The *Floure and the Leafe*. Floral games in France. Allegorical beings, 302, 310
- SEC. XIX. John Gower. His character and poems. His tomb. His *Confessio Amantis*. Its subject and plan. An unsuccessful imitation of the Roman de la Rose. Aristotle's *Secretum Secretorum*. Chronicles of the middle ages. Colonna. Romance of *Lancelot*. The *Gesta Romanorum*. Shakespeare's caskets. Authors quoted by Gower. Chronology of some of Gower's and Chaucer's poems. The *Confessio Amantis* preceded the *Canterbury Tales*. Gower's genius, 311, 335
- SEC. XX. Boethius. Why, and how much, esteemed in the middle ages. Translated by Johannes Cappellanus, the only poet of the reign of king Henry IV. Number of Harpers at the coronation feast of Henry V. A minstrel-piece on the *Battle of Agynkourte*. Occleve. His poems. Egidius de Regimine Principum, and Jacobus of Casali *De Ludo Scaccorum*. Chaucer's picture. Humphrey duke of Gloucester. His character as a patron of literature. Apology for the gallicisms of Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve, 335, 348
- SEC. XXI. Reign of Henry VI. Lydgate. His life and character. His *Dance of Death*. Macabre a German poet. Lydgate's poem in honour of Saint Edmund. Presented to Henry VI., at *Bury-abbey*, in a most splendid manuscript, now remaining. His *Lyf of our Lady*. Elegance and harmony of his style, 348, 355
- SEC. XXII. Lydgate continued. His *Fall of Princes*, from Laurence *Premierfait's* French paraphrase of Boccaccio on the same subject. Nature, plan, and specimens of that poem. Its sublime allegorical figure of fortune. Authors cited in the same. Boccaccio's opportunities of collecting many stories of Greek original, now not extant in any Greek writer. Lydgate's *Storie of Thebes*. An additional *Canterbury Tale*. Its plan, and originals. *Martianus Capella*. Happily imitated by Lydgate. Feudal manners applied to Greece. Specimen of Lydgate's force in description, 355, 368.
- SEC. XXIII. Lydgate's *Troy-Boke*. A paraphrase of Colonna's *Historia Trojana*. Homer, when, and how, first known in Europe. Lydgate's powers in rural painting. Dares and Dictys. Feudal manners, and Arabian imagery, ingrafted on the Trojan story. Anecdotes of ancient Gothic architecture displayed in the structure of *Troy*. An ideal theatre at *Troy* so described, as to prove that no regular stage now existed. Game of chess invented at the siege of *Troy*. Lydgate's gallantry. His anachronisms. Hector's shrine and chantry. Specimens of another *Troy-Boke*, anonymous, written in the reign of Hen. VI., 368, 380
- SEC. XXIV. Reign of Hen. VI. continued. Hugh Campden translates the French romance of *Sidrac*. Thomas Chester's *Sir Launfal*. Metrical romance of the *Erle of Tholouse*. Analysis of its *Fable*. Minstrels paid better than the clergy. Reign of Ed. IV. Translation of the classics and other books into French. How it operated on English literature. Caxton. Anecdotes of English typography, 381, 399
- SEC. XXV. Harding's *Chronicle*. First mention of the king's Poet Laureat occurs in the reign of Ed. IV. History of that office. Scogan. Didactic poems on chemistry by Norton and Ripley, 399, 408
- SEC. XXVI. Poems of Thomas Rowley. Supposed to be spurious, 408, 427
- SEC. XXVII. The reigns of Rich. III. and

- Hen. VII., abound in obscure versifiers. Bertram Walton. Benedict Burgh translates Cato's Latin Distichs. History of that work. Julian Barnes. Abbesses fond of hunting and hawking. A religious poem by William of Nassyngton. His Prologue explained. Minstrels and Gestours to be distinguished. Gest of the Three Kings of Cologne sung in the arched chamber of the Prior at Winchester. The Gest of the Seven Sleepers. Originally a Greek Legend. Bradshaw's Life of Saint Werburgh. Metrical chronicles of the kings of England fashionable in this century. Ralph Higden proved to be the author of the Chester-plays. Specimen of Bradshaw's poem, from his description of the historical tapestry in the hall of Ely monastery when the princess Werburg was admitted to the veil. Legends and legend-makers. Fabryan. Watson. Caxton a poet. Kalendar of Shepherds. Pageants. Transition to the drama. Histrionic profession. Mysteries. Nicodemus's Gospel. The use of Mysteries, 427, 458
- SEC. XXVIII. Reign of Hen. VII. Hawes. His poems. Painting on the walls of chambers. Visions. Hawes's Pastyme of Pleasure. The fable analysed. Walter. Medwall. Wade, 459, 479
- SEC. XXIX. Barklay's Ship of Fools. Its origin. Specimens. Barklay's Eclogues, and other pieces. Alcock bishop of Ely. Modern Bucolics, 479, 490
- SEC. XXX. Digression to the Scotch poets. William Dunbar. His Thistle and Rose, and Golden Terge. Specimens. Dunbar's comic pieces. Estimate of his genius. Moralities fashionable among the Scotch in the fifteenth century, 491, 505
- SEC. XXXI. Scotch poets continued. Gawen Douglas. His translation of the Eneid. His genius for descriptive poetry. Palice of Honour, and other pieces, 505, 515
- SEC. XXXII. Scotch poets continued. Sir David Lyndesay. His chief performances the Dreme, and Monarchie. His talents for description and imagery. His other poems examined. An anonymous Scotch poem, never printed, called Duncane Laidir. Its humour and satire. Feudal robbers. Blind Harry. History of the Scotch poetry recommended, 515, 541
- SEC. XXXIII. Skelton. His life. Patronised by Henry, fifth earl of Northumberland. His character, and peculiarity of style. Critical examination of his poems. Macaronic poetry. Skelton's Morality called the Nigramansir. The Moralities at their height about the close of Henry VII. reign, 541, 562
- SEC. XXXIV. A digression on the origin of Mysteries. Various origins assigned. Religious dramas at Constantinople. Plays first acted in the monasteries. This ecclesiastical origin of the drama gives rise to the practice of performing plays in universities, colleges, and schools. Influence of this practice on the vernacular drama. On the same principle, plays acted by singing-boys in choirs. Boy-bishop. Fete de Foux. On the same principle, plays acted by the company of parish clerks. By the Law-societies in London. Temple-Masques, 562, 589
- SEC. XXXV. Causes of the increase of vernacular composition in the fifteenth century. View of the revival of classical learning. In Italy. France. Germany. Spain. England, 589, 607
- SEC. XXXVI. The same subject continued. Reformation of religion. Its effects on literature in England. Application of this digression to the main subject, 607, 627
- SEC. XXXVII. Petrarch's sonnets. Lord Surrey. His education, travels, mistress, life, and poetry. He is the first writer of blank-verse. Italian blank-verse. Surrey the first English classic poet, 628, 645
- SEC. XXXVIII. Sir Thomas Wyatt. Inferior to Surrey as a writer of sonnets. His life. His genius characterised. Excels in moral poetry, 645, 653
- SEC. XXXIX. The first printed Miscellany of English poetry. Its contributors. Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Rochford, and Lord Vaulx. The first true pastoral in English. Sonnet-writing cultivated by the nobility. Sonnets by king Henry VIII. Literary character of that king, 653, 664
- SEC. XL. The second writer of blank-verse in English. Early blank verse, 664, 671
- SEC. XLI. Andrew Borde. Bale. Anslay. Chertsey. Fabyll's ghost a poem. The Merry Devil of Edmonton. Minor poets of the reign of Henry VIII., 671, 682
- SEC. XLII. John Heywood the epigrammatist. His works. Ancient unpublished burlesque poem of Sir Penny, 683, 689
- SEC. XLIII. Sir Thomas More's English poetry. Tournament of Tottenham. Its age and scope. Laurence Minot. Aliteration. Digression illustrating the language of the fifteenth century, by a specimen of the metrical Armoric romance of Ywayn and Gawayn, 689, 711
- SEC. XLIV. The Notbrowne Mayde. Not older than the sixteenth century. Artful contrivance of the story. Misrepresented by Prior. Metrical romances. Guy, syr Bevy's, and Kynge Apolyn, printed in the reign of Henry. The Scole howse, a satire. Christmas carols. Religious libels in rhyme. Merlin's prophesies. Laurence Minot. On the late continuance of the use of waxen tablets. Pageantries of Henry's court. Dawn of taste, 712, 729
- SEC. XLV. Effects of the Reformation on our poetry. Clement Marot's Psalms. Why adopted by Calvin. Version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins. The Defects of this version, which is patronised by the puritans in opposition to the Choral Service, 729, 741
- SEC. XLVI. Metrical versions of scripture. Archbishop Parker's Psalms in metre. R. Crowley's puritanical poetry, 741, 748
- SEC. XLVII. Tye's Acts of the Apostles in rhyme. His merit as a musician. Early piety of Ed. VI. Controversial ballads and plays. Translation of the Bible. Its

- effects on our language. Kelton's Chronicle of the Brutes. First Drinking song. Gammar Gurton's Needle, 748, 761
- SEC. XLVIII. Reign of queen Mary. Mirrour of Magistrates. Its inventor, Sackville lord Buckhurst. His life. Mirrour continued by Baldwyn and Ferrers. Its plan and stories, 761, 769
- SEC. XLIX. Sackville's Induction to the Mirrour of Magistrates. Examined. A prelude to the Fairy Queen. Comparative view of Dante's Inferno, 769, 791
- SEC. L. Sackville's Legend of Buckingham in the Mirrour of Magistrates. Additions by Higgins. Account of him. The early editions of this Collection. Specimen of Higgins's Legend of Cordelia, which has been copied by Spenser, 791, 799
- SEC. LI. View of Niccols's edition of the Mirrour of Magistrates. High estimation of this Collection. Historical plays, whence, 799, 809
- SEC. LII. Richard Edwards. Principal poet, player, musician, and buffoon, to the courts of Mary and Elizabeth. Anecdotes of his life. Cotemporary testimonies of his merit. A contributor to the Paradise of daintie Devises. His book of comic histories, supposed to have suggested Shakespeare's Induction of the Tinker. Anecdotes of Antony Munday and Henry Chettle. Edwards's songs, 809, 818
- SEC. LIII. Tusser. Remarkable circumstances of his life. His Husbandrie, one of our earliest didactic poems, 818, 866
- SEC. LIV. William Forrest's poems. His Queen Catharine, an elegant manuscript, contains anecdotes of Henry's divorce. He collects and preserves ancient music. Puritans oppose the study of the classics. Lucas Shepherd. John Pullayne. Numerous metrical versions of Solomon's Song. Censured by Hall the satirist. Religious rhymers. Edward More. Boy-bishop, and miracle-plays, revived by queen Mary. Minute particulars of an ancient miracle-play, 826, 838
- SEC. LV. English language begins to be cultivated. Earliest book of Criticism in English. Examined. Soon followed by others. Early critical systems of the French and Italians. New and superb editions of Gower and Lydgate. Chaucer's monument erected in Westminster-abbey. Chaucer was esteemed by the reformers, 839, 855
- SEC. LVI. Sackville's Gordobuc. Our first regular tragedy. Its fable, conduct, characters, and style. Dumb show. Sackville not assisted by Norton, 855, 866
- SEC. LVII. Classical drama revived and studied. The Phœnissæ of Euripides translated by Gascoigne. Seneca's Tragedies translated. Account of the translators, and of their respective versions. Queen Elizabeth translates a part of the Hercules Oetæus, 866, 880
- SEC. LVIII. Most of the classic poets translated before the end of the sixteenth century. Phaier's Eneid. Completed by Twyne. Their other works. Phaier's Ballad of Gad's-hill. Stanihurst's Eneid in English hexameters. His other works. Fleming's Virgil's Bucolics and Georgics. His other works. Webbe and Fraunce translate some of the Bucolics. Fraunce's other works. Spenser's Culex. The original not genuine. The Ceiris proved to be genuine. Nicholas Whyte's Story of Jason supposed to be a version of Valerius Flaccus. Golding's Ovid's Metamorphoses. His other works. Ascham's censure of rhyme. A translation of the Fasti revives and circulates the story of Lucrece. Euryalus and Lucretia. Detached fables of the Metamorphoses translated. Moralisations in fashion. Underdowne's Ovid's Ibis. Ovid's Elegies translated by Marlowe. Remedy of Love, by F. L. Epistles by Turberville. Lord Essex a translator of Ovid. His literary character. Churchyard's Ovid's Tristia. Other detached versions from Ovid. Ancient meaning and use of the word Ballad. Drant's Horace. Criticism on Tully's Oration pro Archia, 880, 905
- SEC. LIX. Kendal's Martial. Marlowe's versions of Coluthus and Museus. General character of his Tragedies. Testimonies of his cotemporaries. Specimens and estimate of his poetry. His death. First Translation of the Iliad by Arthur Hall. Chapman's Homer. His other works. Version of Clitophon and Leucippe. Origin of the Greek erotic romance. Palingenius translated by Googe. Criticism on the original. Specimen and merits of the translation. Googe's other works. Incidental stricture on the philosophy of the Greeks, 905, 924
- SEC. LX. Translation of Italian novels. Of Boccace. Paynter's Palace of Pleasure. Other versions of the same sort. Early metrical versions of Boccace's Theodora and Honoria, and Cymon and Iphigenia. Romeus and Juliet. Bandello translated. Romances from Bretagne. Plot of Shakespeare's Tempest. Miscellaneous Collections of translated novels before the year 1600. Pantheon. Novels arbitrarily licenced or suppressed. Reformation of the English Press, 924, 943
- SEC. LXI. General view and character of the poetry of Queen Elizabeth's age, 945, 915
- [MEMORANDUM.—Sections 1 to 61 complete the three volumes 4to, as published by T. Warton. What is given in Sections 61 to 66 were found at his death, and appear as a fragmentary addition to the preceding volumes.]
- SECS. LXII., LXIII., LXIV., are chiefly occupied with criticisms and specimens of the productions of Bishop Joseph Hall, the first professed English satirist, 952, 986
- SEC. LXV. Marston's 'Scourge of Villany,'—satires, epigrams, and dreams, 987, 996

SEC. LXVI. Remarks on the epigrams and satires of Bastard, Davies, Donne, Freeman, Rowlands, Weaver, and Watkins.—Closing abruptly, 997, 1010

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

BY
THOMAS WHARTON, B.D.

SECT. I.

THE Saxon language spoken in England, is distinguished by three several epochs, and may therefore be divided into three dialects. The first of these is that which the Saxons used, from their entrance into this island, till the irruption of the Danes, for the space of 330 years¹. This has been called the British Saxon: and no monument of it remains, except a small metrical fragment of the genuine Cædmon, inserted in Alfred's version of the Venerable Bede's ecclesiastical history². The second is the danish Saxon, which prevailed from the Danish to the Norman invasion, A.D. 1066; and of which many considerable specimens, both in verse³ and prose, are still preserved: particularly, two literal versions of the four gospels⁴, and the spurious Cædmon's beautiful poetical paraphrase of the Book of Genesis⁵, and the prophet Daniel. The third may be properly styled the Norman Saxon; which began about the time of the Norman accession, and continued beyond the reign of Henry the second. He died 1189.

The last of these three dialects, with which these annals of English Poetry commence, formed a language extremely barbarous, irregular, and intractable; and consequently promises no very striking speci-

¹ The Saxons came into England A.D. 450.

² Lib. iv. cap. 24. Some have improperly referred to this dialect the HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS, in the Cotton library: the style of which approaches in purity and antiquity to that of the CODEX ARGENTEUS. It is Frankish. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 7. membran. octavo. This book is supposed to have belonged to king Canute. Eight richly illuminated historical pictures are bound up with it, evidently taken from another manuscript, but probably of the age of king Stephen.

³ See Hickes. Thes. Ling. Vett. Sept. P. i. cap. xxi. pag. 177. And Præfat. fol. xiv. The curious reader is also referred to a Danish Saxon poem, celebrating the wars which Beowulf, a noble Dane, descended from the royal stem of Scyldinge, waged against the kings of Swedeland. MSS. Cotton. ut supr. VITELL. A. 15. Cod. membran. ix. fol. 130. Compare, written in the style of Cædmon, a fragment of an ode in praise of the exploits of Brithnoth, Offa's ealdorman, or general, in a battle fought against the Danes. Ibid. OTH. A. 12. Cod. membran. 4to. iii. Brithnoth, the hero of this piece, a Northumbrian, died in the year 991.

⁴ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Cod. membran. in Pyxid. 4to grand. quadrat. And MSS. Cotton. ut supr. OTHO. Nor. D. 4. Both these MSS. were written and ornamented in the Saxon times, and are of the highest curiosity and antiquity.

⁵ Printed by Junius, Amst. 1655. The greatest part of the Bodleian manuscript of this book, is believed to have been written about A.D. 1000.—Cod. Jun. xi. membran. fol.

mens in any species of composition. Its substance was the Danish Saxon, adulterated with French. The Saxon indeed, a language subsisting on uniform principles, and polished by poets and theologists, however corrupted by the Danes, had much perspicuity, strength, and harmony : but the French imported by the Conqueror and his people, was a confused jargon of Teutonic, Gaulish, and vitiated Latin. In this fluctuating state of our national speech, the French predominated. Even before the conquest the Saxon language began to fall into contempt, and the French, or Frankish, to be substituted in its stead : a circumstance, which at once facilitated and foretold the Norman accession. In the year 652, it was the common practice of the Anglo-Saxons, to send their youth to the monasteries of France for education, (Dug. Mon. i. 89,) and not only the language, but the manners of the French, were esteemed the most polite accomplishments¹. In the reign of Edward the Confessor, the resort of Normans to the English court was so frequent, that the affectation of imitating the Frankish customs became almost universal : and the nobility were ambitious of catching the Frankish idiom. It was no difficult task for the Norman lords to banish that language, of which the natives began to be absurdly ashamed. The new invaders commanded the laws to be administered in French². Many charters of monasteries were forged in Latin by the Saxon monks, for the present security of their possessions, in consequence of that aversion which the Normans professed to the Saxon tongue³. Even children at school were forbidden to read in their native language, and instructed in a knowledge of the Norman only. (Ingulph. p. 71. sub. ann. 1066.) In the mean time we should have some regard to the general and political state of the nation. The natives were so universally reduced to the lowest condition of neglect and indigence, that the English name became a term of reproach : and several generations elapsed, before one family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any distinguished honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baronage⁴. Among other instances of that absolute and voluntary submission, with which our Saxon ancestors received a foreign yoke, it appears that they suffered their handwriting to fall into discredit and disuse (Ingulph, p. 85) ; which by degrees became so difficult and obsolete, that few besides the oldest men

¹ Ingulph. Hist. p. 62. sub. ann. 1043.

² But there is a precept in Saxon from William the first, to the sheriff of Somersetshire Hickes. Thes. i. par. i. pag. 106. See also Præfat. *ibid.* p. xv.

³ The Normans, who practiced every specious expedient to plunder the monks, demanded a sight of the written evidences of the lands. The monks well knew, that it would have been useless or impolitic to have produced these evidences or charters, in the original Saxon ; as the Normans not only did not understand, but would have received with contempt, instruments written in that language. Therefore the monks were compelled to the pious fraud of forging them in Latin, and great numbers of these forged Latin charters, till lately supposed original, are still extant. See Spelman, in Not. ad Concil. Anglic. p. 125. Stillingfl. Orig. Eccles. Britann. p. 14. Marsham Præfat. ad Dugd. Monast. And Wharton, Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. Præfat. p. ii. iii. iv. See also Ingulph. p. 512. Launoy and Mabillon have treated this subject with great learning and penetration.

⁴ See Brompt. Chron. p. 1026. Abb. Ricval. p. 339.

could understand the characters. (Ingulph, p. 98. ann. 1091.) In the year 1095, Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, was deposed by the arbitrary Normans : it was objected against him, that he was 'a superannuated English idiot, who could not speak French.' (Matt. Paris. sub. ann.) It is true, that in some of the monasteries, particularly at Croyland and Tavistock, founded by Saxon princes, there were regular preceptors in the Saxon language ; but this institution was suffered to remain after the conquest, as a matter only of interest and necessity. The religious could not otherwise have understood their original charters. William's successor, Henry the first, gave an instrument of confirmation to William archbishop of Canterbury, which was written in the Saxon language and letter.¹ Yet this is almost a single example. That monarch's motive was perhaps political : and he seems to have practised this expedient with a view of obliging his queen, who was of Saxon lineage ; or with a design of flattering his English subjects, and of securing his title already strengthened by a Saxon match, in consequence of so specious and popular an artifice. It was a common and indeed a very natural practice, for the transcribers of Saxon books, to change the Saxon orthography for the Norman, and to substitute in the place of the original Saxon, Norman words and phrases. A remarkable instance of this liberty, which sometimes perplexes and misleads the critics in Anglo-Saxon literature, appears in a voluminous collection of Saxon homilies, preserved in the Bodleian library, and written about the time of Henry II.² It was with the Saxon characters, as with the signature of the cross in public deeds ; which were changed into the Norman mode of seals and subscriptions.³ The Saxon was probably spoken in the country, yet not without various adulterations from the French : the courtly language was French, yet perhaps with some vestiges of the vernacular Saxon. But the nobles, in the reign of Henry II, constantly sent their children into France, lest they should contract habits of barbarism in their speech, which could not have been avoided in an English education.⁴ Robert Holcot, a learned Dominican friar, confesses, that in the beginning of the reign of Edward III, there was no institution of children in the old English : he complains, that they first learned the French, and from the French the Latin language. This he observes to have been a practice introduced by the Conqueror, and to have remained ever since⁵. There is a curious passage relating to this subject in Trevisa's translation of

¹ H. Warton, Auctar. Histor. Dogmat. p. 388. Mabillon is mistaken in asserting, that the Saxon way of writing was entirely abolished in England at the time of the Norman conquest. De Re Diplom. p. 52. The French antiquaries are fond of this notion. There are Saxon characters in Herbert Losinga's charter for founding the church of Norwich. Temp. Will. Ruf. A.D. 1110. Lambard's Diction. V. NORWICH. Hickes, Thesaur. i. Par. i. p. 149. Præfat. p. xvi. An intermixture of the Saxon character is common in English and Latin manuscripts, before the reign of Edward III : but of a few types only.

² MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 4. 12. Cod. membran. fol.

³ Yet some Normans charters have the cross.

⁴ Gervas. Tilbur, de Otis Imperial. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lib. iii. See du Chesne, iii. p. 363.

⁵ Lect. in Libr. Sapient. Lect. ii. Paris. 1518. 4to.

Hygden's Polychronicon¹. 'Children in scole, agenst the usage and manir of all other nations, beeth compelled for to leve hire owne langage, and for to construe hir lessons and hire thynges in Frenche; and so they haveth sethe Normans came first into Engeland. Also gentilmen children beeth taught to speke Frensche, from the tyme that they bith rokked in here cradell, and kunneth speke and play with a childe broche: and uplondische [country]men will likne himself to gentylmen, and fondeth [delights, tries] with greet besynesse, for to speke Frensche to be told of. This manner was moche used to for first deth [time] and is sith some dele changed. For John Cornewaile a maister of grammer, changed the lore in grammer scole, and construction of Frensche into Engliche: and Richard Pencriche lernede the manere techynge of him as other men of Pencriche. So that now, the yere of oure Lorde 1385, and of the seconde Kyng Richard after the conquest nyne, and [in] alle the grammere scoles of Engeland children lereth Frensche and construeth, and lerneth an Engliche, &c.' About the same time, or rather before, the students of our universities, were ordered to converse in French or Latin². The latter was much affected by the Normans. All the Norman accompts were in Latin. The plan of the royal revenue-rolls, now called the pipe-rolls, were of their construction, and in that language.

'Among the Records of the Tower, a great revenue-roll, on many sheets of vellum, or MAGNUS ROTULUS, of the Duchy of Normandy, for the year 1083, is still preserved; indorsed, in a cœvel hand, ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DNI M^o LXXX^o III^o APUD CADOMUM [Caen] WILLIELMO FILIO RADULFI SENESCALLO NORMANNIE. This most exactly and minutely resembles the pipe-rolls of our exchequer belonging to the same age, in form, method, and character. Ayloff's CALENDAR of ANT. CHART. Pref. p. xxiv. edit. Lond. 1774. 4to. But from the declension of the barons, and prevalence of the commons, most of whom were of English ancestry, the native language of England gradually gained ground: till at length the interest of the commons so far succeeded with Edward III. that an act of parliament was passed, appointing all pleas and proceedings of law to be carried on in English³: although the same statute de-

¹ Lib. i. cap. 59. MSS. Coll. S. Johan. Cantabr. But I think it is printed by Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. Robert of Gloucester, who wrote about 1280, says much the same, edition Hearne, p. 364.

² In the statutes of Oriel College in Oxford, it is ordered, that the scholars, or fellows, 'siqua inter se proferant, colloquio Latino, vel saltem Gallico, perfruantur.' Hearne's Trokelowe, pag. 298. These statutes were given 23 Maii, A.D. 1328. I find much the same injunction in the statutes of Exeter College, Oxford, given about 1330. Where they are ordered to use, 'Romano aut Gallico saltem sermone.' Hearne's MSS. Collect. num. 132. pag. 73. Bibl. Bodl. But in Merton College statutes, mention is made of the Latin only. In cap. x. They were given 1271. This was also common in the greater monasteries. In the register of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, the domicellus of the Prior of Saint Swythyn's at Winchester, is ordered to address the bishop, on a certain occasion, in French, A.D. 1398. Registr. Par. iii. fol 177.

³ But the French formularies and terms of law, and particularly the French feudal phraseology, had taken too deep root to be thus hastily abolished. Hence, long after the reign of

crees, in the true Norman spirit, that all such pleas and proceedings should be enrolled in Latin¹. Yet this change did not restore either the Saxon alphabet or language. It abolished a token of subjection and disgrace; and in some degree, contributed to prevent further French innovations in the language then used, which yet remained in a compound state, and retained a considerable mixture of foreign phraseology. In the mean time, it must be remembered, that this corruption of the Saxon was not only owing to the admission of new words, occasioned by the new alliance, but to changes of its own forms and terminations, arising from reasons we cannot explain².

Among the manuscripts of Digby in the Bodleian library at Oxford, we find a religious or moral ode, consisting of 191 stanzas, which the learned Hickes places just after the conquest³: but as it contains few Norman terms, I am inclined to think it of rather higher antiquity. In deference however to so great an authority, I am obliged to mention it here; and especially as it exhibits a regular lyric strophe of four lines, the second and fourth of which rhyme together. Although these four lines may be perhaps resolved into two Alexandrines; a measure concerning which more will be said hereafter, and of which it will be sufficient to remark at present, that it appears to have been used very early. For I cannot recollect any strophes of this sort in the elder Runic or Saxon poetry; nor in any of the old Frankish poems, particularly of Otfrid a monk of Weissenburgh, who turned the evangelical history into Frankish verse about the ninth century, and has left several hymns in that language⁴, of Stricker who celebrated the achievements of Charlemagne⁵, and of the anonymous author of the metrical life of Anno, archbishop of Cologne. The following stanza is a specimen: [St. xiv.]

Sende God biforen him man	The while he may to hevene,
For betere is on elmesse biforen	Thanne ben after sevene. ⁶

Edward III, many of our lawyers composed their tracts in French, and reports and some statutes were made in that language. Fortescut. de Laud. Leg. Angl. cap. xlviii.

¹ Pulton's Statut. 36 Edw. iii. This was A.D. 1363. The first English instrument in Rymer is dated 1368. Fœd. vii. p. 526.

² This subject will be farther illustrated in the next section.

³ Ling. Vett. Thes. Part i. p. 222. There is another copy not mentioned by Hickes, in Jesus College library at Oxford, MSS. 85. infr. citat. This is entitled, *Tractatus quidam in Anglico*. The Digby manuscript has no title.

⁴ Petr. Lambec. Comment. de Bibl. Cæsar Vindebon. pag. 418. 457.

⁵ Petr. Lambec. ubi supr. lib. ii. cap. 5. There is a circumstance belonging to the ancient Frankish versification, which, as it greatly illustrates the subject of alliteration, deserves notice here. Otfrid's dedication of his Evangelical history to Lewis the first, king of the oriental France, consists of four lined stanzas in rhyming couplets: but the first and last line of every stanza begin and end with the same letter: and the letters of the title of the dedication respectively, and the word of the last line of every tetrastich. Flaccus Illyricus published this work of Otfrid at Basle, 1571. But I think it has been since more correctly printed by Johannes Schilterus. It was written about the year 880. Otfrid was the disciple of Rhabanus Maurus.

Ðede god bifopen him man,	pe hþile he mai 20 heuene
Fop betene is on elmesse bifopen	Danne ben after sevene.

This is perhaps the true reading, from the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge, written about the reign of Henry II. or Richard I. Cod. membran. 8vo. Tractat. I. See Abr. Wheloc. Eccles. Hist. Bed. p. 25. 114.

⁶ MSS. Digb. A. 4. membran.

That is, 'Let a man send his good works before him to heaven while he can : for one alms-giving before death is of more value than seven afterwards.' The verses perhaps might have been thus written as two Alexandrines.

Send God biforen him man the while he may to hevene,
For betere is on almesse biforen, than ben after sevene.¹

Yet alternate rhyming, applied without regularity, and as rhymes accidentally presented themselves, was not uncommon in our early poetry, as will appear from other examples.

Hickes has printed a satire on the monastic profession ; which clearly exemplifies the Saxon adulterated by the Norman, and was evidently written soon after the conquest, at least before the reign of Henry II. The poet begins with describing the land of indolence or luxury.

Fur in see, bi west Spaynge,	Is a lond ihote Cokaygne :
Ther nis lond under hevenriche ²	Of wel of godnis hit iliche.
Thoy paradis bi miri ³ and brig	Cokaygn is of fairir sigt.
What is there in paradis	Bot grass, and flure, and greneris?
Thoy there be joy ⁴ , and gret dute ⁵ ,	There nis met, bot frute.
There nis halle, bure ⁶ , no bench;	But watir manisthurst to quench, &c.

In the following lines there is a vein of satirical imagination and some talent at description. The luxury of the monks is represented under the idea of a monastery constructed of various kinds of delicious and costly viands.

There is a wel fair abbei,	Of white monkes and of grei,
Ther beth boures and halles :	All of pasteus beth the walles
Of fleis of fisse, and a rich met,	The likefullist that man mai et.
Fluren cakes beth the schingles ⁷ alle,	
Of church, cloister, bours, and halle.	
The pinnes ⁸ beth fat podinges	Richmet to princes and to kinges.—
Ther is a cloyster fair and ligt,	Brod and lang of sembli sigt.
The pilers of that closter alle	Beth iturned of cristale,
With harlas and capital	Of grene jaspe and red coral.
In the prae is a tree	Swithe likeful for to se,
The rote is gingeur and galingale,	The siouns beth al sedwale.
Trie maces beth the flure,	The rind canel of swete odure :
The frute gilofre of gode smakke,	Of cucubes ther nis no lakke.—
There beth iiii willis ⁹ in the abbei	Of tracle and halwei,
Of baume and eke piement ¹⁰ ,	Ever ernend ¹¹ to rigt rent ¹² ;
Of thai stremis al the molde,	Stonis pretiuse ¹³ and golde,
Ther is saphir, and uniune,	Carbuncle and astiune,

¹ As I recollect, the whole poem is thus exhibited in the Trinity manuscript.

² Heaven. Sax.

³ Merry, chearful. 'Although Paradise is chearful and bright, *Cokayne* is a much more beautiful place.

⁴ 101. Orig.

⁵ Pleasure.

⁶ Buttery.

⁷ *Shingles*. 'The tiles, or covering of the house, are of rich cakes.'

⁸ The Pinnacles.

⁹ Fountains.

¹⁰ This word will be explained at large hereafter.

¹¹ Running. Sax.

¹² Course. Sax.

¹³ The Arabian Philosophy imported into Europe, was full of the doctrine of precious stones.

Smaragde, lugre, and prassiune,
Amethiste and crisolite,
Ther beth birddes mani and fale
Chalandre, and wodwale,
That stinteth never bi her migt

[*Nonnulla desunt.*]

Yite I do yow mo to witte, The gees irosted on the spitte,
Fleey to that abbai, god hit wot, And gredith², gees al hote al hote, &c.

Our author then makes a pertinent transition to a convent of nuns ; which he supposes to be very commodiously situated at no great distance, and in the same fortunate region of indolence, ease, and affluence.

An other abbai is ther bi
Up a river of swet milk
When the summeris dai is hote,
And doth ham forth in that river
Whan hi beth fur from the abbai
And leith dune in to the brimme
The yung monkes that hi seeth
And comith to the nunnes anon,
And snellich³ berith forth har prei
And techith the nonnes an oreisun

For soth a gret nunnerie ;
Whar is plente grete of silk.
The yung nunnes takith a bote,
Both with oris and with stere :
Hi makith him nakid for to plei,
And doth him sleilich for to swimme ;
Hi doth ham up and forth hi fleeth,
And euch monk him takith on,
To the mochill grei abbei⁴,
With jambleus⁵ up and dun⁶.

This poem was designed to be sung at public festivals⁷ : a practice, of which many instances occur in this work ; and concerning which it

¹ Our old poets are never so happy as when they can get into a catalogue of things or names. Observat on the Fairy Queen.

² Crieth. Gallo-Franc.

³ Quick, quickly. Gallo-Franc.

⁴ 'To the great Abbey of Grey Monks.'

⁵ Lascivious motions. Gambols. Fri-Gambiller.

⁶ Hickes. Thesaur. i. Part i. p. 231. seq. 'The secular indulgences, particularly the luxury, of a female convent, are intended to be represented in the following passage of an antient poem, called, *A Disputation bytwene a crystene mon and a Jew*, written before the year 1300. MS. VERNON, fol. 301.

Till a Nonneri thei came,
Ther was mony a derworthe damel¹
Squizeres² in vche syde,
Hur schul we longe³ abyde,
Thene swithe⁴ spekethe he
And biddeth that he welcum be
Ther was bords⁵ i clothed clene
Seppel⁶ a wasschen⁷, i wene,
Riche metes was forth brouht,
The cristen mon wolde nouht
Ther was wyn ful clere
And other drynkes that weore dere,
Siththe was schewed him bi
And preyed hem do gladly,
Bi the bordes up thei stode, &c.

But I knowe not the name ;
In dyapre dere⁸ :
In the wones⁹ so wyde :
Auntres¹⁰ to heare.
Til a ladi so fre,
'Sire Water my feere¹¹,
With schire¹² clothes and schene,
And wente to the sete :
To all men that gode thouht :
Drynke nor ete.
In mony a feir masere¹³,
In coupes¹⁴ ful gret :
Murththe and munstralsy¹⁵,
With ryal rechet¹⁶.

⁷ As appears from this line. 'Lordinges gode and hende,' &c. It is in MSS. More, Cantabrig. 784. f. 1.

¹ Dear-worthy.

² Diaper fine.

³ Squires. Attendants.

⁴ Rooms. Apartments.

⁵ Shall we long.

⁶ Adventures.

⁷ Swiftly. Immediately.

⁸ My Companion. My Love. He is called afterwards, 'Sire [Sir] Walter of Berwick.'

⁹ Tables. ¹⁰ Sheer. Clean. ¹¹ Or *Sithe*, i.e. often. ¹² Washed. ¹³ Mazer. Great cup.

¹⁴ Cups.

¹⁵ Afterwards there was sport and minstrelsy.

¹⁶ i.e. Recept. Reception. But see Chaucer's Rom. R. v. 6509. Him, woulde I comfort and rechte. And Tr. CRESS. iii. 350.

may be sufficient to remark at present, that a JOCULATOR or bard, was an officer belonging to the court of William the Conqueror.¹

Another Norman Saxon poem cited by the same industrious antiquary, is entitled THE LIFE OF SAINT MARGARET. The structure of its verification considerably differs from that in the last-mentioned piece, and is like the French Alexandrines. But I am of opinion, that a pause, or division was intended in the middle of every verse; and in this respect, its verification resembles also that of ALBION'S ENGLAND, or Drayton's POLYOLBION, which was a species very common about the reign of queen Elizabeth². The rhymes are also continued to every fourth line. It appears to have been written about the time of the crusades. It begins thus:

Olde ant³ yonge I priet⁴ ou, our folies for to lete,
Thinketh on god that yef ou wite, our sunnes to bete.
Here I mai tellen ou, wit wordes faire and swete,
The vie⁵ of one maiden was hoten⁶ Margarete.
Hire fader wes a patriac, as ic ou tellen may,
In Auntioge wif eches⁷ I in the false lay,
Deves godes⁸ ant dombe, he servid nit and day,
So deden mony othere that singeth welaway.
Theodosius was in nome, on Criste ne levede he nouht,
He levede on the false godes, that weren with honden wroutt.
Tho that child sculde cristine ben it com well in thouht,
Ebed⁹ when it were ibore, to deth it were ibrouht, &c.

In the sequel, Olibrius, lord of Antioch, who is called a Saracen, falls in love with Margaret: but she being a christian, and a candidate for canonization, rejects his sollicitations and is thrown into prison.

Meiden Margarete one nitt in prison lai
Ho com befor Olibrius on that other dai.
Meiden Margarete, lef up upon my lay,
And Ihu that thou levest on, thou do him al away.
Lef on me ant be my wife, ful wel the mai spede.
Auntioge and Asie scaltou han to mede:
Ciclatoun¹⁰ ant purpel pal scaltou have to wede:
With all the metes of my lond ful vel I scal the¹¹ fede.

¹ His lands are cited in Doomsday Book. 'GLOUCESTERSCIRE. Berdic, Joculator Regis, 'habet iii. villas et ibi v. car. nil redd.' Anstis, Ord. Gart. ii. 304.

² It is worthy of remark, that we find in the collection of ancient northern monuments, published by M. Bioner, a poem of some length, said by that author to have been composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. This poem is professedly in rhyme, and the measure like that of the heroic Alexandrine of the French poetry. Mallet's Introd. Dannem. &c. ch. xiii.

³ And. Fr.

⁴ I direct. Fr. 'I advise you, your, &c.'

⁵ Life. Fr.

⁶ Called. Saxon.

⁷ Chose a wife. Sax. 'He was married in Antioch.'

⁸ 'Deaf gods, &c.'

⁹ In bed.

¹⁰ Checklaton. See Obs. Fair. Q. i. 194.

¹¹ Hickes. i. 225. The legend of *Sainte Juliane* in the Bodleian library is rather older, but of much the same verification. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. 3. xi. membran. 8vo. iii. fol. 36. This MSS. I believe to be of the age of Henry III. or king John: the composition much earlier. It was translated from the Latin. These are the five last lines.

Ðphen drihtin o domerðoei þindpeð hup hpeate,
And þenpeð þæt duru chefto hellene heate,
Ðe mote beon a corn i goder guldene edene,
Ðe tunde ðis of latin to Englriche levene
And he þæt her leart onþrat rpa ar he cupe. AMEN.

That is, 'When the judge at doomsday winnows his wheat and drives the dusty chaff into

This piece was printed by Hickes from a manuscript in Trinity college library at Cambridge. It seems to belong to the manuscript metrical LIVES OF THE SAINTS¹, which form a very considerable volume, and were probably translated or paraphrased from Latin or French prose into English rhyme before the year 1200². We are sure that they were written after the year 1169, as they contain the LIFE of St. Thomas of Becket³. In the Bodleian library are three MSS. copies of these LIVES OF THE SAINTS⁴, in which the LIFE of St. the heat of hell; may there be a corner in god's golden Eden for him who turned this book 'into Latin, &c.'

¹ The same that are mentioned by Hearne, from a MSS. of Ralph Sheldon. Hearne's Petr. Langt. p. 542. 607. 608. 609. 611. 628. 670. St. Winifred's Life is printed from the same collection by bishop Fleetwood, in his *Life and Miracles of S. Winifred*, p. 125. ed. 1713.

² It is in fact a metrical history of the festivals of the whole year. The life of the respective Saint is described under every Saint's day, and the institutions of some sundays, and feasts not taking their rise from saints, are explained, on the plan of the *Legenda Aurea*, written by Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, about the year 1290, from which Caxton, through the medium of a French version entitled *Legend Doree*, translated his *Golden Legend*. The *Festival*, or *Festiall*, printed by Wynkin de Worde, is a book of the same sort, yet with homilies intermixed. MSS. Marl. 2247. fol. and 2371. 4to. and 2391. 4to. and 2402. 4to. and 2800. seq. MSS. lives of Saints, detached, and not belonging to this collection, are frequent in libraries. The *Vita Patrum* were originally drawn from S. Jerome and Johannes Cassianus. In Gresham college library are metrical lives of ten Saints chiefly from the *Golden Legend*, by Osborne Bokenham, an Augustine canon in the abbey of Stoke-clare in Suffolk, transcribed by Thomas Burgh at Cambridge 1477. The Life of S. Katharine appears to have been composed in 1445. MSS. Coll. Gresh. 375. The French translation of the *Legenda Aurea* was made by Jehan de Vignay, a monk, soon after 1300.

³ Ashmole cites this Life, Instit. Ord. Gart. p. 21. And he cites S. Brandon's Life, p. 507. Ashmole's MSS. was in the hands of Silas Taylor. It is now in his Museum at Oxford. MSS. Ashm. 50. [7001.]

⁴ MSS. Bodl. 779.—Laud, L. 70. And they make a considerable part of a prodigious folio volume, beautifully written on vellum, and elegantly illuminated, where they have the following title, which also comprehends other ancient English religious poems. 'Here begynnen the tytles of the book that is cald in Latyn tonge SALUS ANIME, and in English tonge 'SOWLE-HELE.' It was given to the Bodleian library by Edward Vernon esquire, soon after the civil war. I shall cite it under the title of MS. Vernon. Although pieces not absolutely religious are sometimes introduced, the scheme of the compiler or transcriber seems to have been, to form a complete body of legendary and scriptural history in verse, or rather to collect into one view all the religious poetry he could find. Accordingly the *Lives of the Saints* a distinct and large work of itself, properly constituted a part of his plan. There is another copy of the *Lives of the Saints* in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. 2277. And in Ashmole's Museum, MSS. Ashm. ut supr. I think this MSS. is also in Bennet college library. The Lives seem to be placed according to their respective festivals in the course of the year. The Bodleian copy (marked 779.) is a thick folio, containing 310 leaves. The variations in these MSS. seem chiefly owing to the transcribers. The Life of St. Margaret in MSS. Bodl. 779. begins much like that of Trinity library at Cambridge.

Old ant yonge I preye you your folysis for to lete, &c.

I must add here, that in the Harleian library, a few Lives, from the same collection of *Lives of the Saints*, occur, MSS. 2250. 23. f. 72. b. seq. chart. fol. Also ib. 19. f. 48. These Lives are in French rhymes, ib. 2253. f. 1. 'THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS in verse, in Bennet library, contain the martyrdom and translation of Becket, NUM. clxv. This MSS. is supposed to be of the 14th century. Archbishop Parker, in a remark prefixed, has assigned the composition to the reign of Henry II. But in that case, Becket's translation, which did not happen till the reign of king John, must have been added. See a specimen in Nasmith's learned CATALOGUE of the Bennet MSS., pag. 217. Cantab. 1777. 4to. There is a MSS. of these LIVES in Trinity college library at Oxford, but it has not the Life of Becket. MSS. NUM. LVII. In Pergamen. fol. The writing is about the 14th century. I will transcribe a few lines from the LIFE of ST. CUTHBERT. f. 2. b.

Seint Cuthberd was ybore here in Engelonde,
God dude for him meracelle, as ze scholleth vnderstonde.
And wel zong child he was, in his eigethe zere,
Wit children he pleyde atte balle, that his felawes were:
That com go a lite childe, it thoht thre zer old,
A swete creature and a fayr, yt was myld and bold:
To the zong Cuthberd he zede, sene brother he sedde,
Ne pench not such ydell name for it ne ozte nozt be thy dede;

Margaret constantly occurs; but it is not always exactly the same with this printed by Hickes. And on the whole, the Bodleian Lives seem inferior in point of antiquity. I will here give some extracts never yet printed.

From the LIFE of Saint Swithin.

¹Seint Swythan the confessour was her of Engelonde,
Bisyde Wynchestre he was ibore, as ich undirstonde:
Bi the kynges dei Egbert this goode was ibore,
That tho was kyng of Engelonde, and somede eke bifore;
The eihetthe he was that com aftur Kinewolfe the kyng,
That seynt Berin dude to cristendome in Engelonde furst brynge
Seynt Austen hedde bifore to cristendom i brouht
Athelbryt the goode kyng as al the londe nouht.
Al setthe² hyt was that seynt Berin her bi west wende,
And tornede the kyng Kinewolfe as vr lorde grace sende:
So that Egbert was kyng tho that Swythan was bore
The eighth was Kinewolfe that so long was bifore, &c.
Seynt Swythan his bushopricke to al goodnesse drough
The towne also of Wynchestre he amended enough,

Seint Cuthberd ne tok no zeme to the childis rede
And pleyde forth with his felawes, al so they him bede.
Tho this zonge child y sez that he his red forsok,
A doun he fel to grounde, and gret del to him to tok,
It by gan to wepe sore, and his honden wrynge,
This children hadde alle del of him, and bysened hare pleyinge.
As that they couthe hy gladede him, sore he gan so siche,
At even this zonge child made del y siche,
A welaway, qd seint Cuthbert, why wepes thou so sore
Zif we the haveth ozt mysdo we no scholleth na more.
Thanne spake this zonge child, sore hy woth beye,
Cuthberd it falleth nozt to the with zonge children to pleye,
For no suche idell games it ni cometh the to worche,
Whanne god hath y proveyd the an heved of holy cherche.
With this word, me nyste whidder, this zong child wente,
An angel it was of heven that our lord thuder sent.

Saxon letters are used in this MS. I will exhibit the next twelve lines as they appear in that mode of writing; together with the punctuation.

þo by gan seint Cuthberd. for to wepe sore
He made his fader and frendis. sette him to lore
So þat he servede boþe nýȝt and day. to plesse god þe more
And in his ȝoughede nýȝt and day. of servede godis ore
þo he in grettere elde was. as þe bok us haþ y sed
It by fel þat seint Aydan. þe bisschop was ded
Cuthberd was a felde with schep. angeles of heven he sez
þe bisschopis soule seint Aydan. to heven bere on hez
Allas sede seint Cuthberd. fole ech am to longe
I nell þis schep no longer kepe. a fonge hem who so a fonge
He wente to þe abbeye of Germans. a grey monk he þer bycom
Gret joye made alle þe covent. þo he that abbyt nom, &c.

The reader will observe the constant return of the hemistichal point, which I have been careful to preserve, and to represent with exactness; as I suspect, that it shews how these poems were sung to the harp by the minstrels. Every line was perhaps uniformly recited to the same monotonous modulation, with a pause in the midst: just as we chant the psalms in our choral service. In the psalms of our liturgy, this pause is expressed by a colon; and often, in those of the Roman missal, by an asterisk. The same mark occurs in every line of this manuscript; which is a folio volume of considerable size, with upwards of fifty verses in every page.

¹ Thus in MSS. Harl. fol. 78.

Seint Swiþþin ȝe confessour was here of Engelonde
Biside Wynchestre hi was ibore as ic vnderstonde.

² Since.

Ffor he lette the stronge brute withoute the toun arere
And fond therto lym and ston and the workmen that ther were¹.

From the LIFE of Saint Wolstan.

Seynt Wolston bysscop of Wirceter was then in Ingelonde,
Swithe holyman was all his lyf as ich onderstonde:
The while he was a yonge childe good lyf hi ladde ynow,
Whenne other children orne play toward cherche hi drow.
Seint Edward was tho vr kyng, that now in hevene is,
And the bisscoppe of Wirceter Brytthege is hette I wis, &c.
Bisscop hym made the holi man seynt Edward vre kyng
And undirfonge his dignitie, and tok hym cros and ringe.
His bushopreke he wust wel, and eke his priorie,
And forcede him to serve wel god and Seinte Marie.
Ffour zer he hedde bisscop ibeo and not folliche fyve
Tho seynt Edward the holi kyng went out of this lyve.
To gret reuge to al Engelande, so welaway the stounde,
Ffor strong men that come sithin and broughte Engelande to grounde.
Harald was sithen kyng with tresun, alas!
The crowne he bare of England which while hit was.
As William bastard that was tho duk of Normaundye
Thouhte to winne Engelande thorug strength and felonye:
He lette hym greith foulke inouh and gret power with him nom,
With gret strengthe in the see he him dude and to Engelande com:
He lette ordayne his ost wel and his baner up arerede,
And destroyed all that he fond and that londe sore aferde.
Harald hereof tell kyng of Engelande
He let garke fast his oste agen hym for to stonde:
His baronage of Engelande redi was ful sone
The kyng to helpe and eke himself as riht was to done.
The warre was then in Engelande dolefull and strong inouh
And heore either of othures man al to grounde slouh:
The Normans and this Englisch men deiye of batayle nom
There as the abbeye is of the batayle a day togedre com,
To grounde thei smit and slowe also, as god yaf the cas,
William Bastard was above and Harald bi neothe was².

From the LIFE of Saint Christopher.

³Seynt Cristofre was a Sarazin in the londe of Canaan,
In no stud by him daye mi fond non so strong a man:
Ffour and twenti feete he was longe, and thikk and brod inouh,
Such a mon but he weore stronge methinketh hit weore wouh:
A la cuntre where he was for him wolde fleo,
Therefore hym ythoughte that no man ageynst him sculde beo.
He seide he wolde with no man beo but with on that were,
Hext lord of all men and undir hym non othir were.

Afterwards he is taken into the service of a king.

—Cristofre hym served longe;

The kyng loved melodye much of fithle⁴ and of songe:
So that his jogeler on a dai biforen him gon to pleye faste,

¹f. 93. MS. Vernon. ²MS. Venon. fol. 76. b. ³MSS. Harl. ut supr. fol. 101. b. ⁴Fiddle.
Seint Cristofre was Sarazin in the lond of Canaan

In no stede bi his daye ne fond me so strong a man

Four and tuenti fet he was long and thikke and brod y-noug, &c.

And in a tyme he nemped in his song the devil atte laste :
Anon so the kynge that I herde he blessed him anon, &c.¹

From the LIFE of Saint Patrick.

Seyn Pateryk com thoru godes grace to preche in Irelande,
To teche men ther ryt believe Jehu Cryste to understonde :
So ful of wormes that londe he founde that no man ni myghte gon,
In som stede for wormes that he nas wenemyd anon ;
Seynt Pateryk bade our lorde Cryst that the londe delyvered were,
Of thilke foul wormis that none ne com there².

From the LIFE of Saint Thomas of Becket.

Ther was Gilbert Thomas fadir name the trewe man and gode
He lyved God and holi cherche setthe he witte ondirstode³.
The cros to the holi cherche in his zouth he nom,
. . . myd on Rychard that was his mon to Jerlem com.
Ther hy dede here pylgrimage in holi stedes faste
So that among Sarazyns hy wer nom at laste, &c.⁴

This legend of St. Thomas of Becket is exactly in the style of all the others ; and as Becket was martyred in the latter part of the reign of Henry II. from historical evidence, and as, from various internal marks, the language of these legends cannot be older than the twelfth century, I think we may fairly pronounce the LIVES OF THE SAINTS to have been written about the reign of Richard the first⁵.

These metrical narratives of christian faith and perseverance seem to have been chiefly composed for the pious amusement, and perhaps edification, of the monks in their cloisters. The sumptuous volume of religious poems which I have mentioned above⁶, was undoubtedly chained in the cloister, or church, of some capital monastery. It is not improbable that the novices were exercised in reciting portions from these pieces. In the British Museum⁷, there is a set of legendary tales in rhyme, which appear to have been solemnly pronounced by the priest to the people on sundays and holidays. This sort of poetry⁸

¹ MSS. Vernon, fol. 119.

² Bodl. MSS. 779. fol. 41. b.

³ MSS. Harl. fol. 195. b.

Gilbert was Thomas fader name þat true was and god
And lovede god and holi church siþþe he wit understod.

This Harleian MSS. is imperfect in many parts.

⁴ MSS. Bodl. 779. f. 41. b.

⁵ Who died 1199. In the Cotton library I find the lives of Saint Josaphas and the seven sleepers : where the Norman seems to predominate, although Saxon letters are used. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. ix. Cod. membran. 4to. ii. fol. 192.

Ici commence la vie de seint Ioraphaz,

Ri uout vout a nul bien æntendre

Per essample poet mlt apprenbre.

iii. fol. 213. be. *Ici commence la vie de Seint Dorman.*

La vertu deu iur tut iur ȝ dure

E tut iurz eft certeine epure.

Many legends and religious pieces in Norman rhyme were written about this time. See MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 1. membr. fol. supr. citat. p. 14.

⁶ Viz. MSS. Vernon. ⁷ MSS. Harl. 2391. 70. The dialect is perfectly northern.

⁸ That legends of saints were sung to the harp at feasts, appears from *The Life of Saint Marine*, MSS. Harl. 2253. fol. memb. f. 64. b.

Herketh hideward and beoth stille, Y prairie ou zif hit be or wille,
And ze shule here of one virgin, That was ycleped saint Maryne.
And from various other instances.

was also sung to the harp by the minstrels on sundays, instead of the romantic subjects usual at public entertainments¹.

In that part of Vernon's MSS. intitled SOULEHELE, we have a translation of the Old and New Testament into verse; which I believe to have been made before the year 1200. The reader will observe the fondness of our ancestors for the Alexandrine: at least, I find the lines arranged in that measure.

Oure ladi and hire suster stoden under the roode,
 And seint John and Marie Magdaleyn with wel fori moode:
 Vr ladi bi heold hire swete son i brouht in gret pyne,
 Ffor monnes gultes nouthen her and nothing for myne.
 Marie weop wel fore and bitter teres leet,
 The teres fullen uppon the ston doun at hire feet.
 Alas, my son, for serwe wel off seide heo
 Nabbe iche bote the one that hongust on the treo;
 So ful icham of serwe, as any wommon may beo,
 That ischal my deore child in all this pyne iseo:
 How schal I sone deore, how hast i yougt liven withouten the,
 Nusti nevere of serwe nought sone, what seyst you me?
 Then spake Jhesus wordus gode to his modur dere,
 Ther he heng uppon the roode here I the take a fere,
 That trewliche schal serve ye, thin own cosin Jon,
 The while that you alyve beo among all thi fon:
 Ich the hote Jon, he seide, you wite hire both day and niht
 That the Gywes hire fon ne don hire non un riht.
 Seint John in the stude vr ladi in to the temple nom
 God to serven he hire dude sone so he thider come,
 Hole and seeke heo duden good that hes founden thore
 Heo hire serveden to hond ane foot, the lass and eke the more.
 The pore folke feire heo fedde there, heo sege that hit was neode
 And the seke heo brougte to bedde and met and drinke gon heom beode.
 Wy at heore mihte yong and olde hire loveden bothe syke and fer
 As hit was riht for alle and summe to hire servise hedden mester.
 Jon hire was a trew feer, and nolde nought from hire go,
 He lokid hire as his ladi deore and what heo wolde hit was i do.
 Now blowith this newe fruyt that lat bi gon to springe,
 That to his kuynd heritage monkunne schal bringe,
 This new fruyt of whom I speke is vre cristendome,
 That late was on erthe isow and latir furth hit com,
 So hard and luthur was the lond of whom hit scholde springe

Some of these religious poems contain the usual address of the minstrel to the company. As in a poem of our Saviour's descent into hell, and his discourse there with Sathanas the porter. Adam, Eve, Abraham, &c. MSS. *ibid.* f. 57.

Alle herkennesh to me now,
 Of Jhesu and of Sathan,

A strif wolle y tellen ou:
 Tho Jhesu was to hell y-gan.

Other proofs will occur occasionally.

¹ As I collect from the following poem, MS. Vernon, fol. 229.

The Visions of Seynt Poul won he was rapt into Paradyss.

Lusteneth lordynges leof and dere,

The Sondag a day hit is

More in that ilke day

Ze that wolen of the Sondag here;

That angels and archangels joyn i wis,

Then any odure, &c.

That wel unnethe eny rote men mougte thereon bring,
God hi was the gardener,¹ &c.

In the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, among other Norman-Saxon homilies in prose, there is a homily or exhortation on the Lord's prayer in verse: which, as it was evidently transcribed rather before the reign of Richard the first, we may place with some degree of certainty before the year 1185.

Vre feder that in hevene is	That is al sothfull I wis.
Weo moten to theos weordes iseon	That to live and to saule gode beon.
That weo beon swa his sunes iborene	
That he beo feder and we him icorene.	
That we don alle his ibeden	And his wille for to reden, &c.
Lauerde God we biddeth thus	Mid edmode heorte gif hit us.
That vre soule beo to the icore	Noht for the flesce for lore.
Dole us to biwepen vre sunne	That we ne sternen noht therunne
And gif us, lauerd, that ilke gifte	
Thet we hes ibeten thurh holie scrifte.	AMEN ² .

In the valuable library of Corpus Christi college in Cambridge, is a sort of poetical biblical history, extracted from the books of Genesis and Exodus. It was probably composed about the reign of Henry II. or Richard I. But I am chiefly induced to cite this piece, as it proves the excessive attachment of our earliest poets to rhyme: they were fond of multiplying the same final sound to the most tedious monotony; and without producing any effect of elegance, strength, or harmony. It begins thus:

Man og to luuen that rimes ren.	The wissed wel the loged men.
Hu man may him wel loken	Tho he ne be lered on no boken.
Luuen god and serven him ay	For he it hem wel gelden may.
And to al cristenei men	Boren pais and luue by twem.
Than sal him almighti luuen.	Here by nethen and thund abuuven,
And given him blisse and soules reste.	
That him sal eavermor lesten.	
Ut of Latin this song is a dragen	On Engleis speche on soche sagen,
Cristene men ogen ben so fagen.	So fueles arn quan he it sen dagen.
Than man hem telled soche tale	
Wid londes speche and wordes smale	
Of blisses dune, of sorwes dale,	Quhu Lucifer that devel dwale
And held him sperred in helles male,	
Til god him frid in manliched	
Dede mankinde bote and red.	And answered al the fendes sped
And halp thor he sag mikel ned	Biddi hie singen non other led.
Thog mad hic folgen idel hed.	Fader gode of al thinge,
Almightin louerd, hegest kinge,	Thu give me feli timinge
To thau men this werdes begininge.	The lauerd god to wurthinge
Quether so hic rede or singe ³ .	

We find this accumulation of identical rhymes in the Runic odes.

¹ MS. Vernon, fol. 8.

² Quart. minor. 185. Cod. membran. vi f. 21. b.

³ MSS. R. 11. Cod. membran. octavo. It seems to be in the northern dialect.

Particularly in the ode of Egill cited above, entitled Egill's Ransom. In the Cotton library a poem is preserved of the same age, on the subjects of death, judgment, and hell torments, where the rhymes are singular, and deserve our attention.

Non mai longe lives wene Ac ofte him lieth the wrench.
 Feir weither turneth ofte into reine
 And thunderliche hit maketh his blench,
 Tharfore mon thu the biwenche
 At schal falewi thi grene. Weilawei ! nis kin ne quene
 That ne schal drincke of deathes drench,
 Mon er thu falle of thi bench Thine sunne thu aquench¹.

To the same period of our poetry, I refer a version of St. Jerom's French psalter, which occurs in the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge. The hundredth psalm is thus translated.

Mirthes to god al erthe that es Serves to louerd in faines,
 In go yhe ai in his siht , In gladnes that is so briht.
 Whites that louerd god is he thus He us made and our self noht us,
 His folk and shep of his fode : In gos his yhates that are gode :
 In schrift his worches belive, In ympnes to him yhe schrive.
 Heryhes his name for louerde is hende,
 In all his merci do in strende and strande².

In the Bodleian library there is a translation of the psalms, which much resembles in style and measure this just mentioned. If not the same, it is of equal antiquity. The handwriting is of the age of Edward II. : certainly not later than his successor. It also contains the Nicene creed³, and some church hymns, versified : but it is mutilated and imperfect. The nineteenth psalm runs thus.

Hevenes tellen godes blis And wolken shewes hond werk his
 Dal to dai word rise riht, And wisdom shewes niht to niht,
 Of whilke that noht is herde thar steven,
 In al the world out yhode thar corde
 And in ende of erthe of tham the worde.
 . . . funne he sette his telde to stande
 And b. bridegroom a. he als of his lourd commande⁴
 He gladen als den to renne the wai
 Ffrem heighest heven hei outcoming ai,
 And his gairenning tillheht fete, Ne is qwilke mai him from his hete.
 Lagh of louerd unwenned isse, Turnand saules in to blisse:
 Witness of lourd is ever true Wisdom servand to littell newe:
 Lourd's rihtwisnesse riht hertes famand,
 But of lourd is liht eghen sighand,
 Drede of lourde hit heli es Domes of love ful sori sothe are ai
 Rihted in thamsalve are thai,

¹ Bibl. Cotton, MSS. CALIG. A. ix.—vi. f. 243.

² O. 6. Cod. membr. 4to.

³ Hickes has printed a metrical version of the creed of St. Athanasius. To whom, to avoid prolix and obsolete specimens already printed, I refer the reader. Thesaur, P. i. p. 233. I believe it to be of the age of Henry II.

⁴ Sic.

More to be beyorned over golde Or ston derwurthi that is holde :
Wel swetter to mannes wombe Ovir honi and to kombe¹.

This is the beginning of the eighteenth psalm.

I sal love the Lourd of blisse And in fleming min als so
And in mine Lourd festnes min esse, And in lesser out of wo².

I will add another religious fragment on the crucifixion, in the shorter measure, evidently coeval, and intended to be sung to the harp.

Vyen i o the rode se	Jesu nayled to the tre,
Jesu mi lefman,	Ibunder bloe and blodi,
An hys moder stant him bi,	Wepand, and Johan :
Hys bac wid scwрге iswungen,	Hys side depe istungen,
Ffor sinne and louve of man,	Weil anti sinne lete
An nek wit teres wete	Thif i of love can ³ .

In the library of Jesus college at Oxford, I have feen a Norman-Saxon poem of another cast, yet without much invention or poetry⁴. It is a contest between an owl and a nightingale, about superiority in voice and singing; the decision of which is left to the judgment of one John de Guldevord⁵. It is not later than Richard I. The rhymes are multiplied, and remarkably interchanged.

Ich was in one fumere dale	In one snwe digele hale,
I herde ich hold grete tale,	And hule ⁶ and one nightingale.
That plait was stif I stare and strong,	Sum wile softe I lud among.
Another agen others sval	I let that wole mod ut al.
I either seide of others custe,	That alere worste that hi wuste
I hure and I hure of others songe	Hi hold plaidung suthe stronge ⁷ .

The earliest love-song which I can discover in our language, is among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. I would place it before or about the year 1200. It is full of alliteration. and has a burthen or chorus.

¹ MSS. Bodl. pergamen. fol. 425. f. 5.

² Ibid. f. 4.

³ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. B. 3. 18. Th. f. 101. b. (Langb. vi. 209.)

⁴ It is also in Bibl. Cotton. MSS. CALIG. ix. A. 5. fol. 230.

⁵ So it is said in Catal. MSS. Angl. p. 69. But by mistake. Our John de Guldevorde is indeed the author of the poem which immediately precedes in the MSS. as appears by the following entry at the end of it, in the hand-writing of the very learned Edward Lhuyd. 'On 'part of a broken leaf of this MSS. I find these verses written, whereby the author may be 'guest at.

'Mayster Johan eu greteth of Guldworde tho,
'And sendeth eu to seggen that synge he nul he wo,
'On thisse wife he will endy his songe,
'God lounderde of hevene, bee us alle amonge.'

The piece is entitled and begins thus :

Ici commence la Passyun Ihu Crist en engleys.
I hereth eu one lutele tale that ich eu wille telle,
As we vyndeth hit iwrite in the godspelle,
Nis hit nouht of Karlemeyne ne of the Duzpere
As of Cristes thruwyng, &c.

It seems to be of equal antiquity with that mentioned in the text. The whole manuscript consisting of many detached pieces both in verse and prose, was perhaps written in the reign of Henry VI. ⁶ Owl. ⁷ MSS. Coll. Jef. Oxon. 86. membr.

Blow northerne wynd, sent	Thou me my suetyng; blow
Northerne wynd, blou, blou, blou.	Ich ot a burde in boure bryht
That sully femly is on syht,	Menskul maiden of myht,
Feire ant fre to fonde.	In al this wurnliche won,
A burde of blod and of bon,	Never ¹ zete y nufte ² non
Lussomore in Londe. <i>Blow, &c.</i>	With lokkes ³ lefliche and longe,
With front ant face feir to fonde;	
With murthes monie mote heo monge	
That brid so breame in boure;	With lossum eie grete and gode,
Weth browen blissfoll undirhode,	He that rest him on the rode
That leflich lyf honoure. <i>Blow⁴, &c.</i>	
Hire bire limmes liht,	Ase a lantern a nyht,
Hyr bleo blynkyth so bryht ⁵	So feore heo is ant fyn,
A suetly syre heo hath to holde,	With arnes, shuldre as mon wolde,
Ant fyngres feyre forte fold :	God wolde hue were myn.
Middel heo hath menskfull small,	Hire loveliche chere as cristal ;
Theyes, legges, fit, and al,	Ywraught of the best ;
A lussumladi lasteless,	That sweting is and ever wes ;
A betere burde never was	Yheryed with the heste,
Heo ys dere worthe in day,	Graciouse, stout, and gaye,
Gentil, joly, so the jay,	Workliche when she waketh,
Maiden murgest ⁶ of mouth	Bi est, bi west, bi north, bi south,
That nis fickle ne trouth,	That such murthes maketh.
Heo is corall of godnesse,	Heo is rubie of riche fulnesse,
Heo is cristal of clarnesse,	Ant baner of bealtie,
Heo is lilie of largesse,	Heo is parnenke pronesse,
Heo is salsecle of suetnesse,	Ant ladie of lealtie,
To lou that leflich y in londe	Ytolde as hi asychunderstonde, &c. ⁷

From the same collection I have extracted a part of another amatorial ditty, of equal antiquity; which exhibits a stanza of no inelegant or displeasing structure, and approaching to the octave rhyme. It is, like the last, formed on alliteration.

In a fryhte as y con fare framede Y founde a wet feyr fenge to fere,
 Heo glystenide ase gold when hit glemed,
 Nes ner gom so gladly on gere,
 Y wolde wyte in world who hire kenede
 This burde bryht, zef hire wil were,
 Heo me bed go my gates, lest hire gremede,
 Ne kept heo non henyng here⁸.

In the following lines a lover compliments his mistress named Alysoun.

Bytween Mershe and Averile when spray beginneth to springe,
 The lutel fowl hath hyre wyl on hyre lud to synge,
 Ich libbem lonclonginge for semlokest of all thyng.
 He may me blysee bringe icham in hire banndonn,
 An hendy happe ichabbe yhent ichot from hevене it is me sent.

¹ Yet. ² Knew not. ³ Lively.

⁴ Sic.

⁵ *Blue*, Complexion.

⁶ Merriest.

⁷ MSS. Harl. 2253. fol. membran. f. 72. b.

⁸ MSS. *ibid.* f. 66. The pieces which I have cited from this manuscript, appear to be of the hand-writing of the reign of Edward the first.

From all wymmen mi love is lent and lyht on Alisoun,
 On hers here is fayre ynoh, hire browe bronne, hire eye blake,
 With lossum chere he on me lok with middel smal and welymake,
 Bote he me wolle to hire take, &c¹.

The following song, containing a description of the spring, displays glimmerings of imagination, and exhibits some faint ideas of poetical expression. It is, like the three preceding, of the Norman Saxon school, and extracted from the same inexhaustible repository. I have transcribed the whole.

In Mayhit murgeth when hit dawes ²	In dounes with this dueres plawes ³ ,
Ant lef is lyght on lynde ;	Blosmes brideth on the bowes,
Al this wylde whytes vowes,	So wel ych under-fynde.
The thresteleue ⁴ hym threteth so,	Away is huere wynter do,
When woderove yngeth ferly fere,	And blyleth on huere wynter wele,
That al the wode ryngeth ;	The rose rayleth hir rode,
The leaves on the lyhte wode	Waxen all with will ;
The mone mandeth hire bleo	The lilie is lossum to scho ;
The fengle and the fille	Wowes this wilde drakes,
Mile huere makes.	As streme that still
Mody moneth so doth mo.	Ichott ycham on of tho
For love that likes ille,	The mone mandeth hire liht,
When briddes syngeth breme,	Deawes donneth the donnes
Deores with huere derne rounes,	Domes forte deme,
Wormes woweth under cloude,	Wymmen waxith wondir proude,
So wel hyt wol him seme	Yef me shall wonte wile of on
This weale is wole forgon	Ant whyt in wode be fleme ⁵ .

The following hexastic on a similar subject, is the product of the same rude period, although the context is rather more intelligible : but it otherwise deserve a recital, as it presents an early sketch of a favorite and fashionable stanza.

Lentenys come with love to tonne,	With blosmen and with briddes ronne.
That al this blisse bryngeth :	Dayes ezes in this dales
Notes suete of nightingales,	Vch foul songe singeth.

¹ MSS. Harl. 2253. fol. membran. f. 69, b.

² "It is merry at dawn."

³ Plays.

⁴ Throstle. Thrush.

⁵ MSS. *ibid.* ut sup. f. 71. b. 'In the same stile, as it is manifestly of the same antiquity, the following little descriptive song, on the Approach of Summer, deserves notice. MSS. HARL. 978. f. 5.

*Sumer is i cumen,
 Groweth sed, and bloweth med,
 Sing, cucu, cucu.
 Louth after calve cu ;
 Bucke verteth :
 Wel sings thu cucu ;*

*Lhude sing cucu :
 And springeth the wde nu.
 Awe bleteth after lomb,
 Bulluc sterteth,
 Murie sing, cucu :
 Ne swik thou never nu.*

That is, 'Summer is coming : Loud sing Cuckow ! Groweth seed, and bloweth mead, and 'springeth the wood now. Ewe bleateth after lamb, loweth cow after calf ; bullock starteth, 'buck verteth :¹ merry sing, Cuckow ! Well singest thou, Cuckow, Nor cease to sing now. This is the most ancient English song that appears in our manuscripts, with the musical notes annexed. The music is of that species of composition which is called *Canon in the Unison*, and is supposed to be of the fifteenth century.

⁶ MSS. *ibid.* f. 71. b.

¹ Goes to harbour among the fern.

This specimen will not be improperly succeeded by the following elegant lines, which a contemporary poet appears to have made in a morning walk from Peterborough on the blessed Virgin ; but whose genius seems better adapted to descriptive than religious subjects.

Now skruketh rose and lylie flour,
That whilen ber that suete favour
In somer, that suete tyde ;
Ne is no quene so stark ne stour,
Ne no luedy so bryht in bour.
That ded ne shal by glyde ;

Whoso wol fleshye lust for-gon and hevene-blisse abyde
On Jhesu be is thoht anon, that tharled was ys side¹.

To which we may add a song, probably written by the same author, on the five joys of the blessed Virgin.

Ase y me rod this ender day,
By grene wode, to seche play ;
Mid herte y thohte al on a May.
Sueteste of al thing ;

Lithe, and ich on tell may al of that suete thinge².

In the same pastoral vein, a lover, perhaps of the reign of king John, thus addresses his mistress, whom he supposes to be the most beautiful girl, ' Bituene Lyncolne and Lyndeseye, Northampton and Lounde³.'

When the nytenhale singes the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, gras, and blosme, springes in Avril y wene.
Ant love is to myn harte gon with one spere so kene
Nyht and day my blood hit drynkes myn hart deth me tene⁴.

Nor are these verses unpleasing in somewhat the same measure.

My deth y love, my lyf ich nate for a levedy shene,
Heo is brith so daies liht, that is on me wel sene.
Al y falewe so doth the lef in somir when hit is grene,
Zef mi thoht helpeth me noht to whom schal I me menc?
Ich have loved at this yere that y may love na more
Ich have sicked moni syh, lemon, for thin ore,
. . . my love never the ner and that me reweth sore ;
Sute lemon thenck on me ich have loved the sore,
Sute lemon, I preye the, of love one speche,
While y lyve in worlde so wyde other nill I seche⁵.

Another, in the following little poem, enigmatically compares his mistress, whose name seems to be Joan, to various gems and flowers. The writer is happy in his alliteration, and his verses are tolerably harmonious,

Ic hot a burde in a bour, ase beryl so bryght
Ase saphyr ih selver semely on syht,

¹ Ibid. f. 8o.

² MSS. *ibid.* f. 8r. b.

³ London.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 8o. b.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 8o. b.

Ase jasper¹ the gentil that lemeth² with lyht,
 Ase gernet in³ golde and rubye wel ryht,
 Ase onycle⁴ he is on y holden on hyht ;
 Ase diamand the dere in day when he is dyht :
 He is coral yend with Cayser and knyght,
 Ase emeraude a morewen this may haveth myht.
 The myht of the margaryte haveth this mai mere,
 Ffor charbocele iche hire chase bi chyn and bi chere,
 Hire rede ys as rose that red ys on ryse⁵,
 With lilye white leves lossum he ys,
 The primros he passeth, the penenke of prys,
 With alisaundre thareto ache and anys :
⁶Coynte as columbine such hire⁷ cande ys,
 Glad under gore in gro and in grys
 Heo is blosme upon bleo brihtest under bis
 With celydone ant sange as thou thi self sys,
 From Weye he is wisist into Wyrhale,
 Hire nome is in a note of the nyhtegale ;
 In a note is hire nome nempneth hit non
 Who so ryht redeth ronne to Johon⁸.

The curious Harleian volume, to which we are so largely indebted has preserved a moral tale, a Comparison between age and youth, where the stanza is remarkably constructed. The various sorts of versification which we have already seen, evidently prove, that much poetry had been written, and that the art had been greatly cultivated before this period.

Herkne to my ron, *Of elde al bou yt ges.*
 As ich ou tell con,
 Of a mody mon, *Soth without les*
 Hihte Maximion,
 Clerc he was ful god, *Nou herkne hou it wes⁹.*
 So moni mon undirstod

For the same reason a sort of elegy on our Saviour's cruifiction should not be omitted. It begins thus :

I syke when y singe for sorewe that y se
 When y with wyinge bihold upon the tre,
 Ant se Jhesu the fueete
 Is hert blod for-lete,
 For the love of me ;
 Ys woundes waxen wete,
 Thei wepen, still and mete,
 Marie reneweth me¹⁰.

Nor an alliterative ode on heaven, death, judgement, &c.

Middel-erd for mon was mad,
 Un mihti aren is meste mede,
 This hedy hath on honde yhad,
 That hevene hem is haste to hede,

¹ Jasper.
⁷ Branch.

² Streams shines.

³ Garnet.

⁴ Onyx.

⁵ Quaint.

⁶ White complexion.

⁸ MSS. *ibid.* f. 63.

⁹ *Ibid.* f. 82.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* f. 80.

Ich erde a blisse budel us bade, *That he ben derne done.*
 The dreri domesdai to drede,
 Of sinful sauhting sone he sad,
 That derne doth this derne dede,
 This wrakefall werkes under wede,
 In soule soteleth sone¹.

Many of these measures were adopted from the French chansons².
 I will add one or two more specimens.

On our Saviour's Passion and Death.

Jesu for thi muchele might	Thou zef us of thi grace,
That we mowe day and nyht	Thenken of thi face
In myn hert it doth me god,	When y thenke on Jhesu blod
That ran down bi ys syde ;	From is harte doune to ys fote,
For ous he spradde is harte blode,	His wondes were so wyde ³ .

On the same subject.

Lutel wot hit any mon
 How love hym haveth y bounde,
 That for us o the rode ron,
 Ant boht us with is wonde ;
 The love of him us haveth y maked found,
 And y cast the grimly gost to ground ;
 Ever and oo, nyht and day, he haveth us in his thothe,
 He nul nout leose that he so deore boht⁴.

The following are on love and gallantry. The poet, named Richard, professes himself to have been a great writer of love songs.

Weping haveth myn wonges wet,	For wilked worke ant wone of wyt,
Unblithe y be tyl y ha bet,	Bruches broken ase bok byt ;
Of levedis love that y ha let,	That lemeth al with luefly lyt,
Ofte in songe y have hem set	That is unsemly ther hit fyt.
Hit fyt and semethe noht,	Ther hit ys seid in song
That y have of them wroht,	Y wis hit is all wrong ⁵ .

It was customary with the early scribes, when stanzas consisted of short lines, to throw them together like prose. As thus :

' A wayle whiyt as whalles bon | a grein in golde that godly shon | a
 ' tortle that min hart is on | in tonnes trewe | Hire gladship nes never
 gon | while y may glewe⁶.'

Sometimes they wrote three or four verses together as one line.

With longynge y am lad | on molde y waxe mad | a maide marreth me.
 Y grede y grone un glad | for selden y am sad | that semely for te see.
 Levedi thou wewe me | to routhe thou havest me rad | be bote of
 that y bad | my lyf is long on the⁷.

Again,

¹ Ibid. f. 62. b.

² See MSS. Harl. ut. supr. f. 49. 76.

³ Ibid. f. 79. Probably this song has been somewhat modernised by transcribers.

⁴ Ibid. f. 128. These lines afterwards occur, burlesqued and parodied, by a writer of the same age.

⁵ Ibid. f. 66.

⁶ Ut supr. f. 67.

⁷ Ibid. 63. b.

Most i rydden by rybbes dale | wilde wymmen for te wale | ant
 welde wreek ich wolde :
 Founde were the feirest on | that ever was mad of blod ant bon—in
 boure best with blode¹.

This mode of writing is not uncommon in ancient manuscripts of French poetry. And some critics may be inclined to suspect, that the verses which we call Alexandrine, accidentally assumed their form merely from the practice of absurd transcribers, who frugally chose to fill their pages to the extremity, and violated the metrical structure for the sake of saving their vellum. It is certain, that the common stanza of four short lines may be reduced into two Alexandrines, and on the contrary. I have before observed, that the Saxon poem cited by Hickes consisting of one hundred and ninety-one stanzas, is written in stanzas in the Bodleian, and in Alexandrines in the Trinity manuscript at Cambridge. How it came originally from the poet I will not pretend to determine.

Our early poetry often appears in satirical pieces on the established and eminent professions. And the writers, as we have already seen, succeeded not amiss when they clothed their satire in allegory. But nothing can be conceived more scurrilous and illiberal than their satires when they descend to mere invective. In the British Museum, among other examples which I could mention, we have a satirical ballad on the lawyers², and another on the clergy, or rather some particular bishop. The latter begins thus :

Hyrd-men hatieth ant vch mones hyne,
 For ever uch a parosshe heo polketh in pyne
 Ant clastreth wyf heore celle :
 Nou wol vch fol clerc that is fayly
 Wend to the byshop ant bugge bayly,
 Nys no wyt in is nolle³.

The elder French poetry abounds in allegorical satire : and I doubt not that the author of the satire on the monastic profession, cited above copied some French satire on the subject. Satire was one species of the poetry of the Provencal troubadours. Anselm Fayditt, a troubadour of the eleventh century, who will again be mentioned, wrote a sort of satirical drama, called the HERESY of the FATHERS, HEREGIA DEL PREYRES, a ridicule on the council which condemned the Albigenses. The papal legates often fell under the lash of these poets ; whose favour they were obliged to court, but in vain, by the promise of ample gratuities⁴. Hugues de Bercy, a French monk, wrote in the twelfth century a very lively and severe satire ; in which no person, not even himself, was spared, and which he called the BIBLE, as containing nothing but truth⁵.

¹ Ibid. f. 66.

⁴ Fauchett, Rec. p. 141

² MSS. ut sup. f. 70. b.

⁵ Fontenelle, Hist. Theatr. Fr. p. 18. edit. 1742.

³ Ibid. f. 71.

In the Harleian manuscripts I find an ancient French poem, yet respecting England, which is a humorous panegyric on a new religious order called LE ORDRE DE BEL EYSE. This is the exordium.

Qui vodra a moi entendre	Oyr purra e aprendre
L'estoyre de un ORDRE NOVEL	Qe mout est delitous bel.

The poet ingeniously feigns, that his new monastic order consists of the most eminent nobility and gentry of both sexes, who inhabit the monasteries assigned to it promiscuously; and that no person is excluded from this establishment who can support the rank of a gentleman. They are bound by their statutes to live in perpetual idleness and luxury: and the satyrist refers them for a pattern or rule of practice in these important articles, to the monasteries of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, Beverley in Yorkshire, the Knights Hospitalers, and many other religious orders then flourishing in England.¹

When we consider the feudal manners, and the magnificence of our Norman ancestors, their love of military glory, the enthusiasm with which they engaged in the crusades, and the wonders to which they must have been familiarised from those eastern enterprises we naturally suppose what will hereafter be more particularly proved, that their retinues abounded with minstrels and harpers, and that their chief entertainment was to listen to the recital of romantic and martial adventures. But I have been much disappointed in my searches after the metrical tales which must have prevailed in their times. Most of those old heroic songs are perished, together with the stately castles in whose halls they were sung. Yet they are not so totally lost as we may be apt to imagine. Many of them still partly exist in the old English metrical romances, which will be mentioned in their proper places; yet divested of their original form, polished in their style, adorned with new incidents, successively modernised by repeated transcription and recitation, and retaining little more than the outlines of the original composition. This has not been the case of the legendary and other religious poems written soon after the conquest, manuscripts of which abound in our libraries. From the nature of their subject they were less popular and common; and being less frequently recited, they became less liable to perpetual innovation or alteration.

The most antient English metrical romance which I can discover is entitled the GESTE OF KING HORN. It was evidently written after the crusades had begun, is mentioned by Chaucer², and probably still remains in its original state. I will first give the substance of the story, and afterwards add some specimens of the composition. But I must premise, that this story occurs in very old French metre in the MSS. of the British Museum³, so that probably it is a translation: a

¹ MSS. *ibid.* f. 121. ² Rim. Thop. 3402. Urr. ³ MSS. Harl. 527. b. f. 59. Ced mem.

circumstance which will throw light on an argument pursued hereafter, proving that most of our metrical romances are translated from the French.

Mury, king of the Saracens, lands in the kingdom of Suddene, where he kills the king named Allof. The queen, Godylt, escapes ; but Mury seizes on her son Horne, a beautiful youth aged fifteen years, and puts him into a galley, with two of his play-fellows, Achulph and Fykenyld : the vessel being driven on the coast of the kingdom of Westnesse, the young prince is found by Aylmar king of that country, brought to court, and delivered by Athelbrus his steward, to be educated in hawking, harping, titling, and other courtly accomplishments. Here the princess Rymenild falls in love with him, declares her passion, and is betrothed. Horne, in consequence of this engagement, leaves the princess for seven years ; to demonstrate, according to the ritual of chivalry, that by seeking and accomplishing dangerous enterpriseshe deserved her affection. He proves a most valorous and invincible knight : and at the end of seven years, having killed king Mury, recovered his father's kingdom, and atchieved many signal exploits, recovers the princess Rymenild from the hands of his treacherous knight and companion Fykenyld ; carries her in triumph to his own country, and there reigns with her in great splendour and prosperity. The poem itself begins and proceeds thus :

Alle heo ben blythe, that to my songe ylythe¹ :
 A songe yet ule ou singe of Alloff the god kynge,
 Kynge he was by weste the whiles hit y leste ;
 And Godylt his gode quene, no feyroke myhte bene,
 Ant huere sone hihte Horne, feyroke childe ne myhte be borne :
 For reyne ne myhte by ryne ne sonne myhte shine
 Feyror childe than he was, bryht so ever eny glas,
 So whyte so eny lilye floure, so rose red was his colour ;
 He was feyre ant eke bold, and of fyfteene wynter old,
 This non his yliche in none kinges ryche.
 Tueye feren² he hadde, that he with him ladde,
 Al rychemenne sonne and al suyth feyre gromes,
 Weth hem forte pley anuste³ he loved tueye,
 That on was hoten Achulph child, and that other Ffykenild,
 Aculph was the best, and Ffykenyld the werste,
 Yt was upon a somersday also, as ich one telle may,
 Allof the gode kynge rode upon his pleying,
 Bi the se side, there he was woned to ride ;
 With him ne ryde bot tuo, at to felde hue were tho :
 He fond bi the stronde, aryved on is lond,
 Shipes systene of Sarazins kene :
 He asked what hue sohten other on his lond brohten.

But I hasten to that part of the story where prince Horne appears at the court of the king of Westnesse.

¹ Listen.

² Companions.

³ Alike.

The kyng com into hall, among his knyghtes alle,
 Forth he cleped Athelbrus, his stewarde, him seyde thus :
 'Steward tal thou here my fundling for to lere,
 'Of some mystere of woode and of ryvere¹,
 'And toggen othe harpe with his nayles sharpe²,
 'And teche at the listes that thou ever wistes,
 'Byfore me to kerven, and of my course to serven³,
 'Ant his feren devyse without other surmise ;
 'Horne-childe, thou understand, teche hym of harpe and songe.'
 Athelbrus gon leren Horne and hyse seren ;
 Horne mid herte laghte al that mon hym taghte,
 Within court and withoute, and overall aboute,
 Lovede men Horne-child, and most him loved Ymenild
 The kinges owne dohter, for he was in hire thohte,
 Hire loved him in hire mod, for he was faire and eke gode,
 And that tyne ne dorste at worde and myd hem spek ner a worde,
 Ne in the halle, amonge the knyghtes alle,
 Hyre forewe and hire payne nolde never fayne,
 Bi daye ne bi nyhte for here speke ne myhte,
 With Horne that was so feir and fre, tho hue ne myhte with him be,
 In herte hue had care and wo, and thus hire bihote hire tho :
 Hue sende hyre sonde Athelbrus to honde,
 That he come here to, and also childe Horne do,
 In to hire boure, for hue bigon to loure,
 And the fond⁴ sayde, that seek was the mayde,
 And bed hym quyke for hue nis non blyke.
 The stewarde was in huerte wo, for he wist whit he shulde do,
 That Rymenyld byfohte gret wonder him thohte ;
 About Horne he yinge to boure forte bringe,
 He thohte en his mode hit nes for none gode ;
 He toke with him another, Athulph Horne's brother⁵,
 'Athulph, quoth he, ryht anon thou shalt with me to boure gon,
 'To speke with Rymenyld stille, and to wyte hire wille,
 'Thou art Horne's yliche, thou shalt hire by suyke,
 'Sore me adrede that hire wil Horne mys rede.'

¹ So Robert de Brunne of king Marian. Hearne's Rob. Gloc. p. 622.

—Marian faire in chere He couthe of wod and ryvere
 In alle maner of venrie, &c.

² In another part of the poem he is introduced playing on his harpe.

Horne fett hi abenche, his harpe he gan clenche.
 He made Rymenild a lay ant he seide weilaway, &c.

In the chamber of a bishop of Winchester at Merdon castle, now ruined, we find mention made of benches only. Comp. MSS. J. Gerveys, Episcop. Winton 1266. 'Idem red. comp. 'de ii. menfis in aula ad magnum descum. Et de iii. menfis, ex una parte, et ii. menfis ex altera 'parte cum tressellis in aula. Et de i. mensa cum tressellis in camera dom, episcopi. Et v. formis in eadem camera.' Descus, in old English *dees*, is properly a canopy over the high table. See a curious account of the goods in the palace of the bishop of Nivernois in France in the year 1287, in Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 984. col. 2.

³ According to the rules of chivalry, every knight before his creation passed through two offices. He was first a page ; and at fourteen years of age he was formally admitted an esquire. The esquires were divided into several departments ; that of the body, of the chamber, of the stable, and the carving esquire. The latter stood in the hall at dinner, where he carved the different dishes with proper skill and address, and directed the distribution of them among the guests. The inferior offices had also their respective esquires. Mem. anc. Cheval. i. 16. seq.

⁴ Messenger.

⁵ Companion, friend.

Athelbrus and Athulf tho to hire boure both ygo,
 Upon Athulf childe Rymenilde con wox wilde,
 Hue wende Horne it were, that you hadde there ;
 Hue setten adown stille, and seyden hire wille,
 In her armes tweye Athulf she con leye,
 'Horne, quoth heo, wellong I have lovede thee strong,
 'Thou shalt thy truth plyht in myne honde with ryht,
 'Me to spouse welde and iche loverde to helde.'
 So stille so hit were, Athulf seide in her ere,
 'Ne tel thou no more speche may y the byseche
 'Thi tale—thou linne, for Horne his nout his ynne, &c.'

At length the princess finds she has been deceived, the steward is severely reprimanded, and Prince Horne is brought to her chamber ; when, says the poet,

Of is fayre syhte al that boure gan lyhte¹.

It is the force of the story in these pieces that chiefly engages our attention. The minstrels had no idea of conducting and describing a delicate situation. The general manners were gross, and the arts of writing unknown. Yet this simplicity sometimes pleases more than the most artificial touches. In the mean time, the pictures of ancient manners presented by these early writers, strongly interest the imagination : especially as having the same uncommon merit with the pictures of manners in Homer, that of being founded in truth and reality, and actually painted from the life. To talk of the grossness and absurdity of such manners is little to the purpose ; the poet is only concerned in the justness and faithfulness of the representation.

SECTION II.

HITHERTO we have been engaged in examining the state of our poetry from the conquest to the year 1200, or rather afterwards. It will appear to have made no very rapid improvement from that period. Yet as we proceed, we shall find the language losing much of its antient barbarism and obscurity, and approaching more nearly to the dialect of modern times.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry the third, a poem occurs, the date of which may be determined with some degree of certainty. It is a satirical song, or ballad, written by one of the adherents of Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, a powerful baron, soon after the battle of Lewes, which was fought in the year 1264, and proved very fatal to the interests of the king. In this decisive

¹ MSS. *ibid.* f. 83. Where the title is written, 'þe geste of kynge Horne.' There is a copy, much altered and modernised, in the Advocates library at Edinburgh, W. 4. i. Numb. xxxiv. The title *Horn-child and Maiden Rynivel*. The beginning,
 Mi leve frende dere, Herken and ye shall here.

action, Richard king of the Romans, his brother Henry III, and prince Edward, with many others of the royal party, were taken prisoners.

I.—Sitteth alle stille, ant herkeneth to me :
The kynge of Alemaigne¹ bi mi leaute²,
Thritti thousand pound askede he
For te make the pees³ in the countre⁴,
And so so he dude more.
Richard, thah⁵ thou be ever tricchard⁶,
Tricthen shall thou never more.

II.—Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he was kying,
He spende al is tresour opon fwyvyng,
Haveth he nout of Walingford oferlyng⁷,
Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng⁸,
Maugre Wyndesore⁹.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

III.—The kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel,¹⁰
He saisede the mulne for a castel,¹¹
With hare¹² sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,
He wende that he sayles were mangonel¹³.
To help Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

IV.—The kyng of Alemaigne gederede¹⁴ ys ost,
Makede hym a castel of a mulne post¹⁵
Wende with is prude¹⁶, ant is muckele best,
Brohte from Almayne mony sori gost¹⁷
To store Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou, &c.

¹ The king of the Romans.

² Loyalty.

³ Peace.

⁴ The barons made this offer of thirty thousand pounds to Richard.

⁵ Though.

⁶ Treacherous.

⁷ *Overlying*, i.e., superior. But perhaps the word is *osterlyng*, for *esterlyng*, a French piece of money. Wallingford was one of the honours conferred on Richard, at his marriage with Sanchia daughter of the count of Provence.

⁸ 'Let him have, as he brews, poison to drink.'

⁹ Windsor-castle was one of the king's chief fortresses.

¹⁰ Thought to do full well.

¹¹ Some old chronicles relate, that at the battle of Lewes Richard was taken in a windmill, Hearne MSS. Coll. vol. 106. p. 82. Robert of Gloucester mentions the same circumstance. edit. Hearne, p. 547.

The king of Alemaigne was in a windmulle income.

Richard and prince Edward took shelter in the Grey-friars at Lewes, but were afterwards imprisoned in the castle of Wallingford. Hearne's Langtoft, Gloss. p. 616. And Rob. Glouc. p. 548. Robert de Brunne, a poet of whom I shall speak at large in his proper place, translates the onset of this battle with some spirit, edit. Hearne, p. 217.

Symon come to the felde, and put up his banere,

The king schewed forth his schelde, his dragon ful austere :

The kyng said on hie, *ieu vous desfe*, &c.

¹² Their.

¹³ Battering-rams.

¹⁴ Gathered.

¹⁵ Mill-post.

¹⁶ Pride.

¹⁷ He brought with him many foreigners, when he returned to England, from taking possession of his dignity of king of the Romans. This gave great offence to the barons. It is here insinuated, that he intended to garrison Windsor-castle with these foreigners. The baron obliged him to dismiss most of them soon after he landed in England.

V.—By god that is aboven ous he dude muche synne,
 That let passen over see the erl of Warynne¹ :
 He hath robbed Engeland, the mores, ant the fenne,
 The gold, ant the selver, and y-boren henne,
 For love of Wyndesore.
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

VI.—Syre Simonde de Mountfort hath suore bi ys chyn,
 Hevede² he nou here the erle of Waryn,
 Shuld he never more come to is yn³,
 Ne with shelde, ne with spere, ne with other gyn⁴,
 To help of Wyndesore :
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

VII.—Sire Simond de Montfort hath swore bi ys fot,
 Hevede he nou here Sire Hue of de Bigot,
 Al he shulde grante hen twelfemonth scot⁵
 Shulde he never more with his sot pot,
 To help Wyndefore.
 Richard thah thou, &c.

These popular rhymes had probably no small influence in encouraging Leicester's partisans, and diffusing his faction. There is some humour in imagining that Richard supposed the windmill to which he retreated, to be a fortification ; and that he believed the sails of it to be military engines. In the manuscript from which this specimen is transcribed, immediately follows a song in French, seemingly written by the same poet, on the battle of Evesham, fought the following year ; in which Leicester was killed, and his rebellious barons defeated⁶. Our poet looks upon his hero as a martyr ; and particularly laments the loss of Henry his son, and Hugh le Despenser justiciary of England. He concludes with an English stanza, much in the style and spirit of those last quoted.

A learned and ingenious writer, in a work which places the study of the law in a new light, and proves it to be an entertaining history of manners, has observed, that this ballad on Richard of Alemaigne probably occasioned a statute against libels in the year 1275, under the title, 'Against slanderous reports, or tales to cause discord betwixt king and people⁷.' That this spirit was growing to an extravagance which deserved to be checked, we shall have occasion to bring further proofs.

¹ The earl of Warren and Surrey, and Hugh le Bigot the king's justiciary, mentioned in the seventh stanza, had fled into France.

² Had.

³ Habitation, home.

⁴ Engine, Weapon.

⁵ Year's tax. I had transcribed this ballad from the British Museum, and written these few cursory explanations, before I knew that it was printed in the second edition of doctor Percy's ballads, ii. r. MSS. Harl. ut supr. f. 58. b.

⁶ f. 59. It begins,

Chaunter mestoit | mon ever le voit | en un dure langage,

Tut en pluraunt | first fet le chaunt | de noitre duz Baronage, &c.

⁷ OBSERVATIONS UPON THE STATUTES, CHIEFLY THE MORE ANCIENT, &c. edit. 1766. p. 71.

I must not pass over the reign of Henry III, who died in the year 1272, without observing, that this monarch entertained in his court a poet with a certain salary, whose name was 'Henry de Avranches'. And although this poet was a Frenchman, and most probably wrote in French, yet this first instance of an officer who was afterwards, yet with sufficient impropriety, denominated a *poet laureate* in the English court, deservedly claims particular notice in the course of these annals. He is called *Master Henry the Versifier*²: which appellation perhaps implies a different character from the royal *Minstrel* or *Joculator*. The king's treasurers are ordered to pay this *Master Henry* one hundred shillings, which I suppose to have been a year's stipend, in the year 1251³. And again the same precept occurs under the year 1249⁴. Our Master Henry, it seems, had in some of his verses reflected on the rusticity of the Cornish men. This insult was resented in a Latin satire now remaining, written by Michael Blaunpayne, a native of Cornwall, and recited by the author in the presence of Hugh abbot of Westminster, Hugh de Mortimer official of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop elect of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester⁵. While we are speaking of the *Versifier* of Henry III, it will not be foreign to add, that in the 36th year of the same king, forty shillings and one pipe of wine were given to Richard the king's harper, and one pipe of wine to Beatrice his wife⁶. But why this gratuity of a pipe of wine should also be made to his wife, as well as to the husband,

¹ Carew's Surv. Cornw. p. 58 edit. 1602.

² Henry of Huntingdon says that Walo *Versificator* wrote a panegyric on Henry the first. And that the same Walo *Versificator* wrote a poem on the park which that king made at Woodstock. Apud Leland's Collectan. vol. ii. 303. r. 197. edit 1770. Perhaps he was in the department of Henry mentioned in the text. One Gualo, a Latin poet, who flourished about this time, is mentioned by Bale, iii. 5. and Pitts, p. 233. He is commended in the *POLICRATICON*. A copy of his Latin hexametrical satire on the monks is printed by Mathias Flacius, among miscellaneous Latin poems *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu*, p. 489. Basil. 1557. oct.

³ 'Magistro Henrico Versificatori.' Madox. Hist. Excheq. p. 268. 'Compare Tanner in JOANNES CORNUBIENSIS, who recites his other pieces. BIBL. p. 432. Notes, f. g.

⁴ Ibid. p. 674. In MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. I find, in John of Hoveden's *Salutationes quinquaginta Mariæ*. 'Mag. Henricus, VERSIFICATOR MAGNUS, de B. Virgine, &c.'

⁵ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Arch. Bodl. 29, in pergam, 4to. viz. 'Versus magistri Michaelis Cornu-b'ensis contra Mag. Henricum Abridensem coram dom. Hugone abbate Westmon. et aliis.' fol. 81. b. *Princ.* 'ARCHIPOETA vide quod non sit cura tibi de.' also fol. 83. b. Again, fol. 85.

Pendo poeta prius te diximus ARCHIPOETAM,
Quam pro postico nunc dicimus esse poetam, Imo poeticulum, &c.

Archipoeta means here the *king's chief poet*.

In another place our Cornish satirist thus attacks master Henry's person.

Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris, et latus apri;
Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens et gena muli;
Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, et color undique mauri.

In a blank page of the Bodleian manuscript, from which these extracts are made, is written, 'Iste liber constat fratri Johanni de Wallis monacho Rameseye.' The name is elegantly enriched with a device. This manuscript contains, among other things, *Planctus de Excidio Trojæ*, by Hugo Prior de Montacuto, in rhyming hexameters and pentameters, viz. fol. 89. Camden cites other Latin verses of Michael Blaunpaine, whom he calls 'Merry Michael the Cornish poet' Rem. p. 10. See also p. 489. edit. 1674. He wrote many other Latin pieces, both in prose and verse.

⁶ Rot. P. an 36. Henr. iii. 'Et in uno dolio vini empto et dato magistro Ricardo Citharistæ regis, xl. fol. per Br. Reg. Et in uno dolio empto et dato Beatrici uxori ejusdem Ricardi.'

who from his profession was a genial character, appears problematical according to our present ideas.

The first poet whose name occurs in the reign of Edward I, and indeed in these annals, is Robert of Glocester, a monk of the abbey of Glocester. He has left a poem of considerable length, which is a history of England in verse, from Brutus to the reign of Edward I. It was evidently written after the year 1278, as the poet mentions king Arthur's sumptuous tomb, erected in that year before the high altar of Glastonbury church¹; and he declares himself a living witness of the remarkable dismal weather which distinguished the day on which the battle of Evesham above mentioned was fought, in the year 1265². From these and other circumstances this piece appears to have been composed about the year 1280. It is exhibited in the MSS. is cited by many antiquaries, and printed by Hearne, in the Alexandrine measure: but with equal probability might have been written in four-lined stanzas. This rhyming chronicle is totally destitute of art or imagination. The author has clothed the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth in rhyme, which have often a more poetical air in Geoffrey's prose. The language is not much more easy or intelligible than that of many of the Norman-Saxon poems quoted in the preceding section: it is full of Saxonisms, which indeed abound, more or less, in every writer before Gower and Chaucer. But this obscurity is perhaps owing to the western dialect, in which our monk of Glocester was educated. Provincial barbarisms are naturally the growth of extreme counties, and of such as are situated at a distance from the metropolis: and it is probable, that the Saxon heptarchy, which consisted of a cluster of seven independent states, contributed to produce as many different provincial dialects. In the mean time it is to be considered, that writers of all ages and languages have their affectations and singularities, which occasion in each a peculiar phraseology.

Robert of Gloucester thus describes the sports and solemnities which followed king Arthur's coronation.

The kyng was to ys paleys, tho the servyse was y do³,
 Ylad wyth his menye, and the quene to hire also.
 Vor hii hulde the olde usages, that men wyth men were
 By them sulve, and wymmen by hem sulue also there⁴
 Tho hii were echone ysett, as yt to her stat bycom,
 Kay, king of Aungeo, a thousand knytes nome
 Of noble men, yolothed in ermyne echone
 Of on sywete, and servede at thys noble fest anon.
 Bedwer the botyler, kyng of Normandye,
 Nom also in ys half a vayr companye

¹ Pag. 224. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1724.

² Pag. 560.

³ 'When the service in the church was finished.'

⁴ 'They kept the antient custom at festivals, of placing the men and women separate.
 'Kay, king of Anjou, brought a thousand noble knights clothed in ermine of one suit,
 'or *secta*.'

Of one sywyte¹ wort to servy of the botelerye.
 Byvore the quene yt was also of al suche cortesyse,
 Vor to telle al the noblye thet ther was ydo,
 They my tongue were of stel, me ssolde nocht dure thereto.
 Wymmen ne kepte of no kyngt as in druery²,
 Bote he were in armys wel yproved, and atte leste thrye³.
 That made, lo, the wymmen the chastore lyf lede,
 And the kynghts the stalwordore⁴, and the betere in her dede.
 Sone after thys noble mete⁵, as ryght was of such ryde,
 The kynghts atyled hem aboute in eche syde,
 In feldys and in medys to prove her bachelerye⁶.
 Somme wyth lance, some wyth suerd, wythoute vyleneye,
 Wyth pleyng at tables, other atte chekere⁷.
 Wyth castynge, other with ssettinge⁸, other in some ogyrt manere.
 And wuch so of eny game adde the maystrye,
 The kyng hem of ys gyfteth dyde large cortysye.
 Upe the alurs of the castles the laydes thanne stode,
 And byhulde thys noble game, and wyche kyngts were god.
 All the thre hexte dawes⁹ ylaste thys nobleye
 In halles and in veldes, of mete and eke of pleye.
 Thys men com the verthe¹⁰ day byvore the kyng there,
 And he gef hem large gyftys, evere as hii werthe were.
 Bisshopryches and cherches clerkes he gef somme,
 And castles and townes kyngtes that were ycome¹¹.

Many of these lines are literally translated from Geoffrey of Monmouth. In king Arthur's battle with the giant, at Barbesfleet, there are no marks of Gothic painting. But there is an effort at poetry in the description of the giant's fall.

Tho grislych yal the ssrewe tho, that grislych was his bere,
 He vel doun as a gret ok, that bynethe ycorve were,
 That it thogte that al hul myd the vallynge ssok¹².

That is, 'The cruel giant yelled so horribly, and so vehement was his fall, that he fell down like an oak cut through at the bottom, and all the hill shook while he fell.' But this stroke is copied from Geoffrey of Monmouth; who tells the same miraculous story, and in all the pomp with which it was perhaps dressed up by his favourite fablers.

¹ Brought also, on his part, a fair company, clothed uniformly.'

² Modesty, decorum.

³ Thrice.

⁴ More brave.

⁵ Soon after this noble feast, which was proper at such an occasion, the knights accoutred themselves.'

⁶ Chivalry, courage, or youth.

⁷ Chess. It is remarkable, that among the nine exercises, or accomplishments, mentioned by Kolson, an ancient northern chief, one is Playing at Chess. Bartholin. ii. c. 8. p. 4. 420. This game was familiarised to the Europeans after the crusades. The romances which followed those expeditions are full of it. Kolson, above-mentioned, had made a pilgrimage into the Holy Land. But from the principles advanced in the first INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION, this game might have been known in the North before. In the mean time, it is probable that the Saracens introduced it into Spain before the crusades. It is mentioned by G. of Monmouth, and in the Alexiad of Anna Commena. See Mem. Acad. Lit. v. 232.

⁸ Different ways of playing at chess. 'The ladies stood on the walks made within the battlements of the castle.'

⁹ 'All the three high, or chief days, In halls and fields, of feasting, and turneyng, &c.'

¹⁰ Fourth.

¹¹ Pag. 191, 192.

¹² Pag. 208.

'Exclamavit vero invisus ille; et velut quercus ventorum viribus
'eradicata, cum maximo fonitu corruit.' It is difficult to determine
which is most blameable, the poetical historian, or the prosaic poet.

It was a tradition invented by the old fablers, that giants brought the
stones of Stonehenge from the most sequestered deserts of Africa, and
placed them in Ireland; that every stone was washed with the juices
of herbs, and contained a medical power; and that Merlin the
magician, at the request of king Arthur, transported them from
Ireland, and erected them in circles on the plain of Amesbury, as a
sepulchral monument for the Britons treacherously slain by Hengist.
This fable is thus delivered, without decoration, by Robert of
Glocester.

'Sire kyng, quoth Merlin tho, suche thynges y wis
'Ne bethe for to schewe nogt, but wen gret nede ys,
'For gef iche seid in bismare, other bute it ned were,
'Sone from me he wold wende the gost, that doth me lere¹.
The kyng, tho non other nas bod hym som quoyntise
Bithinke about thilk cors that so noble were and wyse².
'Sire kyng, quoth Merlin tho, gef thou wolt here caste
'In the honour of men, a worke that ever schal ylaste,³
'To the hul of Kylar⁴ send in to Yrlond,
'Aftur the noble stones that ther habbet⁵ lenge ystonde;
'That was the treche of giandes⁶, for a quoynte work ther ys
'Of stones al wyth art ymad, in the world such non ys.
'Ne ther nys nothing that me scholde myd strengthe adoune cast.
'Stode heo here, as heo doth there ever a wolde last⁷.
The kyng somdele to lyghe⁸, tho he herde this tale,
'How mygte, he seyde, suche stones so grete and so faile⁹,
'Be ybroght of so fer lond? And get mist of were,
'Me wolde wene, that in this londe no ston to wonke nere,
'Syre kyng, quoth Merlyn, ne make noght an ydel such lyghyng.
'For yt nys an ydel noght that ich tell this tythyng¹⁰.
'For in the farreste stude of Affric giands while fette¹¹
'Thike stones for medycyne and in Yrlond hem sette,
'While heo wonenden in Yrlond to make here bathes there,
'Ther undir forto bathi wen thei syk were.
'For heo wuld the stones wasch and ther enne bathe ywis.
'For ys no ston ther among that of gret vertu nys¹².

¹ If I should say any thing out of wantonness or vanity, the spirit, or demon, which teaches me, would immediately leave me. 'Nam si ea in derisionem, sive vanitatem proferrem, taceret

² 'Spiritus qui me docet, et cum opus superveniret, recederet.' Galfrid. Mon. viii. 10.

³ 'Bade him use his cunning, for the sake of the bodies of those noble and wise Britons.'

⁴ 'If you would build, to their honour, a lasting monument.

⁵ 'To the hill of Kildare.'

⁶ Have.

⁷ 'The dance of giants.' The name of this wonderful assembly of immense stones.

⁸ 'Grandes sunt lapides, nec est aliquis cujus virtuti cedant. Quod si eo modo, quo ibi positi sunt, circa plateam locabuntur, stabunt in æternum.' Galfrid. Mon. viii. x. 11.

⁹ 'Somewhat laughed.'

¹⁰ 'So great and so many.'

¹¹ Tyding.

¹² 'Giants once brought them from the farthest part of Africa, &c.'

¹³ 'Lavabant namque lapides et infra balnea diffundebant, unde ægroti curabantur. Miscebant etiam cum herbarum confectionibus, unde vulnerati sanabantur. Non est ibi lapis qui medicamento careat.' Galfrid. Mon. ibid.

The kyng and ys conseil radde [rode] the stones forto fette,
 And with gret power of batail gef any more hem lette
 Uter the kynges brother, that Ambrose hett also,
 In another name ychose was therto,
 And fiteene thousand men this dede for to do
 And Merlyn for his quointise thider went also².

If any thing engages our attention in this passage, it is the wildness of the fiction ; in which however the poet had no share.

I will here add Arthur's intrigue with Ygerne.

At the fest of Estre tho kyng sende ys sonde
 That heo comen alle to London the hey men of this londe,
 And the levedys al so god, to ys noble fest wyde,
 For he schulde crowne here, for the hye tyde.
 Alle the noble men of this lond to the noble fest come,
 And heore wyves and heore dogtren with hem mony nome,
 This fest was noble ynow, and nobliche y do ;
 For mony was the faire ledy, that y come was therto.
 Ygerne, Gorloys wyf, was fairest of echon,
 That was contasse of Cornewail, for so fair nas ther non.
 The kyng by huld hire faste y now, and ys herte on hire caste,
 And thogte, thay heo were wyf, to do folye atte laste.
 He made hire semblant fair y now, to non other so gret.
 The erl nas not ther with y payed, tho he yt under so get.
 Astur mete he nom ys wyfe myd stordy med y now,
 And, with oute leve of the kyng, to ys contrei drow.
 The kyng sende to hym tho, to by leve al nygt,
 For he moste of gret consel habbe som insygt.
 That was for nogt. Wolde he nogt the kyng sende get ys sonde.
 That he by levede at ys parlemente, for nede of the londe.
 The kyng was, tho he nolde nogt, anguyssous and wroth.
 For despyte he wolde a wreke be he swor ys oth,
 Bute he come to amendement. Ys power atte laste
 He garkede, and wende forth to Cornewail faste.
 Gorloys ys casteles a store al a boutte.
 In a strong castel he dude ys wyf, for of hire was al ys doute.

¹ Pag. 145. 146. 147. That Stonehenge is a British monument, erected in memory of Hengist's massacre, rests, I believe, on the sole evidence of Geoffry of Monmouth, who had it from the British bards. But why should not the testimony of the British bards be allowed on this occasion? For they did not invent facts, so much as fables. In the present case, Hengist's massacre is an allowed event. Remove all the apparent fiction, and the bards only say, that an immense pile of stones was raised on the plain of Ambresbury in memory of that event. They lived too near the time to forge this origin of Stonehenge. The whole story was recent, and from the immensity of the work itself, must have been still more notorious. Therefore their forgery would have been too glaring. It may be objected, that they were fond of referring every thing stupendous to their favorite hero Arthur. This I grant : but not when known authenticated facts stood in their way, and while the real cause was remembered. Even to this day, the massacre of Hengist, as I have partly hinted, is an undisputed piece of history. Why should not the other part of the history be equally true? Besides the silence of Nennius, I am aware, that this hypothesis is still attended with many difficulties and improbabilities. And so are all the systems and conjectures ever yet framed about this amazing monument. It appears to me, to be the work of a rude people who had some ideas of art : such as we may suppose the Romans left behind them among the Britons. In the mean time I do not remember, that in the very controverted etymology of the word *Stonehenge* the name of HENGIST has been properly or sufficiently considered.

In another hym self he was, for he nolde nogt,
 Gef cas come, that heo were bothe to dethe y brogt.
 The castel, that the erl inne was, the kyng by segede faste,
 For he mygte ys gynnes for schame to the oter caste.
 Tho he was ther sene nygt, and he spedde nogt,
 Igerne the contesse so muche was in ys thogt,
 That he nuste nen other wyt, ne he ne mygte for schame
 Telle yt bute a pryve knygt, Ulfyn was ys name,
 That he truste mest to. And tho the knygt herde this,
 'Syre, he seide, y ne can wyte, wat red here of ys,
 'For the castel ys so strong, that the lady ys inne,
 'For ich wene al the lond ne schulde yt myd strengthe wynne.
 'For the se geth al aboute, but entre on ther nys,
 'And that ys up on harde rockes, and so narw wei it ys,
 'That ther may go bote on and on, that thre men with inne
 'Mygte sle al the londe, er heo com ther inne.
 'And nogt for than, gef Merlyn at thi conseil were,
 'Gef any mygte, he couthe the best red the lere.'
 Merlyn was sone of send, pleid yt was hym sone,
 That he schulde the beste red segge, wat were to done.
 Merlyn was sory ynow for the kyng's folye,
 And natheles, 'Sire kyng, he seide, there mot to maistrie,
 'The erl hath twey men hym nert, Brygthoel and Jordan.
 'Ich wol make thi self gef thou wolt, thoru art that y can,
 'Habbe al tho fourme of the erl, as thou were rygt he,
 'And Olfyn as Jordan, and as Brithoel me.'
 This art was al clene y do, that al changet he were.
 Heo thre in the otheres forme, the selve at yt were.
 Ageyn even he wende forth, nuste nomon that cas,
 To the castel heo come rygt as yt evene was.
 The porter y se ys lord come, and ys moste privey twei,
 With god herte he lette ys lord yn, and ys men beye.
 The contas was glad y now, tho hire lord to hire com
 And eyther other in here armes myd gret joye nom.
 Tho heo to bedde com, that so longe a two were,
 With hem was so gret delyt, that bitwene hem there
 Bi gete was the beste body, that ever was in this londe,
 Kyng Arthure the noble mon, that ever worthe understonde.
 Tho the kyng's men nuste amorwe, wer he was bi come,
 Heo ferde as wodemmen, and wende he were ynome.
 Heo a saileden the castel, as yt schulde a doun anon,
 Heo that with inne were, garkede hem echon,
 And smyte out in a fole wille, and fogte myd here fon :
 So that the erl was y slave, and of ys men mony on,
 And the castel was y nome, and the folk to sprad there,
 Get, tho thei hadde al ydo, heo ne fonde not the kyng there.
 The tything to the contas sone was y come,
 That hire lord was y slawe, and the castel y nome.
 Ac tho the messinger hym sey the erl, as hym thogte,
 That he hadde so foule plow, ful sore hym of thogte,
 The contasse made som del deol, for no sothnesse heo nuste.

The kyng, for to glade here, bi clupte hire and cust.
 'Dame, he seide, no fixt thou wel, that les yt ys al this :
 'Ne wost thou wel ich am olyue. Ich wole the segge how it ys.
 'Out of the castel stilleliche ych wende al in privelyte,
 'That none of myne men yt nuste, for to speke with the.
 'And tho heo miste me to day, and nuste wer ich was,
 'Heo ferden rigt as gydie men, myd wam no red nas,
 'And fogte with the folk with oute, and habbeth in this manere
 'Y lore the castel and hem selue, ac well thou wost y am here.
 'Ac for my castel, that is ylore, sory ich am y now,
 'And for myn men, that the kyng and ys power slog.
 'Ac my power is now to lute, ther for y drede sore,
 'Leste the kyng us nyme here, and sorwe that we were more.
 'Ther fore ich wole, how so yt be, wende agen the kynge,
 'And make my pays with hym, ar he us to schame brynge.'
 Forth he wende, and het ys men that gef the kyng come,
 That hei schulde hym the castel gelde, ar he with strengthe it nome.
 So he come towards ys men, ys own forme he nom,
 And levede the erle's fourme, and the kyng Uter by com.
 Sore hym of thogte the erle's deth, ac in other half he fonde
 Joye in hys herte, for the contasse of spoushed was unbounde,
 Tho he hadde that he wolde, and payسد with ys son,
 To the contasse he wende agen, me let hym in a non.
 Wat halt it to talle longe: bute heo were seth at on,
 In gret loue long y now, wan yt nolde other gon;
 And hadde to gedere this noble sone, that in the world ys pere nas,
 The kyng Arture, and a dogter, Anne hire name was¹.

In the latter end of the reign of Edward the first, many officers of the French king having extorted large sums of money from the citizens of Bruges in Flanders, were murdered: and an engagement succeeding, the French army, commanded by the count du Saint Pol, was defeated; upon which the king of France, who was Philip the Fair, sent a strong body of troops, under the conduct of the count de Artois, against the Flemings: he was killed, and the French were almost all cut to pieces. On this occasion the following ballad was made in the year 1301².

Lusteneth, lordinges, bothe zonge and olde,
 Of the Freynshe men that were so proude ante bolde
 How the Flemmyshe men bohten hem ante solde,
 Upon a Wednesday,

Betere hem were at home in huere londe,
 Than force seche Flemishe bi the sea stronde
 Whare rouch moni Frensh wyf wryngeth hire honde,
 And syngeth welaway.

The kynge of Ffrance made statutes newe,
 In the londe of Flaundres among false ant trewe,
 That the communs of Bruges ful sore can arewe,
 And seiden among hem,

¹ Chron. p. 156.

² The last battle was fought that year, Jul. 7.

Gedere we us to gedere hardilyche at ene,
 Take we the bailifs bi twenty and bi tene,
 Clappe we of the hevedes an oven o the grene,
 Ant cast we in the fen.

The webbes ant the fullaris assembled hem alle,
 And makeden huere counsail in huere commune halle,
 Token Peter conyng huere kynge to call
 Ant be huere cheveteyne, &c¹.

These verses shew the familiarity with which the affairs of France were known in England, and display the disposition of the English towards the French, at this period. It appears from this and previous instances, that political ballads, I mean such as were the vehicles of political satire, prevailed much among our early ancestors. About the present era, we meet with a ballad complaining of the exorbitant fees extorted, and the numerous taxes levied, by the king's officers². There is a libel remaining, written indeed in French Alexandrines, on the commission of trayl-baston³, or the justices so denominated by Edward I., during his absence in the French and Scotch wars, about the year 1306. The author names some of the justices or commissioners, now not easily discoverable : and says, that he served the king both in peace and war in Flanders, Gascony, and Scotland⁴. There is likewise a ballad against the Scots, traitors to Edward I., and taken prisoners at the battles of Dunbar and Kykenclef, in 1305, and 1306⁵. The licentiousness of their rude manners was perpetually breaking out in these popular pasquins, although this species of petulance usually belongs to more polished times.

Nor were they less dexterous than daring in publishing their satires to advantage, although they did not enjoy the many conveniences which modern improvements have afforded for the circulation of public abuse. In the reign of Henry VI., to pursue the topic a little lower, we find a ballad of this species stuck on the gates of the royal palace, severely reflecting on the king and his counsellors then sitting in parliament. This piece is preserved in the Ashmolean museum, with the following Latin title prefixed. '*Copia scedulæ valvis domini regis existentis in parlamento suo tento apud Westmonasterium mense marci anno regni Henrici sexti vicesimo octavo.*' But the ancient ballad was often applied to better purposes : and it appears from a valuable collection of these little pieces, lately published by my ingenious friend and fellow-labourer doctor Percy, in how much more ingenuous a strain they have transmitted to posterity the praises of knightly heroism, the marvels of romantic fiction, and the complaints of love.

At the close of the reign of Edward I., and in the year 1303, a poet

¹ MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 73. b.

² Ibid. f. 64. There is a long half Latin and half French,
 much on the same subject. Ibid. f. 137. b.

³ Spelman and Dufresne in Voc. And Rob. Brunne's Chron. ed Hearne, p. 328.

⁴ MSS. Harl. ibid. f. 113. b.

⁵ Ibid. f. 59.

occurs named Robert Mannyng, but more commonly called Robert de Brunne. He was a Gilbertine canon in the monastery of Brunne, or Bourne, near Depyng in Lincolnshire: but he had been before professed in the priory of Sixhille, a house of the same order, and in the same county. He was merely a translator. He translated into English metre, or rather paraphrased, a French book, written by Grosthead bishop of Lincoln, entitled MANUEL PECHE, or MANUEL de PECHE, that is, the MANUAL OF SINS. This translation was never printed¹. It is a long work, and treats of the decalogue, and the seven deadly sins, which are illustrated with many legendary stories. This is the title of the translator. 'Here bygynneth the boke that men clepyn in Frenshe Robert Groosteste byshop of Lyncoln.' From the Prologue, among other circumstances, it appears that Robert de Brunne designed this performance to be sung to the harp at public entertainments, and that it was written or begun in the year 1303².

For lewed³ men I undyrtoke, In Englyshe tonge to make this boke
 For many beyn of suche manere
 That talys and rymys wyle blethly⁴ here,
 In gamys and festys at the ale⁵ Love men to lestene trotonale⁶:
 To all crystyn men undir sunne, And to gode men of Brunne;
 And specialli al bi name The felaushipe of Symprynghame⁷,
 Roberd of Brunne greteth yow. In alle godenesse that may to prow⁸.
 Of Brymwake yn Kestevene⁹
 Syxe myle besyde Sympryngham evene,
 Y dwelled in the priorye Fyftene yere in cumpanye,
 In the tyme of gode Dane Jone Of Camelton that now is gone;
 In hys tyme was I ther ten yeres
 And knewe and herde of hys maneres;
 Sythyn with Dan Jon of Clyntone Fyve wyntyr wyth hym gan I wone,
 Dan Felyp was maystyr in that tyme
 That I began thys Englyssh ryme
 The yeres of grace fyd¹⁰ than to be
 A thousand and thre hundred and thre.

In that tyme turned y thys In Englysh tonge out of Frankys.

From the work itself I am chiefly induced to give the following specimen; as it contains an anecdote relating to bishop Grosthead his author, who will again be mentioned, and on that account.

¹ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. N. 415. membr fol. Cont. 80. pag. Pr. 'Fadyr and sone and holy goste.' And MSS. Harl. 1701.

² Fol. 1. a.

³ Laymen, illiterate.

⁴ Gladly.

⁵ So in the *Vision* of P. Plowman, fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1550.

I am occupied every day, holy day and other, With idle tales at the Ale &c.
 Again, fol. 1. b.

—Foughten at the Ale

In glotony, godwote, &c.

Chaucer mentions an *Alestake*, Prol. v. 669. Perhaps, a May-pole. And in the *Plowman's Tale*, p. 185. Urr. edit. v. 2110.

And the chief chantours at the nale.

⁶ Truth and all. ⁷ The name of his order. ⁸ Profit. ⁹ A part of Lincolnshire. Chro Br. p. 311. At Lincoln the parlement was in Lyndesay and Kestevene.

Lyndesay is Lincolnshire, *ibid.* p. 248. Story of three monks of Lyndesay, *ibid.* ¹⁰ Fell,

Y shall you tell as I have herd Of the bysshop seynt Roberd,
 Hys toname is¹ Grosteste Of Lyncolne, so seyth the geste.
 He lovede moche to herethe harpe, For mans witte yt makyth sharpe.
 Next hys chamber, besyde hys study,
 Hys harper's chamber was fast the by.
 Many tymes, by nightes and dayes, He hadd solace of notes and layes,
 One askede hem the resun why He hadde delyte in mynstrelsy?
 He answerde hym on thys manere Why he helde the harpe so dere.
 'The vertu of the harp, thurgh skyle and ryght,
 'Wyll destreye the fendys² myght;
 'And to the cros by gode skeyl 'Ys the harpe lykened weyl.—
 'Thirefore, gode men, ye shall lere, 'When ye any gleman³ here,
 'To worshepe God at your power, 'And Davyd in the sauter.⁴
 'Yn harpe and tabour and symphan gle⁵
 'Worship God in trumpes ant sautre:
 'Yn cordes, yn organes, and bells ringying,
 'Yn all these worship the hevene kyng, &c.⁶

But Robert de Brunne's largest work is a metrical chronicle of England⁷. The former part, from Æneas to the death of Cadwallader, is translated from an old French poet called MAISTER WACE or GASSE, who manifestly copied Geoffry of Monmouth⁸, in a poem commonly entitled ROMAN DE ROIS D'ANGLETERRE. It is esteemed one of the oldest of the French romances, and was begun to be written by Eustace, sometimes called Eustache, Wistace, or Huistace, who finished his part under the title of BRUT D'ANGLETERRE, in the year 1155. Hence Robert de Brunne, somewhat inaccurately, calls it simply the BRUT⁹.

¹ Surname. See Rob. Br. Chron. p. 168. 'Thei cald hi this toname, &c.' Fr. 'Est sur-
 nomez, &c.'

² Fiend's The Devil's.

³ Harper. Minstrel.

⁴ Psalter.

⁵ Chaucer R. Sir Thop. v. 3321. Urr. edit. p. 135.

Here wonnith the queene of Fairie, With harpe, and pipe, and *Simphonie*.

⁶ Fol. 30. b. There is an old Latin song in Burton's Melancholy, which I find in this MSS. poem. Burton's Mel. Part iii. § 2. Memb. iii. pag. 423.

⁷ The second part was printed by Hearne at Oxford, which he calls PETER LANGTOFT'S CHRONICLE, 1705. Of the First part Hearne has given us the Prologue, Pref. p. 96. An Extract, ibid. p. 188. And a few other passages in his Glossary to Robert of Gloucester. But the First Part was never printed entire. Hearne says this Chronicle was not finished till the year 1338. Rob. Gloucest. Pref. p. 59. It appears that our author was educated and graduated at Cambridge, from Chron. p. 337.

⁸ In the British Museum there is a fragment of a poem in very old French verse, a romantic history of England, drawn from Geoffrey of Monmouth, perhaps before the year 1200. MSS. Harl. 1605. r. f. 1. Cod. membran. 4to. In the MSS. library of doctor N. Johnston of Pontefract, now perhaps dispersed, there was a MSS. on vellum, containing a history in old English verse from Brute to the 18th year of Edward II. And in that of Basil lord Denbigh, a metrical history in English from the same period, to Henry III. Wanly supposed it to have been of the hand-writing of the time of Edward IV.

⁹ The BRUT OF ENGLAND, a prose Chronicle of England, sometimes continued as low as Henry VI., is a common manuscript. It was at first translated from a French Chronicle [MSS. Harl. 200. 4to.] written in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. I think it is printed by Caxton under the title of *Fructus Temporum*. The French have a famous antient prose romance called BRUT, which includes the history of the Sangreal. I know not whether it is exactly the same. In an old metrical romance, The story of ROLLO, there is this passage MSS. Vernon, Bibl. Bodl. f. 123.

Lordus gif ye wil lesten to me
 As wrytten i fynde in his story

Of Croteye the nobile citee
 Of BRUT the chronicle, &c.

In the British Museum we have, *Le petit Brut*, compiled by Meistre Raufe de Boun, and ending with the death of Edward I. MSS. Harl. 902. f. 1. Cod. chart. fol. It is an abridge-

This romance was soon afterwards continued to William Rufus, by Robert Wace or Vace, Gasse or Gace, a native of Jersey, educated at Caen, canon of Bayeux, and chaplain to Henry II, under the title of *LE ROMAN LE ROU ET LES DES DUCS DE NORMANDIE*, yet sometimes preserving its original one, in the year 1160¹. Thus both parts were blended, and became one work. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum it is thus entitled: '*LE BRUT, le maistre Wace translata de Latin en Franceis de tutt les Reis de Brittainne*?' That is, from the Latin prose history of Geoffry of Monmouth. And that master Wace aimed only at the merit of a translator, appears from his exordial verses.

Maistre Gasse l' a translate Que en conte le verite.

Otherwise we might have suspected that the authors drew their materials from the old fabulous Armoric manuscript, which is said to have been Geoffry's original.

Although this romance, in its ancient and early manuscripts, has constantly passed under the name of its finisher, Wace; yet the accurate Fauchett cites it by the name of its first author Eustace³. And at the same time it is extraordinary, that Robert de Brunne, in his Prologue, should not once mention the name of Eustace, as having any concern in it: so soon was the name of the beginner superseded by that of the continuator. An ingenious French antiquary very justly supposes, that Wace took many of his descriptions from that invaluable and singular monument the *Tapestry of the Norman conquest*, preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Bayeux⁴, and lately engraved and explained in the learned doctor Du Carell's Anglo-Norman ANTIQUITIES. Lord Lyttelton has quoted this romance, and

ment of the grand BRUT. In the same library I find *Liber de BRUTO et de gestis Anglorum metrificatus*. That is, turned into rude Latin hexameters. It is continued to the death of Richard II. Many prose annotations are intermixed. MSS. *ibid.* 1808. 24. f. 31. Ced. membran. 4to. In another copy of this piece, one Peckward is said to be the versifier. MSS. *ib.* 2386. 23. f. 35. In another MSS. the grand BRUT is said to be translated from the French by 'John Maundeule parson of Brunham Thorpe.' MSS. *ibid.* 2279. 3.

¹ Lenglet, *Biblioth. des Romans*, ii. p. 226. 227. Lacombe, *Diction, de vieux Lang. Fr.* pref. p. xviii. Paris. 1767. 8vo. Compare Montfauc. *Catal. Manusc.* ii. p. 1669. Also M. Galland, *Mem. Lit.* iii. p. 426 8vo.

² 3 A. xxi. 3. It occurs again, 4 C. xi. 'Histoire d'Angleterre en vers, par Maister 'Wace.' I cannot help correcting a mistake into which both Wanley and bishop Nicholson have fallen, with regard to this Wace. In the Cotton library, a Saxo-norman MSS. occurs twice, which seems to be a translation of Geoffry's History, or very like it. *Calig. A. ix.* And *Otho C. 13.* 4to. In vellum. The translator is one Lazamon, a priest, born at Ernly on Severn. He says, that he had his original from the book of a French clergyman, named *Wate*; which book *Wate* the author had presented to Eleanor queen of Henry II. So Lazamon in the preface. 'But he nom the thridde, 2700, leide ther amidde: tha makede a 'frenchis clerc; Wate [Wate] wes ihoten, &c.' Now because Geoffry of Monmouth in one of his prefaces, cap. i. b. 1. says, that he received his original from the hands of Water Mapes archdeacon of Oxford; both Wanley and Nicholson suppose that the *Wate* mentioned by, Lazamon, is *Walter* Mapes. Whereas Lazamon undoubtedly means Wace, perhaps written or called Wate, author of *LE ROMAN LE ROU* above-mentioned. Nor is the Saxon *τ* [τ] perfectly distinguishable from c. Wanley's *Catal.* *Hickes's Thesaur.* ii. p. 228. Nicholson *Hist. Libr.* i. 3. And compare Leland's *Coll.* vol. i. P. ii. p. 509. edit. 1770.

³ Rec. p. 82. edit. 1581.

⁴ Mons. Lancelot, *Mem. Lit.* viii. 602. 4to. And see *Hist. Acad. Inscript.* xiii. 41. 4to.

shewn that important facts and curious illustrations of history may be drawn from such obsolete but authentic resources.¹

The measure used by Robert de Brunne, in his translation of the former part of our French chronicle or romance, is exactly like that of his original. Thus the Prologue,

Lordynges that be now here,	If ye wille listene and lere,
All the story of Inglande,	Als Robert Mannyng wryten it fand,
And on Inglysch has it schewed,	Not for the lered but for the lewed;
For tho that on this lond wonn	That the Latin ne Frankys conn,
For to half solace and gamen	In felauschip when tha istt samen
And it is wisdom forto wyttten	
The state of the land, and hef it wryten,	
What manere of folk first it wan,	And of what kynde it first began.
And gude it is for many thynges,	For to here the dedis of kynges,
Whilk were foles, and whilk were wyse,	
And whilk of tham couth most quantyse ;	
And whylk did wrong, and whilk ryght.	
And whilk mayntened pes and fyght.	
Of thare dedes sall be mi sawe,	In what tyme, and of what law,
I sholl yow from gre to gre,	Sen the tyme of Sir Noe :
From Noe unto Eneas,	And what betwixt tham was,
And fro Eneas till Brutus tyme,	That kynde he tells in this ryme.
For Brutus to Cadweladres,	The last Briton that this lande lees,
Alle that kynd and alle the frute	
That come of Brutus that is the Brute ;	
And the ryght Brute is told no more	
Than the Brytons tyme wore.	
After the Bretons the Inglis camen,	
The lordschip of this land thai namen ;	
South, and north, west, and east,	That call men now the Inglis gest.
When thai first among the Bretons,	
That now ere Inglis than were Saxons,	
Saxons Inglis hight all oliche.	Thai aryved up at Sandwyche,
In the kynges synce Vortogerne	
That the lande wolde tham not werne, &c.	
One mayster WACE the Frankes telles	
The Brute all that the Latin spelles,	
Fro Eneas to Cadwaladre, &c.	
And ryght as mayster Wace says,	
I telle myne Inglis the same ways, &c ² .	

The second part of Robert de Brunne's CHRONICLE, beginning from Cadwallader, and ending with Edward I., is translated, in great measure, from the second part of a French metrical chronicle, written in five books, by Peter Langtoft, an Augustine canon of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who wrote not many years before his translator. This is mentioned in the prologue preceding the second part.

¹ Hist. Henr. II. vol iii. p. 180.

² Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 93.

Frankis spech is cald romance,¹ So sais clerkes and men of France.
 Pers of Langtoft, a chanon Schaven in the house of Bridlyngton.
 On Frankis style this storie he wrote Of Inglis kinges, &c.²

As Langtoft had written his French poem in Alexandrines³, the translator, Robert de Brunne, has followed him, the Prologue excepted, in using the double distich for one line, after the manner of Robert of Gloucester. As in the first part he copied the metre of his author Wace. But I will exhibit a specimen from both parts. In the first, he gives us this dialogue between Merlin's mother and king Vortigern, from Master Wace.

Dame, said the kyng, welcom be thow :
 Nedeli at the I mette witte how⁴

Who than gate⁵ thi sone Merlyn And on what maner was he thin ?
 His moder stode a throwe⁶ and thought
 Are scho⁷ to the kyng ansuerd ouht :
 When scho had standen a litelle wight⁸,
 Scho said, by Jhesu in Mari light,
 That I ne saugh hym never ne knewe
 That this knave⁹ on me sewe¹⁰.

Ne I wist, ne I herd, What maner schap with me so ferd¹¹
 But this thing am I woleograunt¹², That I was of elde avenaunt¹³ ;
 One com to my bed I wist, With force he me halsed¹⁴ and kist :
 Als¹⁵ a man I him felte, Als a man he me welte¹⁶;
 Als a man he spake to me. Bot what he was, myght I not se¹⁷.

The following, extracted from the same part, is the speech of the Romans to the Britons, after the former had built a wall against the Picts, and were leaving Britain.

We haf closed ther most nede was; And yf ye defend wele that pas
 With archers¹⁸ and with magnels¹⁹, And kepe wele the kyrnels ;

¹ The Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France about the ninth century ; and was succeeded by what was called the ROMANCE tongue. A mixture of Frankish and bad Latin. Hence the first poems in that language are called ROMANS or ROMANTS. Essay on POPE, p. 281. In the following passages of this Chronicle, where Robert de Brunne mentions ROMANCE, he sometimes means Langtoft's French book, from which he translated, viz. Chron. p. 205.

This that I have said it is Pers sawe
 Als he in Romance laid thereafter gan I drawe.

Chauc. Rom. R. v. 2170. *Balades*, p. 554. v. 508. Urr. Crescemb. Istor. della Volg. Poes. vol. i. L. v. p. 316. seq. ² Hearne's edit. Pref. p. 106.

³ Some are printed by Hollingsh. Hist. iii. 469. Others by Hearne, Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 58. And in the margin of the pages of the Chronicle.

⁴ 'I must by all means know of you.'

⁵ Begott.

⁶ Awhile.

⁷ E'er she.

⁸ White, while.

⁹ Child.

¹⁰ Begott.

¹¹ Lay.

¹² Assured.

¹³ 'I was then young and beautiful.'

¹⁴ Embraced.

¹⁵ As.

¹⁶ Wielded, moved.

¹⁷ Apud Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glouc. p. 711.

¹⁸ Not *Bowmen*, but apertures in the wall for shooting arrows. Viz. In the repairs of Taunton castle, 1266. Comp. J. Gerneys, Episc. Wint. 'TANTONIA. *Expense domorum*. In mercede 'Cementarii pro muro erigendo juxta turrim ex parte orientali cum Kernellis et Archeriis faciendis, xvi. s. vi. d.' In Archiv. Wolfes. apud Wint. *Kenells* mentioned here, and in the next verse, were much the same thing : or perhaps battlements. In repairs of the great hall at Wolvesey-palace, I find, 'In kyrnillis emptis ad idem, xii. d.' Ibid. There is a patent granted to the monks of Abingdon, in Berkshire, in the reign of Edward III., 'Pro kernellatione monasterii.' Pat. an. 4. par. 1.

¹⁹ Cotgreve has interpreted this word, an old-fashioned sling. V. MANGONEAU. Viz. Rot.

Ther may ye bothe schote and cast Waxes bold and fend you fast.
 Thinkes your faders wan franchise, Be ye no more in other servise :
 But frely lyf to your lyves end : We fro you for ever wende¹.

Vortigern king of the Britons, if thus described meeting the beautiful princess Rouwen, daughter of Hengist, the Rosamond of the Saxon ages, at a feast of wassaile. It is a curious picture of the gallantry of the times.

Hengest that day did his might,
 That alle were glad, king and knight,
 And as thei were best in glading,
 And² wele cop schotin knight and king,
 Of chambir Rouewen so gent,
 Be fore the king in halle scho went.
 A coupe with wyne sche had in hand,
 And hir³ hatire was wele⁴ farand.
 Be fore the king on kne sett,
 And on hir langage scho him grett,
 'Lauerid⁵ king, Wassaille,' seid sche.
 The king asked, what suld be.

Pip. An. 4. Hen. iii. [A.D. 1219.] 'NORDHANT. Et in expensis regis in obsidione castri de Rockingham, 100*l*. per Br. Reg. Et custodibus ingeniorum [engines] regis ad ea carianda usque Bisham, ad castrum illud obsidendum, 13*s*. 10*d*. per id. Br. Reg. Et pro duobus coriis, emptis apud Northampton ad fundas petrariorum et mangonellorum regis faciendas, 5*s*. 6*d*. per id. Br. Reg.—Rot. Pip. ix. Hen. iii. [A.D. 1225.] 'SURR. Comp. de Cnareburc. Et pro vii. cablis emptis ad petrias et mangonellos in eodem castro, 7*s*. 11*d*.' Rot. Pip. 5 Hen. iii. [A.D. 1220.] 'DEVONS. Et in custo posito in i. petraria et ii. mangonellis cariatis a Nottingham usque Bisham, et in eisdem reductis a Bisham usque Nottingham, 7*l*. 4*s*.' 'MANGONEL also signified what was thrown from the machine so called. Thus Froissart.' Et avoient les 'Brabancons de tres grans engins devant la ville, qui *gettoient* pierres de faix 'et mangoneaux jusques en la ville.' Liv. iii. c. 118. And in the old French OVIDE cited by Borel, TRESOR. in V.

Onques pour une tor abatre,
 Plus briement ne du ciel destendre

Ne oit on Mangoniaux descendre
 Foudre pour abatre un clocher.

Chaucer mentions both Mangonels and Kyrrils, in a castle in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 4195. 6279. Also archers, i.e. archerie, v. 4191. So in the French *Roman de la Rose*, v. 3945.

Vous puissiez bien les Mangonneaulx,
 Et aux archieres de la Tour

Veoir la par-dessus les Creneaulx.
 Sont arbalestes tout entour.

Archieres occur often in this poem. Chaucer, in translating the above passage, has introduced guns, which were not known when the original was written, v. 4191. 'The use of artillery, however, is proved by a curious passage in Petrarch, to be older than the period to which it has been commonly referred. The passage is in Petrarch's book of REMEDIIS UTRISQUE FORTUNE, undoubtedly written before the year 1334. 'G. Habeo machinas et balistas. R. Mi-rum, nisi et glandes aeneas, quæ flammis injectis horrisono sonitu jaciuntur.—Erat hæc pestis *insuper rara*, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur: *nunc*, ut rerum pessimarum dociles sunt animi, *ita communis* est, ut *quodlibet* genus armorum.' Lib. i. DIAL. 99. Muratori, ANTIQUITAT. Med. Æv. tom. ii. col. 514. Cannons are supposed to have been first used by the English at the battle of Cressy, in the year 1346. It is extraordinary that Froissart, who minutely describes that battle, and is fond of decorating his narrative with wonders, should have wholly omitted this circumstance. Musquets are recited as a weapon of the infantry so early as the year 1475. 'Quilibet peditum habeat balistam vel bombardam.' LIT. Casimiri iii. an. 1475. LEG. POLON. tom. i. p. 228. These are generally assigned to the year 1520.

I am of opinion, that some of the great military battering engines, so frequently mentioned in the histories and other writers of the dark ages, were fetched from the crusades. See a species of the catapult, used by the Syrian army in the siege of Mecca, about the year 680. Med. Univ. Hist. B. i. c. 2. tom. ii. p. 117. These expeditions into the east undoubtedly much improved the European art of war. Tasso's warlike machines, which seem to be the poet's invention, are formed on descriptions of such wonderful machines which he had read in the crusade historians, particularly Wilhelmus Tyrensis.

¹ Chauc. Rob. Glouc. p. 664.

² Sending about the cups apace. Carousing briskly.

³ Attire.

⁴ Very rich.

⁵ Lord.

On that langage the king¹ ne couthe.
 A knight² ther langage³ lerid in youthe.
 Breg⁴ hiht that knight born Bretoun,
 That lerid the langage of⁵ Sessoun.
 This Breg was the⁶ latimer.
 What scho said told Vortager.
 'Sir, Breg seid, Rowen yow gretis,
 'And king callis and lord yow⁷ letis.
 'This es ther custom and ther gest,
 'Whan thei are atte the ale or fest.
 'Ilk man that lous quare him think.
 'Salle say Wosseille, and to him drink,
 'He that bidis salle say, Wassaille.
 'The tother salle say again, Drinkhaille.
 'That sais Wosseille drinkis of the cop,
 'Kissand⁸ his felaw he gives it up.
 'Drinkheille, he sais, and drinke ther of,
 'Kissand him in bourd and⁹ skof.
 The king said, as the knight gan¹⁰ ken,
 Drinkheille, smiland on Rouewen.
 Rouewen drank as hire list,
 And gave the king,¹¹ sine him kist.
 There was the first wassaille in dede,
 And that first of fame¹² gede.
 Of that wassaille men told grete tale,
 And wassaille whan thei were at ale
 And drinkheille to tham that drank,
 Thus was wassaille¹³ tane to thank.
 Fele¹⁴ sithes that maidin¹⁵ ying,
 Wassailed and kist the king.
 Of bodi sche was right¹⁶ avenant,

¹ Was not skilled.² The³ Learned.⁴ Was called.⁵ Saxons.⁶ For *Latimer*, or *Latinier*, an *Interpreter*. Thus, in the romance of KING RICHARD, hereafter cited at large, Saladin's *Latimer* at the siege of Babylon proclaims a truce to the christian army from the walls of the city. Signat. M. i.

The LATEMERE tho tourned his eye

To that other syde of the tounce,

And crying true's with gret sounce.

In which sense the French word occurs in the Roman de GARIN. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Paris. Num 7542.

LATIMER fu si sot parler Roman,
And again,

Englois, Gallois, et Breton, et Norman.

Un LATIMER vieil ferant et henu Molt sot de plet, et molt entresnie su
And in the MSS. Roman de Rou, which will again be mentioned.

L'archevesque Franches a Jumege's ala, A Rou, et a sa gent par LATINIER parla.

We find it in Froissart, tom. iv. c. 87. And in other ancient French writers. In the old Norman poem on the subject of the king Dermot's expulsion from his kingdom of Ireland, in the Lambeth library, it seems more properly to signify, in a limited sense, the *king's domestic* SECRETARY.

Par son demeure LATINIER

Que moi conta de luy l'histoire, &c.

Lord Lyttelton's Hist Hen. ii. vol. iv. App. p. 270. We might here render it literally his *Latinist*, an officer retained by the king to draw up the public instruments in Latin, as in DOMESDAY-BOOK. 'Godwinus accipitrarius, Hugo LATINARIUS, Milo portarius.' MS. Exce pt. penes me. But in both the last instances the word may bear its more general and extensive signification. Camden explains LATIMER by *interpreter*. Rem. p. 158. See also p. 152. edit. 1674.⁷ Eatems.⁸ Kissing.⁹ Sport, joke.¹⁰ To signify.¹¹ Since, afterwards.¹² Went.¹³ Taken.¹⁴ Many times.¹⁵ Young.¹⁶ Handsome, gracefully shaped, &c.

Of fair colour, with swete semblaunt.
 Hir² hatire fulle wele it semed,
 Mervelik³ the king sche⁴ quemid.
 Oute of messure was he glad,
 For of that maidin he wer alle mad.
 Drunkenes the feend wroght,
 Of that ⁵paen was al his thoght.
 A meschaunche that time him led,
 He asked that paen for to wed.
 Hengist⁶ wild not draw a lite,
 Bot graunted him alle so tite.
 And Hors his brother consentid sone.
 Her frendis said, it were to done.
 Thei asked the king to gife hir Kent,
 In douary to take of rent.
 O pon that maidin his hert so cast,
 That thei askid the king made fast.
 I wene the king toke her that day,
 And wedded hire ⁷on paiens lay.
 Of prest was ther no ⁸benison
 No mes songen, no orison.
 In seisine he had her that night.
 Of Kent he gave Hengist the right.
 The erelle that time, that Kent alle held,
 Sir Goragon, that had the scheld,
 Of that gift no thing ⁹ne wist
 To ¹⁰he was cast oute¹¹ with Hengist.¹²

In the second part, copied from Peter Langtoft, the attack of Richard I., on a castle held by the Saracens, is thus described.

The dikes were fulle wide that closed the castle about,
 And depe on ilka side, with bankis hie without.
 Was ther non entre that to the castelle gan ligge,¹³
 Bot a streiht kauce¹⁴; at the end a drauht brigge.
 With grete duple cheynes drauhen over the gate,
 And fifti armed fueynes¹⁵ porters at that yate.
 With slenges and magneles¹⁶ thei kast¹⁷ to kyng Rychard
 Our cristen by parcelles kasted ageynward.¹⁸
 Ten sergeauns of the best his targe gan him bere
 That egre were and prest to covere him and to were.¹⁹
 Himself as a geaunt the cheynes in tuo hew,
 The targe was his warant,²⁰ that non tille him threw.
 Right unto the gate with the targe thei yede
 Fightand on a gate, undir him the slouh his stede,
 Therfor ne wild he sesse,²¹ alone into the castele

¹ Countenance.

² Attire.

³ Marvellously.

⁴ Pleased.

⁵ Pagan, heathen.

⁶ Would not fly off a bit.

⁷ In pagans law. According to the heathenish custom.

⁸ Benediction, blessing.

⁹ Knew not.

¹⁰ Till.

¹¹ By.

¹² Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glo. p. 695.

¹³ Lying.

¹⁴ Causey.

¹⁵ Swains, young men, soldiers.

¹⁶ Mangonets, vid. supr.

¹⁷ Cast.

¹⁸ In Langtoft's French,

'Dis seriauntz des plus feres e de melz vanez,

'Devaunt le cors le Reis sa targe ount portez.

¹⁹ Ward, defend.

²⁰ Guard, defence.

²¹ 'He could not cease.'

Thorgh tham all wild presse on fote faught he fulle wele.
 And whan he was withinne, and fauht as a wilde leon,
 He fondred the Sarazins otuynne,¹ and fauht as a dragon,
 Without the cristen gan crie, allas ! Richard is taken,
 Tho Normans were sorie, of contenance gan blaken,
 To slo downe and to stroye never wild thei stint
 Thei left for dede no noye², ne for no wound no dynt,
 That in went alle their pres, maugre the Sarazins alle,
 An fond Richard on des fightand, and wonne the halle³.

From these passages it appears, that Robert of Brunne has scarcely more poetry than Robert of Glocester. He has however taken care to acquaint his readers, that he avoided high description, and that sort of phraseology which was then used by the minstrels and harpers : that he rather aimed to give information than pleasure, and that he was more studious of truth than ornament. As he intended his chronicle to be sung, at least by parts, at public festivals, he found it expedient to apologise for these deficiencies in the prologue ; as he had partly done before in his prologue to the *MANUAL OF SINS*.

I mad noght for no disours⁴ Ne for seggers no harpours,
 Bot for the luf of symple men, That strange Inglis cannot ken⁵ :

For many it ere⁶ that strange Inglis

In rhyme wate⁷ never what it is.

I made it not for to be prayسد, Bot at the lewed men were aysed⁸.

He next mentions several sorts of verse, or prosody ; which were then fashionable among the minstrels, and have been long since unknown.

If it were made in rhyme *couwee*, Or in *strangere* or *enterlace*, &c.

'The rhymes here called, by Robert de Brunne, *Couwee*, and *Enterlace*, were undoubtedly derived from the Latin rhymers of that age, who used versus *caudati* et *interlaqueati*. Brunne here professes to avoid these elegancies of composition, yet he has intermixed many passages in *Rime Couwee*. *CHRONICLE*, 266. 273. &c. And almost all the latter part of his work from the Conquest is written in rhyme *enterlacee*, each couplet rhyming in the middle, as well as the end. As thus, MSS. HARL. 1002.

Plausus Græcorum | lux cæcis et via claudis |

Incola cælorum | virgo dignissima laudis.

¹ He formed the Saracens into two 'parties.'

² Annoy.

³ Chron. p. 182. 183.

⁴ Tale-tellers, *Narratores*, Lat. Conteours, Fr. *Seggers* in the next line perhaps means the same thing, i. e. *Sayers*. The writers either of metrical or of prose romances. Antholog. Fran. p. 17. 1765. 8vo. Or *Disours* may signify *Discourse*, i. e. adventures in prose. We have the 'Devil's disours,' in P. Plowman, fol. xxxi. b. edit. 1550. *Disour* precisely signifies a tale-teller at a feast in Gower, Conf. Amant. Lib. vii. fol. 155. a edit. Berthel. 1554.

He is speaking of the coronation festival of a Roman Emperor.

When he was gladest as his mete,

And every *DISSOUR* had saide

And every minstrell had plaide

Which most was pleasaunt to his ere.

Du Cange says, that *Disours* were judges of the tourney. Diss. Joinv. p. 179.

⁵ Know.

⁶ *It ere*, There are.

⁷ Knew.

⁸ Eased.

The rhyme *Baston* had its appellation from Robert Baston, a celebrated Latin rhymers about the year 1315. The rhyme *strangere* means *uncommon*. CANTERBURY TALES, vol. 4. p. 72. seq. ut infr. The reader, curious on this subject, may receive further information from a manuscript in the Bodleian library, in which are specimens of *METRA Leonina, cristata cornuta, reciproca, &c.* MSS. LAUD K. 3. 4to. In the same library, there is a very ancient manuscript copy of Aldhelm's Latin poem *De Virginitate et Laude Sanctorum*, written about the year 700, and given by Thomas Allen, with Saxon glosses, and the text almost in semi-saxon characters. These are the two first verses.

Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti,
Et laudem capiat quadrato carmine Virgo.

Langbaine, in reciting this manuscript, thus explains the *quadratum* carmen. 'Scil. prima cujusque versus litera, per Acrostichidem, 'conficit versum illum *Metrica tyrones*. Ultima cujusque versus 'litera, ab ultimo carmine ordine retrogardo numerando, hunc versum 'facit.

'Metrica tyrones nunc promant carmina casti.'

[Langb. MSS. v. p. 126.] MSS. DIGB. 146. There is a very ancient tract, by one Mico, I believe called also LEVITA, on Prosody, *De Quantitate Syllabarum*, with examples from the Latin poets, perhaps the first work of the kind. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. A. 7. 9. See J. L. Hocker's CATAL. MSS. Bibl. Heidelb. p. 24. who recites a part of Mico's Preface, in which he appears to have been a grammatical teacher of youth. See also Dacheri SPICILEG. tom. ii. p. 300, b. edit. ult.

He adds, that the old stories of chivalry had been so disguised by foreign terms, by additions and alterations, that they were now become unintelligible to a common audience : and particularly, that the tale of SIR TRISTRAM, the noblest of all, was much changed from the original composition of its first author THOMAS.

I see in song in sedgeying tale¹ Of Erceldoune, and Kendale,
Non tham says as thai tham wrought²,
And³ in ther saying it seems noght,
That may thou here in Sir Tristram⁴;
Over gestes⁵ it has the steem⁶, Over all that is or was,

¹ 'Among the romances that are sung, &c.

² 'None recite them as they were first written.'

³ 'As They tell them.'

⁴ 'This you may see, &c.

⁶ Esteem.

⁵ Hearne says that *Gests* were opposed to *Romance*. Chron. Langt. Pref. p. 37. But this is a mistake. Thus we have the *Geste of king Horne*, a very old metrical Romance. MSS. Harl. 2253. p. 70. Also in the *Prologue of Richard Cœur de Lion*.

King Richard is the best

That is found in any *jeste*.

And the passage in the text is a proof against his assertion. Chaucer, in the following passage, by *JESTOURS*, does not mean *Jesters* in modern signification, but writers of adventures. *House of Fame*, v. 108.

And JESTOURS that tellen tales

Both of wepyng and of game.

In the *House of Fame* he also places those who wrote 'olde *Gestes*.' v. 425. It is however

If men yt sayd as made Thomas.— Thai sayd in so quaynte Inglis
 That manyone¹ wate not what it is.—
 And forsouth I couth nought So strange Inglis as thai wrought.
 On this account, he says, he was persuaded by his friends to write
 his chronicle, in a more popular and easy style, that would be better
 understood.

And men besought me many a time, To turn it bot in light ryme.
 Thai said if I in strange in turne To here it manyon would skurne²,
 For it are names full selcouthe³ That ere not used now in mouth.—
 In the hous of Sixille I was a throwe⁴
 Danz Robert of Meltone⁵, that ye knowe,
 Did it wryte for felawes sake, When thai wild solace make⁶.

Erceldoune and Kendale are mentioned, in some of these lines of
 Brunne, as old romances or popular tales. Of the latter I can dis-
 cover no traces in our ancient literature. As to the former, Thomas
 Erceldoun, or Ashelington, is said to have written *Prophecies*, like
 those of Merlin. Leland, from the *Scala Chronicum*⁷, says that
 ‘William Banastre⁸, and Thomas Erceldoune, spoke words yn figure
 ‘as were the prophecies of Merlin⁹.’ In the library of Lincoln cathe-
 dral, there is a metrical romance entitled, THOMAS OF ERSELDOWN,
 which begins with the usual address,

Lordynges both great and small.

obvious to observe from whence the present term *Jeste* arose. See Fauchet, Rec. p. 73. In
 P. Plowman, we have *Job's Jestes*. fol. xlv. b.

Job the gentyl in his *Jestes*, greatly wytneseth.

That is, ‘Job in the account of his Life.’

In the same page we have,

And japers and judgelers, and janglers of *jestes*.

That is, Minstrels, Reciters of tales. Other illustrations of this word will occur in the course
 of the work. *Chansons de gestes* were common in France in the thirteenth century among the
 troubadours. See Mem. concernant les principaux monumens de l'histoire de France, Mem.
 Lit. xv. p. 582. by the very learned and ingenious M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye. I add
 the two first lines of a manuscript entitled, *Art de Kalender par Rauf*, who lived 1256. Bibl.
 Bodl. J. b. 2. Th. [Langb. MSS. 5. 439.]

De geste ne voil pas chanter,

Ne veilles estoires el canter.

There is even *Gesta Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi*, in many manuscript libraries.

¹ Many a one.

² Scorn.

³ Strange.

⁴ A little while.

⁵ ‘Sir Robert of Malton.’ It appears from hence that he was born at Malton in Lincoln-
 shire.

⁶ Pref Rob. Glouc. p. 57. 58.

⁷ An ancient French history or chronicle of England never printed, which Leland says was
 translated out of French rhyme into French prose. Col. vol. i. P. ii. pag. 59. edit. 1770. It
 was probably written or reduced by Thomas Grey into prose. Londinens. Antiquitat. Cant.
 lib. i. p. 38. Others affirm it to have been the work of John Gray, an eminent churchmen,
 about the year 1212. It begins, in the usual form, with the creation of the world, passes on
 to Brutus, and closes with Edward III.

⁸ One Gilbert Banestre was a poet and musician. The *Prophecies of Banister of Englaue*
 are not uncommon among manuscripts. In the *Scotch Prophecies*, printed in Edinburgh,
 1680, *Banaster* is mentioned as the author of some of them. ‘As Berlington’s books and
Banester tells us,’ p. 2. Again, ‘Beid hath briefed in his book and *Banester* also,’ p. 18.
 He seems to be confounded with William Banister, a writer of the reign of Edward the third.
 Berlington is probably John Bridlington, an augustine canon of Bridlington, who wrote three
 books of *Carmina Vaticinalia*, in which he pretends to foretell many accidents that should
 happen to England. MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 89. And 186. There are also *Versus Vaticin-*
ales under his name, MSS. Bodl. NE. E. ii. 17. f. 21. He died, aged sixty, in 1379. He
 was canonised. There are many other *Prophecies*, which seem to have been fashionable at
 this time, bound up with Bridlington in MSS. Digb. 186.

⁹ Ut supr. p. 510.

In the Bodleian library, among the theological works of John Lawern, monk of Worcester, and student in theology at Oxford, about the year 1448, written with his own hand, a fragment of an English poem occurs, which begins thus :

Joly chepert [shepherd] of Askeldowne¹.

In the British Museum a manuscript English poem occurs, with this French title prefixed, 'La Countesse de Dunbar, demanda a Thomas 'Essedounde quant la guere d'Escoce prendret fyn².' This was probably our prophetier Thomas of Erceland. One of his predictions is mentioned in an ancient Scots poem entitled, A NEW YEAR'S GIFT, written in the year 1562, by Alexander Scott³. One Thomas Leirmouth, or Rymer, was also a prophetic bard, and lived at Erslingtoun, sometimes perhaps pronounced Erseldoun. This is therefore probably the same person. One who personates him, says,

In ERSLINGTOUN I dwell at hame,
THOMAS RYMER men call me.

He has left vaticinal rhymes, in which he predicted the union of Scotland with England, about the year 1279⁴. Fordun mentions several of his prophecies concerning the future state of Scotland⁵.

Our author, Robert de Brunne, also translated into English rhymes the treatise of cardinal Bonaventura, his contemporary⁶, *De cœna et passione Domini et pœnis S. Mariæ Virginis*, with the following title. 'Medytaciuns of the Soper of our Lorde Jhesu, and also of hys Passyun, 'and eke of the Peynes of hys swete Modyr mayden Marye, the 'whychemade yn Latyn Bonaventure Cardynall⁷. But I forbear to give further extracts from this writer, who appears to have professed much more industry than genius, and cannot at present be read with much pleasure. Yet it should be remembered, that even such a writer as Robert de Brunne, uncouth and displeasing as he naturally seems, and chiefly employed in turning the theology of his age into rhyme, contributed to form a style, to teach expression, and to polish his native tongue. In the infancy of language and composition, nothing is wanted but writers : at that period even the most artless have their use.

¹ MSS. Bodl. 692. fol.

² MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 127. It begins thus,

When man as mad a kinge of a capped man
When mon is lever other monnes thyng then ys owen.

³ Ancient Scots poems. Edinb. 1770. 12mo. p. 194. See the ingenious editor's notes, p. 312.

⁴ *Scotch Prophecies*, ut supr. p. 19. 11. 13. 18. 36. viz. *The Prophecy of Thomas Rymer*. Pr. 'Stille on my wayes as I went.'

⁵ Lib. x. cap. 43. 44. I think he is also mentioned by Spotswood. Dempst. xi. 810.

⁶ He died 1272. Many of Bonaventure's tracts were at this time translated into English. In the Harleian manuscripts we have, 'The Treatis that is kallid *Prickynge of Love*, made bi 'a Frere menour Bonaventure, that was Cardinal of the courte of Rome.' 2254. 1. f. 1. This book belonged to Dame Alys Braintwat, 'the worchyfull prioras of Dartforde.' This is not an uncommon manuscript.

⁷ MSS. Harl. 1701. f. 84. The first line is,

Almighty god in trinite.

Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln¹, who died in 1253, is said in some verses of Robert de Brunne, quoted above, to have been fond of the metre and music of the minstrels. He was most attached to the French minstrels, in whose language he has left a poem, never printed, of some length. This was probably translated into English rhyme about the reign of Edward I. Nor is it quite improbable, if the translation was made at this period, that the translator was Robert de Brunne; especially as he translated another of Grossthead's pieces. It is called by Leland *Chateau d'Amour*². But in one of the Bodleian MSS. of this book we have the following title, *Romance par Mestre Robert Grosseteste*³. In another it is called, *Ce est la vie de D. Jhu de sa humanite set a ordine de Saint Robert Grosseteste ke fut eveque de Nichole*⁴. And in this copy, a very curious apology to the clergy is prefixed to the poem, for the language in which it is written⁵. 'Et quamvis lingua romana [romance] coram CLERICIS SAPOREM SUAVITATIS non habeat, tamen pro laicis qui minus intelligunt opusculum illud aptum est⁶.' This piece professes to treat of the creation, the redemption, the day of judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell: but the whole is a religious allegory, and under the ideas of chivalry the fundamental articles of christian belief are represented. It has the air of a system of divinity, written by a troubadour. The poet, in describing the advent of Christ, supposes that he entered into a magnificent castle, which is the body of the immaculate virgin. The structure of this castle is conceived with some imagination, and drawn with the pencil of romance. The poem begins with these lines.

Ki pense ben, ben peut dire :	Sanz penser ne poet suffise :
De nul bon oure commencer	Deu nos dont de li penser
De ki par ki, en ki, sont	Tos les biens ki font en el mond.

But I hasten to the translation, which is more immediately connected with our present subject, and has this title. 'Her bygenet a tretys that ys yclept CASTEL OF LOVE that 'biscop Grosteyzt made ywis for lewde mennes by hove⁷.' Then follows the prologue or introduction.

That good thinketh good may do;
And God wol help him thar to :

¹ The author and translator are often thus confounded in manuscripts. To an old English religious poem on the Holy Virgin, we find the following title. *Incipit quidam cantus quem composuit frater Thomas de Hales de ordine fratrum minorum*, &c. MSS. Col. Jes. Oxon. 85. sup. citat. But this is the title of our friar's original, A Latin hymn de B. MARIA VIRGINE, improperly adopted in the translation. Thomas de Hales was a Franciscan friar, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and flourished about the year 1340. We shall see other proofs of this.

² Script. Brit. p. 285.

³ MSS. Bodl. NE. D. 69.

⁴ F. 16. Laud. fol. membran. The word *Nicole* is perfectly French for *Lincoln*. See likewise MSS. Bodl. E. 4. 14.

⁵ In the hand-writing of the poem itself, which is very antient.

⁶ F. 1. So also in MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 232. In MSS. Harl. 1121. 5. 'De Roberd Grosseteste le evesque de Nichole en trefis en Franceis, del commencement du monde, &c.' f. 156. Cod. membran.

⁷ Bibl. Bodl. MS. Vernon, f. 292. This translation was never printed: and is, I believe, a rare manuscript.

Ffor nas never good work wrought
 With oute biginninge of good thought.
 Ne never was wrought non vuel¹ thyng
 That vuel thought nas the biginnyng.
 God ffuder, and sone and holigoste
 That alle thing on eorthe fixt² and wost,
 That one Godart and thrillihod³,
 And threo persones in one hod⁴,
 Withouten end and bi ginninge,
 To whom we ougten over alle thinge,
 Worschepe him with trewe love,
 That kineworthe king art us above,
 In whom, of whom, thorw whom beoth,
 Alle the good schipes that we hire i seoth,
 He leve us thenche and worchen so,
 That he us schylde from vre so,
 All we habbeth to help neode
 That we ne beth all of one theode,

Ne i boren in one londe, Ne one speche undirstonde
 Ne mowe we al Latin wite⁵ Ne Ebreu ne Gru⁶ that beth I write,
 Ne Ffrench, ne this other spechen,
 That me mihte in worlde sechen.
 To herie god our derworthi drihte⁷,
 As vch mon ougte with all his mihte ;

Lost song syngen to god zerne⁸, With such speche as he con lerne :
 Ne monnes mouth ne be i dut Ne his ledene⁹ i hud
 To serven his god that him wroughte,
 And maade al the world of nougte.
 Of Englishe I shal nir resun schowen

Ffor hem that can not i knowen, Nouthur French ne Latyn
 On Englisch I chulle tullen him.

Wherefor the world was i wroht, Ther after how he was bi tauht,
 Adam vre ffader to ben his, With al the merthe of paradys
 To wonen and welden to such ende

Til that he scholde to hevene wende, And hou sone he hit fu les
 And seththen hou for bouht wes, Thurw the heze kynges sone
 That here in eorthe wolde come,
 Ffor his sustren that were to boren,
 And ffor a prison thas was for loren
 And hou he made as ze schal heren
 That heo i cust and sauht weren
 And to wruche a castel he alihte, &c.

But the following are the most poetical passages of this poem.

God nolde a lihte in none manere, But in feir stude¹⁰ and in clere,
 In feir and clene siker hit wes, Ther god almihti his in ches¹¹
 In a CASTEL well comeliche, Muche¹² and ffeire, and loveliche

¹ Well, good.

² F. *hext*, highest.

³ Trinity.

⁴ Unity.

⁵ Understand.

⁶ Greek. In John Trevisas's dialogue concerning the translation of the Polychronicon, MSS. Harl. 1900. b. f. 42. 'Aristotile's bokes, &c. were translated out of *Gru* into Latin.

'Also with praying of kyng Charles [the Bald], Johan Scott translated Denys bookes out of *Gru* into Latyn.'

⁷ 'To bless god our beloved lord.'

⁸ Earnestly.

⁹ Language.

¹⁰ Place.

¹¹ 'Chose his habitation.'

¹² Great.

That is the castell of alle floure, Of solas and of socour,
 In the mere he stont bi twene two,
 Ne hath he forlak for no fo : For the tour¹ is so wel with outen,
 So depe i diche al abouten, That non kunnes asayling,
 Ne may him derven fer no thing ; He stont on heiz rocke and found,
 And is y planed to the ground
 That ther may won non vuel² thing,
 Ne derve ne gynnes castyng ; And thaug be he so lovliche,
 He is so dredful and hatchinge, To all thulke that ben his fon
 That heo flen him everichon ;
 Ffor smal toures that beth abouten,
 To witen the heige toure withouten,
 Sethe³ beoth thre bayles withalle,⁴
 So feir i diht with strunge walle,
 As heo beth here after I write,
 Ne may no man the⁵ feirschipe I wite,
 Ne may no tongue ne may hit telle,
 Ne thought thincke, ne mouthe spelle :
 On trusti rocke heo stondeth fast,
 And with depe diche bethe bi cast,
 And the carnels⁶ so stondeth upright,
 Wel I planed, and feir i dight :
 Seven barbianes ther beth i wrouht

With gret ginne al bi thought⁷, And evrichon hath gat and toure,
 Ther never fayleth ne socoure. Never schal so him stonde with
 That thider wold flen to sechen grith⁸.
 This castel is siker fair abouten, And is al depeynted withouten,
 With threo heowes that wel beth sene⁹ ;
 So is the foundement al grene, That to the rock fast lith.
 Wel is that ther murthe i sith, Ffor the greneschip lasteth evere,
 And his heuh ne leoseth nevere, Sethen abouten that other heug
 So is ynde so ys blu¹⁰. That them idel heug we clepethariht

 And schyneth so faire and so briht.
 The thridde heug an ovemast Over wrigeth al and so ys i cast,
 That withinnen and withouten, The castle lihteth al abouten,
 And is raddore than eny rose schal That shunneth as hit barnd¹¹ were¹².
 Withinne the castle is whit schinyng
 So¹³ the snows that is snewynge, And casteth that liht so wyde
 After long the tour and be syde,
 That never cometh ther wo ne woug,
 As swetnesse ther is ever i noug.

Amydde¹⁴ the heige toure is springynge A well that ever is eorninge¹⁵
 With four stremes that striketh wel, And erneth upon the gravel,
 And fulleth the duches about the wal, Much blisse ther is over al,

¹ La tur est fi bien en clos. *Fr. Orig.*

² Vile. ³ Tres bailes en tour. *Fr. Orig.*

⁴ Moreover there are three, &c.

⁵ Beauty.

⁶ Kernels.—Kerneaus bien poli. *Fr. Orig.*

⁷ Pur bon engin fait. *Fr. Orig.*

⁸ Counsel.

⁹ La chastle est a bel bon

De hors de peint a en virun

De treis culurs diversement. *Fr. Orig.*

¹⁰ Si est ynde si est blu. *Fr. Orig.*

¹¹ Burned, on fire.

¹² Plus est vermail ke nest rose

E piert ardent chose. *Fr. Orig.*

¹³ As.

¹⁴ In mi la tur plus hauteine

Est surdant une suntayne

Dunt issent quater ruissell

Ki bruinet par le gravel, &c. *Fr. Orig.*

¹⁵ Running.

Ne dar he seeke non other leche That mai riht of this water eleche.
 In thulke¹ derworthi faire toure Ther stont a trone with much honour,
 Of whit yvori and feiroke of liht Than the someres day when heis briht,
 With cumpas i throwen and with gin al i do
 Seven steppes ther beoth therto, &c.
 The ffoure smale toures abouten, That with the heige toure withouten
 Ffour had thewes that about hire i seoth,
 Ffour vertus cardinals beoth, &c.
 And² which beoth threo bayles get
 That with the carnels ben so wel i set,
 And i cast with cumpas and walled abouten,
 That wileth the heihe tour with outen :
 Bote the inmost bayle I wote
 Bitokeneth hire holi maydenhode, &c.
 The middle bayle that wite ge, Bitokeneth hire holi chastite
 And sethen the overmast bayle Bitokeneth hire holie sposaile, &c.
 The seven kernels abouten,
 That with gret gin beon y wrought withouten,
 And witeth this castel so well, With arwe and with quarrel³,
 That beoth the seven vertues with wunne
 To overcum the seven deadly sinne, &c⁴.

It was undoubtedly a great impediment to the cultivation and progressive improvement of the English language at these early periods, that the best authors chose to write in French. Many of Robert Grosthead's pieces are indeed in Latin; yet where the subject is popular, and not immediately addressed to learned readers, he adopted the Romance or French language, in preference to his native English. Of this, as we have already seen, his MANUEL PECHE, and his CHATEAU D'AMOUR, are sufficient proofs, both in prose and verse: and his example and authority must have had considerable influence in encouraging this practice. Peter Langtoft, our Augustine canon of Bridlington, not only compiled the large chronicle of England, above recited, in French; but even translated Herbert Boscarn's Latin Life of Thomas of Beckett into French rhymes.⁵ John Hoveden, a native of London, doctor of divinity, and chaplain to queen Eleanor, mother of Edward I., wrote in French rhymes a book entitled, *Rosarium de Nativitate, Passione, Ascensione, Thesu Christi*.⁶] Various other proofs

¹ En cele bel tur a bone A de yvoire un trone
 Ke plusa eiffi blanchor Ci en mi este la beau jur
 Per engin est compassez, &c. *Fr. Orig.*

² Les tries baillies du chastel Ki sunt overt au kernel
 Qui a compas sunt en virum E defendent le dungun. *Fr. Orig.*

³ Les barbicanes feet Kis hors de baillies sunt sait,
 Ki bien gardent le chastel, E de feete e de quarrel. *Fr. Orig.*

⁴ Afterwards the fountain is explained to be God's grace: Charity is constable of the castle, &c. &c.

⁵ Pits. p. 890. Append. Who with great probability supposes him to have been an Englishman.

⁶ MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Cant. G. 16. where it is also called the *Nightingale*. Pr. 'Alme fesse lit de peresse.' In this manuscript the whole title is this. 'Le ROSSINGNOL, ou la pensee Jehan de Hovedene clerc la roine d'Engleterre mere le roi Edward de la naissance et

have before occurred. Lord Lyttelton quotes from the Lambeth library a manuscript poem in French and Norman verse on the subject of king Dermot's expulsion from Ireland, and the recovery of his kingdom¹. I could mention many others. Anonymous French pieces, both in prose and verse, and written about this time, are innumerable in our manuscript repositories². Yet this fashion proceeded rather from necessity and a principle of convenience, than from affectation. The vernacular English, as I have before remarked, was rough and unpolished: and although these writers possessed but few ideas of taste and elegance, they embraced a foreign tongue, almost equally familiar, and in which they could convey their sentiments with greater ease, grace, and propriety. It should also be considered, that our most eminent scholars received a part of their education at the university of Paris. Another, and a very material circumstance, concurred to countenance this fashionable practice of composing in French, It procured them readers of rank and distinction. The English court, for more than two hundred years after the conquest, was totally French: and our kings, either from birth, kindred, or marriage, and from a perpetual intercourse, seem to have been more closely connected with France than with England. It was however fortunate that these French pieces were written, as some of them met with their translators: who perhaps unable to aspire to the praise of original writers, at least by this means contributed to adorn their native tongue: and who very probably would not have written at all, had not original writers, I mean their contemporaries who wrote in French, furnished them with models and materials.

Hearne, to whose diligence even the poetical antiquarian is much obliged, but whose conjectures are generally wrong, imagines, that the old English metrical romance, called *RYCHARDE CUER DE LYON*, was written by Robert de Brunne. It was at least probable, that the leisure of monastic life produced many rhymers. From proofs here

'de la mort et du yelievemens et de l'ascension Jesu Criss et de l'assumpcion notre dame.' This MSS. was written in the 14th century. Our author, John Hoveden, was also skilled in sacred music, and a great writer of Latin hymns. He died, and was buried, at Hoveden, 1275. Pits. n. 356. Bale, v. 79.

There is an old French metrical life of Tobiah, which the author, most probably an Englishman, says he undertook at the request of William, Prior of Kenilworth in Warwickshire. MSS. Jes. Coll. Oxon. 85. sup. citat.

Le prior Gwilleyme me prie
De Kenelworth an Ardenne,
De charite, ke nul eglyse
Ke jeo liz en romaunz le vie

De Peglyse seynte Marie
Ki porte le plus haute peyne
Del reume a devyse
De kelui ki ont nun Tobie, &c.

¹ Hist. Hen. ii. vol. iv. p. 270. Notes. It was translated into prose by Sir G. Carew in Q. Elizabeth's time: this translation was printed by Harris in his *HIBERNIA*. It was probably written about 1190. Ware, p. 56. And compare Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. 28. Notes. The Lambeth MSS. seems to be but a fragment. viz. MSS. Bibl. Lamb. Hib. A.

² Among the learned Englishmen who now wrote in French, The Editor of the *CANTERBURY TALES* mentions Helis de Guincestre, or WINCHESTER, a translator of CATO into French. And Hue de Roteland, author of the Romance, in French verse, called *Ipomedon*, MSS. Cott. Vesp. A vii. The latter is also supposed to have written a French Dialogue in metre, MSS. Bodl. 3994. *La plainte par entre mis Sire Henry de Lacy Counte de Nichole* [Lincoln] et

given we may fairly conclude, that the monks often wrote for the minstrels: and although our Gilbertine brother of Brunne chose to relate true stories in plain language, yet it is reasonable to suppose, that many of our ancient tales in verse containing fictitious adventures, were written, although not invented, in the religious houses. The romantic history of *Guy earl of Warwick*, is expressly said, on good authority, to have been written by Walter of Exeter, a Franciscan Friar of Caroc in Cornwall, about the year 1292¹. The libraries of the monasteries were full of romances. *Bevis of Southampton*, in French, was in the library of the abbey of Leicester². In that of the abbey of Glastonbury, we find *Liber de Excidio Trojæ, Gesta Ricardi Regis*, and *Gesta Alexandri Regis*, in the year 1247³. These were some of the most favorite subjects of romance, as I shall shew here-

Sire Wauter de Byblesworth pur la croiserie en la terre seinte. And a French romantic poem on a knight called CAPANEE, perhaps Statius's Capaneus. MSS. Cott. VESP. A. iii. ut supr. It begins,

Qui bons countes viel entendre.

See "THE CANTERBURY TALES OF CHAUCER. To which are added AN ESSAY upon his 'LANGUAGE and VERSIFICATION, an INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE, and NOTES. Lond. 1775. '4 vol. 8vo.' This masterly performance, in which the author has displayed great taste, judgement, sagacity, and the most familiar knowledge of those books which peculiarly belong to the province of a commentator on Chaucer, did not appear till more than half of my Second Volume was printed. I have before hinted that it was sometimes customary to intermix Latin with French. As thus. MSS. Harl. 2 253. f. 137. b.

Dieu roy de Mageste,
Nostre roy e sa meyne

Oh personas trinas,
Ne perire finas, &c.

Again, *ibid.* f. 76. Where a lover, an Englishman, addresses his mistress who was of Paris.
Dum ludis floribus velut lacinia Le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel *Angustia*, &c.

Sometimes their poetry was half French and half English. As in a song to the holy virgin on our Saviour's passion. *Ibid.* f. 83.

Mayden moder milde, oyez cel oreyoun, From shome thou me shilde, e de ly mal feloun;
For love of thine childe me menez de trefoun, Ich wes wod and wilde, ore su en prisoun, &c.

In the same MSS. I find a French poem probably written by an Englishman, and in the year 1300, containing the adventures of Gilote and Johanne, two ladies of gallantry, in various parts of England and Ireland; particularly at Winchester and Pontefract. f. 66. b. The curious reader is also referred to a French poem, in which the poet supposes that a minstrel, *jangleour*, travelling from London, clothed in a rich tabard, met the king and his retinue. The king asks him many questions; particularly his lord's name, and the price of his horse. The minstrel evades all the king's questions by impertinent answers; and at last presumes to give his majesty advice. *Ibid.* f. 107. b.

¹ Carew's Surv. Cornw. p. 59. edit. ut supr. I suppose Carew means the metrical Romance of Guy. But Bale says that Walter wrote *Vitam Guidonis*, which seems to imply a prose history. x. 78. Giraldus Cambrensis also wrote Guy's history. Hearne has printed an *Historia Guidonis de Warwick*, Append. ad Annal. Dunstable, num. xi. It was extracted from Gerald. Cambrens. hist. Reg. West-Sax. capit. xi. by Girardus Cornubiensis. Lydgate's *life of Guy*, never printed, is translated from this Girardus; as Lydgate himself informs us at the end. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. D. 31. f. 64. Tit. *Here gynneth the life of Guy of Warwyk.* Out of the Latyn made by the Chronyler Called of old GIRARD CORNUBYENCE:

Which wrote the dedis, with grete diligence,
Of them that were in Westsex crowned kynges, &c.

Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. p. 89. Some have thought, that Girardus Cornubiensis and Giraldus Cambrensis were the same persons. This passage of Lydgate may perhaps shew the contrary. We have also in the same Bodleian manuscript, a poem on Guy and Colbrand, viz. MSS. Laud. D. 31. f. 87. More will be said on this subject.

² *Registrum Librorum omnium et focalium in monasterio S. Mariae de Pratis prope Leycestrum.* fol. 132. b. In MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. I. 75. This catalogue was written by Will. Charite one of the monks, A.D. 1517. fol. 139.

³ Hearne's Joann. Glaston. Catal. Bibl. Glaston. p. 435. One of the books on Troy is called *bonus et magnus*. There is also 'Liber de Captione Antiochie, Gallice. *'legibilis'* *ibid.*

after. In a catalogue of the library of the abbey of Peterborough are recited, *Amy's and Amelion*¹, *Sir Tristram*, *Guy de Burgoyne*, and *Gesta Osuelis*², all in French: together with *Merlin's Prophecies*, *Turpin's Charlemagne*, and the *Destruction of Troy*³. Among the books given to Winchester college by the founder William of Wykeham, a prelate of high rank, about the year 1387, we have *Chronicon Troja*⁴. In the library of Windsor college, in the reign of Henry VIII., were discovered in the midst of missals, psalters, and homilies, *Duo libri Gallici de Romances, de quibus unus liber de ROSE, et alius difficilis materie*⁵. This is the language of the king's commissioners, who searched the archives of the college: the first of these two French romances is perhaps John de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*. A friar, in Pierce Plowman's Visions, is said to be much better acquainted with the *Rimes of Robin Hood*, and *Randal of Chester*, than with his Paternoster⁶. The monks, who very naturally sought all opportunities of amusement in their retired and confined situations, were fond of admitting the minstrels to their festivals; and were hence familiarised to romantic stories. Seventy shillings were expended on minstrels, who accompanied their songs with the harp, at the feast of the installation of Ralph abbot of St. Augustin's at Canterbury, in the year 1309. At this magnificent solemnity, six thousand guests were present in and about the hall of the abbey⁷. It was not deemed an occurrence unworthy to be recorded, that when Adam de Orleton, bishop of Winchester, visited his cathedral priory of St. Swithin in that city, a minstrel named Herbert was introduced, who sung the *Song of Colbrond* a Danish giant, and the tale of *Queen Emma delivered from the ploughshares*, in the hall of the prior Alexander de Herriard, in the year 1338. I will give this very curious article, as it appears in an ancient register of the priory. '*Et cantabar Jocolator quidam nomine Herebertus* 'CANTICUM Colbrondi, necnon Gestum Emme regine a judicio ignis 'liberate, in aula prioris⁸.' In an annual accompt-roll of the

¹ The same Romance is in MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. 2386. f. 42. See Du Cang. Gloss. Lat. i. Ind. Auctor. p. 193. There is an old MSS. French MORALITY on this subject, *Comment Amille tue ses deux enfans pour guerir Amis sen compaignon*, &c. Beauchamps, Rech. Theatr. Fr. p. 109. There is a French metrical romance *Histoire d'Amys et Amilion*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12. C. xii. 9. 'And at Bennet college, Num. L. I. It begins,

Ki veut oir chauncoun damur.'

² There is a Romance called OTUEL, MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edingb. W. 4. 1. xxviii. I think he is mentioned in Charlemagne's story, He is converted to christianity, and marries Charlemagne's daughter.

³ Gunton's Peterb. p. 108. seq.—I will give some of the titles as they stand in the catalogue. *Dares Phrygius de Excidio Troja*, bis. p. 180. *Prophetia Merlini versifice*. p. 182. *Gesta Caroli secundum Turpinum* p. 187. *Gesta Eneæ post destructionem Troja*. p. 198. *Belium contra Runcivallum*. p. 202. There are also the two following articles, viz., 'Certamen inter regem Johannem et Barones, versifice. 'Per H. de Davennech.' p. 188. This I have never seen, nor know anything of the author. 'Versus de ludo scaccorum.' p. 195.

⁴ Ex archivis Coll. Wint.

⁵ Dugd. Mon. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p. 80.

⁶ Fol. xxvi. b. edit. 1552.

⁷ Dec. Script. p. 2011.

⁸ Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MSS. pergam. in Archiv. de Wolvesey Wint. These were local stories. Guy fought and conquered Colbrond a Danish champion, just without the northern walls of the city of Winchester, in a meadow to this day called Dane-

Augustine priory of Bicester in Oxfordshire, for the year 1431, the following entries relating to this subject occur, which I chuse to exhibit in the words of the original. 'DONA PRIORIS. *Et in datis cuidam citharizatori in die sancti Jeronimi*, viii. d.—*Et in datis alteri citharizatori in festo Apostolorum Simonis et Jude cognomine Hendy*, xii. d.—*Et in datis cuidam minstrallo domini le Talbot infra natale domini*, xii. d.—*Et in datis ministrallis domini le Straunge in die Epiphanie*, xx. d.—*Et in datis duobus ministrallis domini Lovell in crastino S. Marci evangeliste*, xvi. d.—*Et in datis ministrallis ducis Glocestrie in festo nativitatis beate Marte*, iii s. iv d.' I must add, as it likewise paints the manners of the monks, '*Et in datis cuidam, Urfario*, iiiii d¹. In the prior's accounts of the Augustine canons of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, of various years in the reign of Henry VI., one of the styles, or general heads, is DE JOCULATORIBUS ET MIMIS. I will, without apology, produce some of the particular articles; not distinguishing between *Mimi*, *Joculatores*, *Jocatores*, *Lusores*, and *Citharistæ*: who all seem alternately, and at different times, to have exercised the same arts of popular entertainment. '*Joculatori in septimana S. Michaelis*, iv d.—*Cithariste tempore natalis domini et aliis jocatoribus*, iv d.—*Mimis de Solihull*, vi d.—*Mimis de Coventry*, xx d.—*Mimo domini Ferrers*, vi d.—*Lusoribus de Eton*, viii d.—*Lusoribus de Coventry*, viii d.—*Lusoribus de Daventry*, xii d.—*Mimis de Coventry*, xii d.—*Mimis domini de Asteley*, xii d.—*Item iiiii. mimis domini de Warewyck*, x d.—*Mimo ceco*, ii d.—*Sex mimis domini de Clyton*.—*Duobus mimis de Rugeby*, x d.—*Cuidam cithariste*, vi d.—*Mimis domini de Asteley*, xx d.—*Cuidam cithariste*, vi d.—*Cithariste de Coventry*, vi d.—*Duobus citharistis de Coventry*, viii d.—*Mimis de Rugeby*, viii d.—*Mimis domini de Buckeridge*, xx d.—*Mimis domini de Stafford*, ii s.—*Lusoribus de Coleshille*, viii d².' Here we may observe, that the minstrels of the nobility, in whose families they were constantly retained, travelled about the country to the neighbouring monasteries; and that they generally received better gratuities for these occasional performances than the others. Solihull, Rugby, Cole-shill, Eton, or Nun-Eton, and Coventry, are all towns situated at no

march, and Coldbrond's battle-axe was kept in the treasury of S. Swithin's priory till the dissolution. Th. Rudb. apud Wharton, Angl. Sacr. i. 211. This history remained in rude painting against the walls of the north transept of the cathedral till within my memory. Queen Emma was a patroness of this church, in which she underwent the trial of walking blindfold over nine red hot ploughshares. Colbrond is mentioned in the old romance of the *Squyr of Lowe De-gree*. Signat. a. iii.

Or els so doughty of my honde

As was the gyauntre syr Colbronde.

See what is said above of Guy earl of Warwick, who will again be mentioned.

¹ Ex. Orig. in Rotul. pergamen. Tit. 'Computus dui Ricardi Parentyn Prioris, et fratris Ric. Albon canonici, bursarii ibidem, de omnibus bonis per eosdem receptis et liberatis a crastino Michealis anno Henrici Sexti post conquestum octavo usque in idem crastinum anno R. Henrici prædicti nono.' In Thesauriar. Coll. SS. Trin. Oxon. Bishop Kennet has printed a Computus of the same monastery under the same reign, in which three or four entries of the same sort occur. Paroch. Antiq. p. 578.

² Ex. orig. penes me.

great distance from the priory.¹ Nor must I omit that two minstrels from Coventry made part of the festivity at the consecration of John, prior of this convent, in the year 1432, viz, '*Dat. duobus mimis de Coventry in die consecrationis prioris*, xii d². Nor is it improbable, that some of our greater monasteries kept minstrels of their own in regular pay. So early as the year 1180, in the reign of Henry II., *Jeffrey the harper* received a corrody, or annuity, from the Benedictine abbey of Hyde near Winchester³; undoubtedly on condition that he should serve the monks in the profession of a harper on public occasions. The abbeys of Conway and Stratflur in Wales respectively maintained a bard⁴: and the Welsh monasteries in general were the grand repositories of the poetry of the British bards⁵.

In the statutes of New-college at Oxford, given about the year 1380, the founder bishop William of Wykeham orders his scholars, for their recreation on festival days in the hall after dinner and supper, to enter-

¹ In the ancient annual rolls of accompt of Winchester college, there are many articles of this sort. The few following, extracted from a great number, may serve as a specimen. They are chiefly in the reign of Edward iv. viz. *In the year 1481.* 'Et in fol. ministrallis dom. Regis venientibus ad collegium xv. die Aprilis, cum 12d. solut ministrallis dom. Episcopi Wynton venientibus ad collegium primodie Junii iiii. iiiid.—Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Arundell ven. ad. Coll. cum xiiid. dat. ministrallis dom. de Lawarr, iis. iiiid.'—*In the year 1483.* 'Sol. ministrallis dom. Regis ven. ad Coll. iis. iiiid.'—*In the year 1472.* 'Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Regis cum. viiid. dat. duobus Herewardis ducis Clarentie, xxd.—Et in dat. Johanni *Stulto* quondam dom. de Warewyc, cum iiiid. dat. Thome Neyle taborario.—Et in dat. datis duobus ministrallis ducis Gloucestrie, cum iiiid. dat. uni ministrallo ducis de Northumberlond, viiid.—Et in datis duobus citharatoribus ad vices venient. ad collegium viiid.'—*In the year 1479.* 'Et in datis satrapis Wynton venientibus ad coll. festo Epiphanie, cum xiid. dat. ministrallis dom. episcopi venient. ad coll. infra octavas Epiphanie, iis.'—*In the year 1477.* 'Et in dat. ministrallis dom. Principis venient. ad coll. festo Ascensionis Domini, cum xxd. dat. ministrallis dom. Regis, vs.'—*In the year 1464.* 'Et in dat. ministrallis comitis Kancie venient. ad Coll. in mense Julii iiii. iiiid.'—*In the year 1467.* 'Et in datis quatuor mimis dom. de Arundell venient. ad. Coll. xiii. die febr. ex curialitate dom. Custodis, iis.'—*In the year 1466.* 'Et in dat. satrapis, [ut *supr.*] cum iis. dat. iiii. interludentibus et J. Meke cithariste eodem festo iiii.'—*In the year 1484.* 'Et in dat. uni ministrallo dom. principis, et in aliis ministrallis ducis Gloucestrie v. die Julii. xxd.'—The minssrels of the bishop, of lord Arundel, and the duke of Gloucester, occur very frequently. In domo muniment. coll. prædict. in cista ex orientali latere.

In rolls of the reign of Henry the sixth, the countess of Westmoreland, sister of cardina Beaufort, is mentioned as being entertained in the college; and in her retinue were the minstrels of her household, who received gratuities. Ex Rot. Comp. orig.

In these rolls there is an entry, which seems to prove that the *usores* were a sort of actors in dumb show or masquerade. *Rot. an. 1467.* 'Dat lusoribus de civitate Winton venientibus ad collegium in *apparatu suo* mens. julii, vs. viiid.' This is a large reward. I will add from the same rolls, *ann. 1479.* 'In dat Joh. Pontisbery et socio ludentibus in aula in die circumcisonis, iis.'

² Ibid. It appears that the Coventry-men were in high repute for their performances of this sort. In the entertainment presented to queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth castle, in the year 1575, The Coventry-men exhibited 'their old storial shew.' Laneham's *narrative*, &c. p. 32. Minstrels were hired from Coventry to perform at Holy Crosse feast at Abingdon, Berks, 1422. Herne's *Lib Nig Scacc.* ii. p. 598. See an account of their play on Corpus Christi day, in Steven's *Monasticon*, i. p. 238. And Hearne's *Foadun*, p. 1450. sub. an 1492.

³ Madox, *Hist. Exchequer*, p. 251. Where he is styled, 'Galsridus citharædus.'

⁴ Powel's CAMBRIA. *To the Reader.* pag. i. edit. 1581.

⁵ Evans's *Diss. de Bardis.* Specimens of Welsh poetry. p. 92. Wood relates a story of two itinerant priests coming, towards night, to a cell of Benedictines near Oxford, where, on a supposition of their being mimes or minstrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, sacrist, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained with their *pesticulatioriis ludierisque artibus*, and finding them to be nothing more than two indigent ecclesiastics who could only administer spiritual consolation, and being consequently disappointed of their mirth, beat them and turned them out of the monastery. *Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* i. 67. Under the year 1224.

tain themselves with songs, and other diversions consistent with decency: and to recite poems, chronicles of kingdoms, the wonders of the world, together with the like compositions, not misbecoming the clerical character. I will transcribe his words. 'Quando ob dei reverentiam aut sue matris, vel alterius sancti cujuscunque, tempore yemali, ignis in aula sociis ministratur; tunc scolaribus et sociis post tempus prandii aut cene, liceat gracia recreationis, in aula, in Cantilenis et aliis solaciis honestis, moram facere condecentem; et Poemata, regnorum Chronicas, et mundi hujus Mirabilia, ac cetera que statum clericalem condecorant, serius pertractare¹.' The latter part of this injunction seems to be an explication of the former: and on the whole it appears, that the *Cantilenæ* which the scholars should sing on these occasions, were a sort of *Poemata*, or poetical Chronicles, containing general histories of kingdoms². It is natural to conclude, that they preferred pieces of English history: and among Hearne's MSS. I have discovered some fragments on vellum³, containing metrical chronicles of our kings; which, from the nature of the composition, seem to have been used for this purpose, and answer our idea of these general *Chronicæ regnorum*. Hearne supposed them to have been written about the time of Richard I.: but I rather assign them to the reign of Edward I., who died in the year 1307. But the reader shall judge. The following fragment begins abruptly with some rich presents which king Athelstan received from Charles III., king of France: a nail which pierced our Saviour's feet on the cross, a spear with which Charlemagne fought against the Saracens, and which some supposed to be the spear which pierced our Saviour's side, a part of the holy cross enclosed in crystal, three of the thorns from the crown on our Saviour's head, and a crown formed entirely of precious stones, which was endued with a mystical power of reconciling enemies.

Ther in was cloyd a nayle grete
Gyt⁴ he presentyd hym the spere
Agens the Sarasyns in batayle;
That with that spere smerte⁶
And a party⁷ of the holi crosse
And three of the thornes kene
And a ryche crowne of golde

That went thorw oure lordis fete.
That Charles was wont to bere
Many swore and sayde saunfayle⁵,
Our lorde was stungen to the herte.
In crystal done in a cloos.
That was in Cristes hede sene,
Non rycher kyng wer y scholde,

¹ Rubric. xviii. The same thing is enjoined in the statutes of Winchester college, Rubr. xv. I do not remember any such passage in the statutes of preceding colleges in either university. But this injunction is afterwards adopted in the statutes of Magdalene college; and from thence, if I recollect right, was copied into those of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

² Hearne thus understood the passage. 'The wife founder of New college permitted them [metrical chronicles] to be sung by the fellows and scholars upon extraordinary days.' Hemming. Cartul. ii. APPEND Numb. ix. § vi. p. 662.

³ Given to him by Mr. Murray. See Heming. Cartul. ii. p. 654. And Rob. Glouc. ii. pl. 731. Nunc. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. RAWLINS. Cod. 410 [E. Pr. 87.]

⁴ Yet. Moreover.

⁵ Without doubt. Fr.

⁶ Sharp, strong. So in the *Lives of the Saints*, MSS. supr. citat. In th. Life of S. Edmund.

For saint Edmund had a *smerte zerde*, &c. i. e. 'He had a strong rod in his hand, &c.'

⁷ Part. Piece

Y made within and withowt With pretius stonys alle a bowte,
 Of eche manir vertu thry¹ The stonys hadde the maystry
 Tomake frendes that ever were fone, Such a crowne was never none,
 To none erthelyche mon y wroght Syth God made the world of nogth.
 Kyng Athelstune was glad and blythe
 And thankud the kynge of Ffraunce swythe,
 Of gyfts nobul and ryche In crystiante was no hym leche.
 In his tyme, I understonde, Was Guy of Warwyk yn Inglande,
 And ffor Englund dede batayle With a mygti gyande, without fayle;
 His name was hote Colbrond Gwy hym slough with his hond
 Seven yere kyng Athelston Held this his kyngdome

 In Ingland that ys so mury,
 He dyedde and lythe at Malmesbury².

After hym regned his brother Edmond. And was kyng of Ingelond,
 And he ne regned here, But unneth nine yere,
 Sith hyt be falle at a feste At Caunterbury³ a cas unwrest⁴,
 As the kyng at the mete fat He behelde and under that

 Of a thief that was desgyse
 Amonge hys knyghtes god and wise ;
 The kyng was hesty and sterte uppe
 And hent the thefe by the toppe⁵
 And cast hym doune on a ston:

 The theefe brayde out a knyfe a non

And the kyng to the hert threste, Or any of his knyghtes weste⁶ :
 The baronys sterte up anone, And slough the theefe swythe sone,
 But arst⁷ he wounded many one,
 Through the flesch and through the bone :
 To Glastenbury they bare the kynge,
 And ther made his buryinge⁸.

After that Edmund was ded, Reyned his brother Edred ;
 Edred reyned here But unnethe thre yere, &c.
 After hym reyned seynt Edgare, A wyse kynge and a warre :
 Thilke nyghte that he was bore, Seynt Dunstan was glad ther fore ;
 Ffor herde that swete stevene Of the angels of hevene :
 In the songe thei songe bi ryme, ‘Y blessed be that ylke tyme
 ‘That Edgare y bore y was, ‘Ffor in hys tyme schal be pas,
 ‘Ever more in hys kyngdome⁹.’
 The while he liveth and seynt Dunston,
 Ther was so meche grete foyson¹⁰.
 Of all good in every tonne ;

¹ Three.

² To which monastery he gave the fragment of the holy cross given him by the king of France. Rob. Glouc. p. 276.

Kyng Athelston lovede much Malmesbury y wis.

He gef of the holy cross some, thot there 3ut ys.

It is extraordinary, thas Peter Langtoft should not know where Athelstan was buried ; and as strange that his translator Rob. de Brunne should supply this defect by mentioning a report that his body was lately found at Hexham in Northumberland. Chron. p. 32.

³ Rob. of Gloucester says, that this happened at Pucklechurch near Bristol. p. 277. But Rob. de Brunne at Canterbury, whither the king went to hold the feast of S. Austin. p. 33.

⁴ A wicked mischance.

⁵ Head.

⁶ Perceived.

⁷ Arrest. First.

⁸ At Gloucester, says Rob. de Brunne, p. 33. But Rob. of Gloucester says his body was brought from Pucklechurch, and interred at Glastonbury ; and that hence the town of Pucklechurch became part of the possessions of Glastonbury abbey, p. 271.

⁹ This song is in Rob. Glouc. Chron. p. 281.

¹⁰ Provision.

Al wyle that last his lyve, Ne lored he never fyght ne stryve.

The knyghtes of Wales, all and some
Han to swery and othes holde. And trewe to be as y told,
To bring trynge hym trewage¹ yeare,
CCC wolves eche zere ;

And so they dyde trewliche Three yere pleyneverlyche,
The fertheyeremyght they fynde non. So clene thay wer all a gon.

And the kyng hyt hem forgat For he nolde hem greve,
Edgare was an holi man That oure lorde, &c.

Although we have taken our leave of Robert de Brunne, yet as the subject is remarkable, and affords a striking portraiture of ancient manners, I am tempted to transcribe that chronicler's description of the presents received by king Athelstane from the king of France, especially as it contains some new circumstances, and supplies the defects of our fragment. It is from his version of Peter Langtoft's chronicle abovementioned.

At the feste of oure lady the Assumpcion,
Went the king fro London to Abindon,
Thider out of France, fro Charles kyng of fame,
Com the of Boloyn, Adulphus was his name,
And the duke of Burgoyne Edmonde sonne Reynere.
The brouht kyng Athelston present withouten pere :
Fro Charles kyng sanz faile thei brouht a gonfayno² un
That saynt Morice in batayle before the legioun;
And scharp lance that thrilled Jhesu syde;
And a suerd of golde, in the hilde did men hyde
Tuo of tho nayles that war thorh Jhesu fete;
Tached³ on the croys, the blode thei out lete;
And som of the thornes that don were on his heved,
And a fair pece that of the croys leved⁴,
That saynt Heleyn sonne at the batayle won
Of the soudan of Askalone his name was Madan.
Than blewe the trumpets full loud and full schille,
The kyng com in to the halle that hardy was of wille:
Than spak Reyner Edmunde sonne, for he was messengere,
'Athelstan, my lord the gretes, Charles that has no pere;
'He sends the this present, and sais, he wille hym bynde
'To the thorh⁵ Ilde thi sistere, and tille alle thi kynde.'
Befor the messengers was the maiden brouht,
Of body so gentill was non in erthe wrouht;
No non so faire of face, of spech so lusty,
Scho granted befor tham all to Charles hir body:
And so did the kyng, and alle the baronage,
Mikelle was the richesse thei purveied in hir passage⁶.

¹ Ready. ² Banner. ³ Tacked. Fastened. ⁴ Remained. ⁵ 'Thee through.'

⁶ Chron. p. 29. 30. Afterwards follows the combat of Guy with 'a hogge [huge] geant, hight Colibrant.' As in our fragment, p. 31. See Will. Malmes. Gest. Angl. ii. 6. The lance of Charlemagne is to this day shewn among the relics of St. Dennis's in France. Carpenter, Suppl. Gloff. Lat. Du-cang. tom. ii. p. 994. edit. 1766.

Another of these fragments, evidently of the same composition, seems to have been an introduction to the whole. It begins with the martyrdom of saint Alban, and passes on to the introduction of Wassail, and to the names and division of England.

And now he ys alle so hole y fonde,
 As whan he was y leyde on grounde.
 And gyf ge wille not ¹ trow me,
 Goth to Westmynstere, and ye mow se.
 In that tyme Seynt Albon,
 For Goddys love ² tholed martirdome,
 And xl. yere with schame and ³ schonde
 Was ⁴ drowen oute of Englund.
 In that tyme ⁵ weteth welle,
 Cam ferst Wassayle and Drynkehayl
 In to this lond, with owte⁶ wene,
 Thurghe a mayde⁷ brygh and⁸ schene.
 Sche was⁹ cleput made Ynge.
 For hur many dothe rede and synge.
 Lordyngys¹⁰ gent and free.
 This lond hath y hadde namys thre.
 Ferest hit was cleput Albyon,
 And syth¹¹ for Brut Bretayne a non,
 And now Ynglund cleput hit ys,
 Astir mayde Ynge y wysse.
 Thilke Ynge fro Saxone was come,
 And with here many a moder sonne.
 For gret hungure y understonde
 Ynge went oute of hure londe.
 And thorow leue of oure kyng
 In this land sche hadde restyng.
 As meche lande of the kyng sche¹² bade,
 As with a hole hyde¹³ me mygth sprede.
 The kyng¹⁴ graunt he bonne.
 A strong castel sche made sone,
 And whan the castel was al made,
 The kyng to the mate sche¹⁵ bade.
 The kyng graunted here a none.
 He wyst not what thay wold done.

* * *

And sayde to¹⁶ ham in this manere
 ' The kyng to morow schal ete here.
 ' He and alle hys men,
 ' Ever¹⁷ one of us and one of them,
 ' To geder schal sitte at the mete.
 ' And when thay have al most ye ete,
 ' I wole say wassayle to the kyng,

¹ Believe.

² Suffered.

³ Confusion.

⁴ Driven, drawn.

⁵ Know ye.

⁶ Doubt.

⁷ Bright.

⁸ Fair.

⁹ Called.

¹⁰ Gentle.

¹¹ From, because of.

¹² Requested, desired.

¹³ Men might.

¹⁴ Granted her request

¹⁵ Bid.

¹⁶ Them.

¹⁷ Every.

' And she hym with oute any¹ leying.
 And loke that ye in this manere Eche of gow she his ²fere.'
 And so sche dede thenne, Slowe the kyng alle hys men.
 And thus, thorowgh here³ queyntyse,
 This londe was wonne in this wyse.
 Syth⁴ a non sone an⁵ swythe Was Englund⁶ deled on fyve,
 To fyve kynggys trewelyche
 That were nobyl and swythe ryche.
 That one hadde alle the londe of Kente,
 That ys free and swythe gente.
 And in hys lond bysshopus⁷ tweye. Worthy men⁷ where theye.
 The archebysshop of Canturbery,
 And of Rochestore that ys mery.
 The kyng of Essex of ⁸renon He hadde to his portion
 Westschire, Barkschire, Soussex, Southamptshire.
 And ther to Dorsetshyre, All Cornewalle and Devenshire.
 All thys were of hys⁹ anypre. The king hadde on his hond
 Five bysshopes starke and strong, Of Salusbury was that on.

As to the *Mirabilia Mundi*, mentioned in the statutes of New College at Oxford, in conjunction with these *Poemata* and *Regnorum Chronica*, the immigrations of the Arabians into Europe and the crusades produced numberless accounts, partly true and partly fabulous, of the wonders seen in the eastern countries; which falling into the hands of the monks, grew into various treatises, under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*. There were also some professed travellers into the East in the dark ages, who surprised the western world with their marvellous narratives, which could they have been contradicted would have been believed¹⁰. At the court of the grand Khan, persons of all nations and religions, if they discovered any distinguished degree of abilities, were kindly entertained and often preferred.

In the Bodleian library we have a superb vellum MSS., decorated with ancient descriptive paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Histoire de Graunt Kaan et des MERVEILLES DU MONDE*¹¹. The same work is among the royal MSS.¹² A Latin epistle, said to be translated from

¹ Lye.² Companion.³ Stratagem.⁴ After.⁵ Very.⁶ Divided.⁷ Were.⁸ Renown.⁹ Empire.

¹⁰ The first European traveller who went far Eastward, is Benjamin a Jew of Tudela in Navarre. He penetrated from Constantinople through Alexandria in Ægypt and Persia to the frontiers of Tzin, now China. His travels end in 1173. He mentions the immense wealth of Constantinople; and says that its port swarmed with ships from all countries. He exaggerates in speaking of the prodigious number of Jews in that city. He is full of marvellous and romantic stories. William de Rubruquis, a monk, was sent into Persic Tartary, and by the command of S. Louis king of France, about the year 1245. As was also Carpini, by Pope Innocent IV. Their books abound with improbabilities. Marco Polo a Venetian nobleman travelled eastward into Syria and Persia to the country constantly called in the dark ages Cathay, which proves to be the northern part of China. This was about the year 1260. His book is entitled *De Regionibus Orientis*. He mentions the immense and opulent city of Cambalu, undoubtedly Pekin. Hakluyt cites a friar, named Oderick, who travelled to Cambalu in Cathay, and whose description of that city corresponded exactly with Pekin. Friar Bacon about 1280, from these travels formed his geography of this part of the globe, as may be collected from what he relates of the Tartars. Purchas Pilgr. iii. 52. And Bac. Op. Maj. 228. 235.

¹¹ MSS. Bodl. F. 10. fol. prægrand. ad calc. Cod. The hand-writing is about the reign of Edward III. I am not sure whether it is not Mandeville's book.

¹² Brit. Mus. MSS. Bibl. Reg. 19. D. i. 3.

the Greek by Corneliue Nepos, is an extremely common MSS., entitled, *De situ et Mirabilibus Indiæ*¹. It is from Alexander the Great to his preceptor Aristotle : and the Greek original was most probably drawn from some of the fabulous authors of Alexander's story.

There is a manuscript, containing *La Chartre que Prestre Jehan maunda a Fredewik l'Empereur DE MERVAILLES DE SA TERRE*². This was Frederick Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, or his successor ; both of whom were celebrated for their many successful enterprises in the holy land, before the year 1230. Prester John, a christian, was emperor of India. I find another tract, *DE MIRABILIBUS Terræ Sanctæ*³. A book of Sir John Mandeville, a famous traveller into the East about the year 1340, is under the title of *Mirabilia Mundi*. His Itinerary might indeed have the same title⁴. An English title in the Cotton library is, 'The Voiage and Travailes of Sir John Maundevile 'knight, which treateth of the way to Hierusalem and of the MAR-VEYLES of Inde with other ilands and countryes.' In the Cotton library there is a piece with the title, *Sanctorum Loca, MIRABILIA MUNDI, &c.*⁵. Afterwards the wonders of other countries were added : and when this sort of reading began to grow fashionable, Gyraldus Cambrensis composed his book *De MIRABILIBUS Hiberniæ*⁶. There is also another *De MIRABILIBUS Angliæ*⁷. [Bibl. Bodl. MSS. C. 6.] At length the superstitious curiosity of the times was gratified with compilations under the comprehensive title of *MIRABILIA Hiberniæ, Angliæ, et Orientalis*⁸. But enough has been said of these infatuations. Yet the history of human credulity is a necessary speculation

¹ It was first printed a *Jacobo Catalanensi* without date or place. Afterwards at Venice 1493. The Epistle is inscribed : *Alexander Magnus Aristoteli preceptoris suo salutem dicit*. It was never extant in Greek.

² Ibid. MSS. Reg. 20. A. xii. 3. And in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. E. 4. 3. 'Literæ Joannis Presbiteri ad Fredericum Imperatorem, &c.'

³ HSS. Reg. 14 C. xiii. 3.

⁴ MSS. C. C. C. Cant. A. iv. 69. We find *De Mirabilibus Mundi Liber*, HSS. Reg. ut supr. 13. E. ix. 5. And again, *De Mirabilibus Mundi et Viris illustribus Tractatus*, 14. C. vi. 3.

⁵ His book is supposed to have been interpolated by the monks. Leland observes, that Asia and Africa were parts of the world at this time. 'Anglis de fola fere nominis umbra cognitas.' Script. Br. p. 366. He wrote his Itinerary in French, English, and Latin. It extends to Cathay, or China, before mentioned. Leland says, that he gave to Beckett's shrine in Canterbury cathedral a glass globe enclosing an apple, which he probably brought from the east. Leland saw this curiosity, in which the apple remained fresh and undecayed. Ubi supr. Maundeville, on returning from his travels, gave to the high altar of S. Alban's abbey church a sort of Patera brought from Ægypt, now in the hands of an ingenious antiquary in London. He was a native of the town of S. Alban's and a physician. He says that he left many MERVAYLES unwritten ; and refers the curious reader to his *MAPPA MUNDI*, chap. cviii. cix. A history of the Tartars became popular in Europe about the year 1310, written or dictated by Aiton a king of Armenia, who having traversed the most remarkable countries of the east, turned monk at Cyprus, and published his travels ; which, on account of the rank of the author, and his amazing adventures, gained great esteem.

⁶ Galb. A. xxi. 3.

⁷ It is printed among the *Scriptores Hist Angl.* Francof. 1602. fol. 692. Written about the year 1200. It was so favorite a title that we have even *De MIRABILIBUS Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. MSS. Coll. Æn. Naf. Oxon. Cod. 12. f. 190. a.

⁸ As in MSS. Reg. 13 D. i. 11. I must not forget that the *Polybistor* of Julius Solinus appears in many MSS. under the title of *Solinus de Mirabilibus Mundi*. This was so favourite a book, as to be translated into hexameters by some monk in the twelfth century, according to Voss. Hist. Latín. iii. p. 721.

to those who trace the gradations of human knowledge. Let me add that a spirit of rational enquiry into the topographical state of foreign countries, the parent of commerce and of a thousand improvements, took its rise from these visions.

I close this section with an elegy on the death of king Edward I., who died in the year 1307.

I.—Alle that beoth of huert trewe¹

A stounde herkneth to my songe²,
Of duel that Dethe has dihte us newe,
That maketh me seke and sorewe amonge;
Of a knyht that wes so stronge
Of whom god hath done ys wille;
Methuncheth³ that Deth has don us wronge
That he⁴ so sone shall ligge stille.

II.—Al England ahte⁵ forte knowe:

Of whom that song ys that yfyngne,
Of Edward kyng that ys so bolde,
Gent⁶ al this world is nome con springe:
Trewest mon of al thinge,
Ant in werre ware and wise;
For hym we ahte our honden⁷ wryngne,
Of cristendome he bare the pris.

III.—Byfore that oure kyng was ded

He speke as mon that was in care
'Clerkes, knyhts, barrons, he sed
'Ycharge ou⁸ by oure sware⁹
'That ye be to Englonde trewe,
'Y deze¹⁰ y ne may lyven na more;
'Helpeth mi sone, ant crowneth him newe,
'For he is¹¹ nest to buen y-core.

IV.—'Iche biqueth myn hirte aryht,

'That hit be write at mi devys,
'Over the sea that Hue¹² be diht,
'With fourscore knyghtes al of pris,
'In werre that buen war aut wys,
'Agein the hethene for te fythe,
'To wynne the croize that lowe lys,
'Myself yscholde gef thet y myhte.

V.—Kyng of Fraunce! thou hevedest sunne¹³,

That thou the counsail woldest fonde,
To latte¹⁴ the wille of kyng Edward,
To wende to the holi londe;
Thet oure kyng hede take on honde,
All Engelond to¹⁵ zeme and wysse¹⁶,
To wenden in to the holy londe
To wynnen us heveriche¹⁷ blisse.

¹ 'Be of true heart.'

² A little while.

³ Methinks.

⁴ The king.

⁵ Ought for to.

⁶ Through. Sax. *gent. Yent.*

⁷ Hands.

⁸ You.

⁹ Oath.

¹⁰ Deze. DEYE, die.

¹¹ 'Next, to be chosen.'

¹² One of his officers.

¹³ Sin.

¹⁴ Let, hinder.

¹⁵ Geme, protect.

¹⁶ Govern.

¹⁷ Every.

VI.—The messenger to the pope com
 And seyede that our kynge was dede¹,
 Ys² owne honde the lettre he nom³,
 Ywis his herte wes ful gret:
 The pope himself the lettre redde,
 And spec a word of gret honour.
 ‘Alas! he seid, is Edward ded?
 ‘Of cristendome he ber the flour!’

VII.—The pope is to chaumbre wende
 For dole ne mihte he speke na more;
 Ant aftur cardinales he sende
 That much couthen of Cristes lore.
 Both the lasse⁴ ant eke the more
 Bed hem both red ant synge:
 Gret deol me⁵ myhte se thore⁶,
 Many mon is honde wrynge.

VIII.—The pope of Peyters stod at is masse
 With ful gret solempnete,
 Ther me con⁷ the soule blisse:
 ‘Kyng Edward, honoured thou be:
 ‘God love thi sone come after the,
 ‘Bringe to ende that thou hast bygonne,
 ‘The holy crois ymade of tre
 ‘So fain thou woldest hit have ywonne.

IX.—‘Jerusalem, thou hast ilore
 ‘The floure of al chivalrie,
 ‘Now kyng Edward liveth na more,
 ‘Alas, that he yet shulde deye!
 ‘He wolde ha rered up ful heyge
 ‘Our baners that bueth broht to grounde:
 ‘Wel longe we may clepe⁸ and crie,
 ‘Er we such a kyng have yfunde!’

X.—Now is Edward of Carnarvan⁹,
 Kyng of Engeland al aplyht¹⁰;
 God lete hem ner be worse man
 Then his fader ne lasse of myht,
 To holden is pore man to ryht
 And understende good counsail,
 All Engeland for to wysse and dyht
 Of gode knightes darh¹¹ hym nout fail.

¹ He died in Scotland, Jul. 7. 1307. The chroniclers pretend, that the Pope knew of his death the next day by a vision or some miraculous information. So Robert of Brunne, who recommends this tragical event to those who ‘Singe and say in romance and ryme.’ Chronicles p. 340. edit. ut sup.

The pope the tother day wist it in the court of Rome
 The Pope on the morn bifor the clergi cam
 And told tham biforn, the floure of cristendam
 Was ded and lay on bere, Edward of Ingeland.
 He said with hevye chere, in spirit he it fond.

He adds, that the Pope granted five years of pardon to those who would pray for his soul.

² In *his*.

³ Took.

⁴ Less.

⁵ There.

⁶ Men.

⁷ Began.

⁸ Call.

⁹ Edward II. born in Carnarvon castle.

¹⁰ Completely.

¹¹ Thar, there.

XI.—Thah mi tonge were mad of stel
 Ant min herte yzote of bras
 The godness myht y never telle
 That with kyng Edward was.
 Kyng as thou art cleped conquerour
 In vch battaile thou heedest prys,
 Gode bringe thi soule to the honeur
 That ever was and ever ys¹.

That the pope should here pronounce the funeral panegyric of Edward I., is by no means surprising, if we consider the predominant ideas of the age. And in the true spirit of these ideas, the poet makes this illustrious monarch's achievements in the holy land, his principal and leading topic. But there is a particular circumstance alluded to in these stanzas, relating to the crusading character of Edward, together with its consequences, which needs explanation. Edward, in the decline of life, had vowed a second expedition to Jerusalem: but finding his end approach, in his last moments he devoted the prodigious sum of thirty thousand pounds to provide one hundred and forty knights [The poet says 80], who should carry his heart into Palestine. But this appointment of the dying king was never executed. Our elegist, and the chroniclers, impute the crime of withholding so pious a legacy to the advice of the king of France, whose daughter Isabel was married to the succeeding king. But it is more probable to suppose, that Edward II., and his profligate minion Piers Gaveston, dissipated the money in their luxurious and expensive pleasures.

SECTION III.

WE have seen, in the preceeding section, that the character of our poetical composition began to be changed about the reign of the first Edward: that either fictitious adventures were substituted by the minstrels in the place of historical or traditionary facts, or reality disguised by the misrepresentations of invention; and that a taste for ornamental and even exotic expression gradually prevailed over the rude simplicity of the native English phraseology. This change, which with our language affected our poetry, had been growing for some time; and among other causes was occasioned by the introduction and the increase of the tales of chivalry.

¹ MSS. Harl. 2253. f. 73. In a Miscellany called the *Muses Library*, compiled, as I have been informed, by an ingenious lady of the name of Cooper, there is an elegy on the death of Henry I., 'wrote immediately after his death, the 'author unknown.' p. 4. Lond. Pr. for T. Davies, 1738. octavo. But this piece, which has great merit, could not have been written till some centuries afterwards. From the classical allusions and general colour of the phraseology, to say nothing more, it with greater probability belongs to Henry VIII. It escaped me till just before this work went to press, that Dr. Percy had printed this elegy, Ball. ii. 9.

The ideas of chivalry, in an imperfect degree, had been of old established among the Gothic tribes. The fashion of challenging to single combat, the pride of seeking dangerous adventures, and the spirit of avenging and protecting the fair sex, seem to have been peculiar to the northern nations in the most uncultivated state of Europe. All these customs were afterwards encouraged and confirmed by corresponding circumstances in the feudal constitution. At length the crusades excited a new spirit of enterprise, and introduced into the courts and ceremonies of European princes a higher degree of splendor and parade, caught from the riches and magnificence of eastern cities¹. These oriental expeditions established a taste for hyperbolical description, and propagated an infinity of marvellous tales, which men returning from distant countries easily imposed on credulous and ignorant minds. The unparalleled emulation with which the nations of christendom universally embraced this holy cause, the pride with which emperors, kings, barons, earls, bishops, and knights strove to excel each other on this interesting occasion, not only in prowess and heroism, but in sumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognisances, splendid pavilions, and other expensive articles of a similar nature, diffused a love of war, and a fondness for military pomp. Hence their very diversions became warlike, and the martial enthusiasm of the times appeared in tilts and tournaments. These practices and opinions co-operated with the kindred superstitions of dragons², dwarfs, fairies, giants, and enchanters, which the traditions of the Gothic scalders had already planted; and produced that extraordinary species of composition which has been called ROMANCE.

Before these expeditions into the east became fashionable, the principal and leading subjects of the old fablers were the achievements of king Arthur with his knights of the round table, and of Charlemagne with his twelve peers. But in the romances written after the holy war, a new set of champions, of conquests, and of countries, were introduced. Trebizonde took place of Roncevalles, and Godfrey of Bulloigne, Solymán, Nouraddin, the caliphs, the souldans, and the cities of Ægypt and Syria became the favourite topics. The troubadours of Provence, an idle and unsettled race of men, took up arms, and followed their barons in prodigious multitudes to the conquest of Jerusalem. They made a considerable part of the household of the

¹ I cannot help transcribing here a curious passage from old Fauchett. He is speaking of Louis the young, king of France, about the year 1150. 'Le quel fut le premier roy de sa maison, qui monstra dehors ses richesses allant en Jerusalem. Aussi la France commenca de son temps a s'embellir de bastimens plus magnifiques: prendre plaisir a perrieres, et autres delicatesses goustus en Levant par luy, ou les seigneurs qui avoient ja fait ce voyage. De forte qu'on peut dire qu'il a este le premier tenant Cour de grand Roy: estant si magnifique, que sa semme dedaignant la simplicité de ses predecesseurs, luy sit elever une sepulture d'argent, au lieu de perrie.' *RECUEIL de la Lang. es Poes. Fr. ch. viii. p. 76. edit. 1581.* He adds, that a great number of French romances were composed about this period.

² See Kircher's *Mund. Subterr.* viii. § 4. He mentions a knight of Rhodes made grand master of the order for killing a dragon, 1345.

nobility of France. Louis the seventh, king of France, not only entertained them at his court very liberally, but commanded a considerable quantity of them into his retinue, when he took ship for Palestine, that they might solace him with their songs, during the dangers and inconveniencies of so long a voyage. [Velly, Hist. Fr. sub. an. 1178.] The ancient chroniclers of France mention *Legions de poëtes* as embarking in this wonderful enterprise.¹ Here a new and more copious scene of fabling was opened: in these expeditions they picked up numberless extravagant stories, and at their return enriched romance with an infinite variety of oriental scenes and fictions. Thus these later wonders, in some measure, supplanted the former: they had the recommendations of novelty, and gained still more attention, as they came from a greater distance.²

In the mean time we should recollect, that the Saracens or Arabians, the same people which were the object of the crusades, had acquired an establishment in Spain about the ninth century: and that by means of this earlier intercourse, many of their fictions and fables, together with their literature, must have been known in Europe before the christian armies invaded Asia. It is for this reason the elder Spanish romances have professedly more Arabian allusions than any other. Cervantes makes the imagined writer of Don Quixote's history an Arabian. Yet exclusive of their domestic and more immediate connection with this eastern people, the Spaniards from temper and constitution were extravagantly fond of chivalrous exercises. Some critics have supposed, that Spain having learned the art or fashion of romance-writing, from their naturalised guests the Arabians, communicated it, at an early period, to the rest of Europe³.

It has been imagined that the first romances were composed in

¹ Massieu, Hist. Poes. Fr. p. 105. Many of the troubadours, whose works now exist, and whose names are recorded, accompanied their lords to the holy war. Some of the French nobility of the first rank were troubadours about the eleventh century: and the French critics with much triumph observe, that it is the GLORY of the French poetry to number counts and dukes, that is *sovereigns*, among its professors, from its commencement. What a glory! The worshipful company of Merchant-tailors in London, if I recollect right, boast the names of many dukes, earls, and princes, enrolled in their community. This is indeed an honour to that otherwise respectable society. But poets can derive no lustre from counts, and dukes, or even princes, who have been enrolled in their lists; only in proportion as they have adorned the art by the excellence of their compositions.

² The old French historian Mezeray goes so far as to derive the origin of the French poetry and romances from the crusades. Hist. p. 416. 417. 'Geoffrey of Vinesauf says, that when king Richard the first arrived at the Christian camp before Ptolemais, he was received with *populares Cantiones*, which recited *Antiquorum Præclara Gesta*. IT. HIEROSOL. cap. ii. p. 332. *idid*.

³ Huet in some measure adopts this opinion. But that learned man was a very incompetent judge of these matters. Under the common term *Romance*, he confounds romances of chivalry, romances of gallantry, and all the fables of the Provençal poets. What can we think of a writer, who having touched upon the gothic romances, at whose fictions and barbarisms he is much shocked, talks of the *consummate degree of art and elegance to which the French are at present arrived in romances*? He adds, that the superior refinement and politesse of the French gallantry has happily given them an advantage of shining in this species of composition. Hist. Rom. p. 138. But the sophistry and ignorance of Huet's Treatise has been already detected and exposed by a critic of another cast, in the SUPPLEMENT TO JARVIS'S PREFACE, prefixed to the *Translation of Don Quixote*.

metre, and sung to the harp by the poets of Provence at festival solemnities : but an ingenious Frenchman, who has made deep researches into this sort of literature, attempts to prove, that this mode of reciting romantic adventures was in high reputation among the natives of Normandy, above a century before the troubadours of Provence, who are generally supposed to have led the way to the poets of Italy, Spain, and France, and that it commenced about the year 1162¹. If the critic mean to insinuate, that the French troubadours acquired their art of versifying from these Norman bards, this reasoning will favour the system of those, who contend that metrical romances lineally took their rise from the historical odes of the Scandinavian scalds : for the Normans were a branch of the Scandinavian stock. But Fauchett, at the same time that he allows the Normans to have been fond of chanting the praises of their heroes in verse, expressly² pronounces that they borrowed this practice from the Franks or French.

It is not my business, nor is it of much consequence, to discuss this obscure point, which properly belongs to the French antiquaries. I therefore proceed to observe, that our Richard I., who began his reign in the year 1189, a distinguished hero of the crusades, a most magnificent patron of chivalry, and a Provencal poet³, invited to his court many minstrels or troubadours from France, whom he loaded with honours and rewards⁴. These poets imported into England a

¹ Mons. L' Eveque de la Raverie, in his *Revolutions de Langue Francoise, a la suite des POESIES DU ROI DE NAVARRE*.

² 'Ce que les Normans avoyent pris des Francois.' Rec. liv. i. p. 70. edit. 1581.

³ See Observations on Spencer, i. §. i. p. 28. 29. Walpole's Royal and Noble authors, i. 5. Rymer's *Short View of Tragedy*, ch. vii. p. 73. edit. 1693. Savarie de Mauleon, an English gentleman who lived in the service of Saint Louis king of France, and one of the Provencal poets, said of Richard,

Coblas a teira faire adroitement

Pou vos oillex enten dompna gentiltz.

'He could make stanzas on the eyes of female ladies,' Rymer, *ibid.* p. 74. There is a curious story recorded by the French chroniclers, concerning Richard's skill in the minstrel art, which I will here relate.—Richard, in his return from the crusade, was taken prisoner about the year 1193. A whole year elapsed before the English knew where their monarch was imprisoned. Blondell de Neste, Richard's favourite minstrel, resolved to find out his lord ; and after travelling many days without success, at last came to a castle where Richard was detained in custody. Here he found that the castle belonged to the duke of Austria, and that a king was there imprisoned. Suspecting that the prisoner was his master, he found means to place himself directly before a window of the chamber where the king was kept ; and in this situation began to sing a French chanson, which Richard and Blondell had formerly written together. When the king heard the song he knew it was Blondell who sung it ; and when Blondell paused after the first half of the song, the king began the other half and completed it. On this, Blondell returned home to England, and acquainted Richard's barons with the place of his imprisonment, from which he was soon afterwards released. Fauchett, Rec. p. 93. Richard lived long in Provence, where he acquired a taste for their poetry. The only relic of his sonnets is a small fragment in old French, accurately cited by Walpole, and written during his captivity ; in which he remonstrates to his men and barons of England, Normandy, Poitiers, and Gascony, that they suffered him to remain so long a prisoner. Catal. Roy. and Nob. Auth. i. 5. Nostradamus's account of Richard is full of false facts and anachronisms. Poet. Provenc. artic. RICHARD.

⁴ 'De regno Francorum cantores et joculatores muneribus allexerat.' Rog Hoved. Ric. I, p. 340. These gratuities were chiefly arms, cloaths, horses, and sometimes money. 'On a review of this passage in Hoveden, it appears to have been William bishop of Ely, chancellor to king Richard the first, who thus invited minstrels from France, whom he loaded with favours and presents to sing his praises in the streets. But it does not much alter the doctrine of the text, whether he or the king was instrumental in importing the French minstrels

great multitude of their tales and songs; which before or about the reign of Edward II. became familiar and popular among our ancestors, who were sufficiently acquainted with the French language. The most early notice of a professed book of chivalry in England, as it should seem, appears under the reign of Henry the third; and is a curious and evident proof of the reputation and esteem in which this sort of composition was held at that period. In the revenue-roll of the twenty-first year of that king, there is an entry of the expense of silver clasps and studs for the king's great book of romances. This was in the year 1237. But I will give the article in its origin a dress. 'Et in

into England. This passage is in a letter of Hugh bishop of Coventry, which see also in Hearn's *benedictus Abbas*, vol. ii. p. 704. sub ann 1191. It appears from this letter, that he was totally ignorant of the English language. *ibid* p. 708. By his contemporary Gyraldus Cambrensis, he is represented as a monster of injustice, impiety, intemperance, and lust. Gyraldus has left these anecdotes of his character, which shew the scandalous grossness of the times. 'Sed taceo quod ruminare solet, nunc clamitat Anglia tota, qualiter puella, matris industria tam coma quam cultu puerum professa, simulansque virum verbis et vultu, ad cubiculum belluæ istius est perducta. Sed statim ut exosi illius sevus est inventa, quanquam in se pulcherrima, thalamique thorique deliciis valde idonea, repudiata tamen est et abjecta.' 'Unde et in crastino, matri filia, tam flagitiosi facinorosi conscia, cum Petitionis effectum, terisque non modicis eandem jure hæreditario contingentibus, virgo, ut venerat, est restituta. Tantæ nimirum intemperantiæ, et petulantia fuerat tam immoderata, quod quotidie in prandio circa finem, pretiosis tam potionibus quam cibariis ventre distento, virga aliquantum longa in capite aculeum præferente pueros nobiles ad mensam ministrantes, eique propter multimodam qua fugebatur potestatem in omnibus ad nutum obsequentes, pungere vicissim consueverit: ut eo indicio, quasi signo quodam secretiore, quem fortius, inter alios, atque frequentius sic quasi ludicro pungebat, &c. &c.' DE VIT. GALFRID. Archiepiscop. Ebor. Apud Whart. ANGL. SACR. vol. ii. p. 406. But Wharton endeavours to prove, that the character of this great prelate and statesman in many particulars had been misrepresented through prejudice and envy. *Ibid*. vol. i. p. 632.

It seems the French minstrels, with whom the Song of ROLAND originated, were famous about this period. Muratori cites an old history of Bologna, under the year 1288, by which it appears, that they swarmed in the streets of Italy. 'Ut CANTATORES FRANCIGENARUM in plateis comunis ad cantandum morari non possent.' On which words he observes, 'Colle quali parole sembra verosimile, che sieno disegnati in catatore del favole romanza, ches *spezialmente della Franzia erano portate in Italia*.' DISSERT. ANTICHT. Ital. tom. ii. c. xxix. p. 16. In Napoli, 1752. He adds, that the minstrels were so numerous in France, as to become a pest to the community; and that an edict was issued about the year 1200, to suppress them in that kingdom. Muratori, in further proof of this point, quotes the above passage from Hoveden; which, as I had done, he misapplies to our king Richard the first. But, in either sense, it equally suits his argument. In the year 1334, at a feast on Easter Sunday, celebrated at Rimini, on occasion of some noble Italians receiving the honour of knighthood, more than one thousand five hundred HISTRIONES are said to have attended. 'Triumphus quiden maximus fuit ibidem, &c.—Fuit etiam multitudo HISTRIONUM circa mille quingentos et ultra.' ANNAL. CÆSENAT. tom. xiv. RER. ITALIC. SCRIPTOR. col. 1141. But their countries are not specified. In the year 1227, at a feast in the palace of the archbishop of Genoa, a sumptuous banquet and vestments without number were given to the minstrels, or *Joculatores*, then present, who came from Lombardy, Provence, Tuscany, and other countries. Caffari ANNAL. GENUENS. lib. vi. p. 449. D. Apud Tom. vi. ut supr. In the year 774, when Charlemagne entered Italy and found his passage impeded, he was met by a minstrel of Lombardy, whose song promised him success and victory. 'Contigit JOCLATOREM ex Longobardorum gente ad Carolum venire, et CANTIUNCULAM A SE COMPOSISAM, rotando in conspectu suorum, cantare.' Tom. ii. p. 2. ut supr. CHRON. MONAST. NOVAL. lib. iii. cap. x. p. 717. D.

To recur to the origin of this Note. Rymer, in his SHORT VIEW OF TRAGEDY, on the notion that Hoveden is here speaking of king Richard, has founded a theory, which is consequently false, and is otherwise but imaginary. See p. 66. 67. 69. 74. He supposes, that Richard, in consequence of his connection with Raimond count of Tholouse, encouraged the heresy of the Albigenses; and that therefore the historian Hoveden, as an ecclesiastic, was interested in abusing Richard, and in insinuating, that his reputation for poetry rested only on the venal praises of the French minstrels. The words quoted are, indeed, written by a churchman, although not by Hoveden. But whatever invidious turn they bear, they belong, as we have seen, to quite another person; to a bishop who justly deserved such an indirect stroke of satire, for his criminal enormities, not for any vain pretensions to the character of a Provençal songster.

'firmaculis hapsis et clavis argenteis ad magnum librum ROMANCIS regis.' [Rot. Pip. an. 21. Henr. III.] That this superb volume was in French, may be partly collected from the title which they gave it: and it is highly probable, that it contained the Romance of Richard I., on which I shall enlarge below. At least the victorious achievements of that monarch were so famous in the reign of Henry III., as to be made the subject of a picture in the royal palace of Clarendon near Salisbury. A circumstance which likewise appears from the same ancient record under the year 1246. 'Et in camera regis subtus capellam regis apud Clarendon lambruscanda, et muro ex transverso illius cameræ amovendo et hystoria Antiochiæ in eadem depingenda cum DUELLO REGIS RICARDI'. To these anecdotes we may add, that in the royal library at Paris there is, '*Lancelot du Lac mis en François par Robert de Borron, du commandement d' Henri roi de Angleterre avec figures*'. And the same manuscript occurs twice again in that library in three volumes, and in four volumes of the largest folio. [See Montf. *ibid.*] Which of our Henrys it was who thus commanded the romance of LANCELOT DU LAC to be translated into French, is indeed uncertain: but most probably it was Henry the third just mentioned, as the translator Robert Borron is placed soon after the year 1200³.

'[In Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an English poem on the SANGREAL, and its appendages, containing 40,000 verses. MSS. LXXX. chart. The MSS. is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end. The title at the head of the first page is ACTA ARTHURI REGIS, written probably by Joceline, chaplain and secretary to archbishop Parker. The narrative, which appears to be on one continued subject. is divided into books, or sections, of unequal length. It is a translation made from Robert Borron's French romance called LANCELOT, above-mentioned, which includes the adventure of the SANGREAL, by Henry Lonelich Skynner, a name which I never remember to have seen among those of the English poets. The diction is of the age of king Henry VI. Borel, in his *TRESOR de Recherches et Antiquitez Gauloises et Francoises*, says, 'Il y'a un Roman ancien intitule LE CONQUESTE

¹ Rot. Pip. an. 36. Henr. III. Richard I. performed great feats at the siege of Antioch in the crusade. The *Ductum* was another of his exploits among the Saracens. Compare Walpole's Anecd. Paint. i. 10. Who mentions a certain *great book* borrowed for the queen, written in French, containing GESTA ANTIOCHIÆ et regum aliorum, &c. This was in the year 1249. He adds, that there was a chamber in the old palace of Westminster, painted with this history, in the reign of Henry the third, and therefore called the ANTIOCH CHAMBER: and another in the Tower.

² Cod. 6783. fol. max. See Montfaucon. Catal. MSS. p. 785. a.

³ Among the infinite number of old MSS. French romances on this subject in the same noble repository, the learned Montfaucon recites, 'Le Roman de Trifan et Iseult traduit de Latin en François par Lucas chevalier sieur du chastel du Gast pres de Salisberi, Anglois, avec figures.' Cod. 6776. fol. max. And again, 'Livres de Tristan mis en François par Lucas chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat.' Cod. 6956. seq. fol. max. In another article, this translator the chevalier Lucas, of whom I can give no account, is called Huc or Hue. Cod. 6976. seq. Nor do I know of any castle, or place, of this name near Salisbury. Cod. 7174.

'DE SANGREALL, &c.' Edit. 1655. 4to. V. GRAAL. It is difficult to determine with any precision which is Robert Borron's French Romance now under consideration, as so many have been written on the subject. The diligence and accuracy of Mr. Nasmith have furnished me with the following transcript from Lonelich Skynner's translation in Bennet college library.

Thanne passeth forth this storrye with al
That is cleped of som men SEYNT GRAAL
Also the SANK RYAL inclepid it is
Of mochel peple with owten mys

* * * * *

Now of al this storie have I mad an ende
That is schwede of Celidoygne and now forthere to wend
And of anothir brawnche most we be gynne
Of the storrye that we clepen prophet Merlynne
Wiche that Maister ROBERT OF BORROWN
Owt of Latyn it transletted hol and soun
Onlich into the langage of Frawnce
This storie he drowgh be adventure and chaunce
And doth Merlynne insten with SANK RYAL
For the ton storie the tothir medlyth withal
After the satting of the forseid ROBERT
That somtym it transletted in Middilerd
And I as an unkonngeng man trewely
Into English have drawn this storrye
And thowgh that to zow not plesyng it be
Zit that ful excused ze wolde haven me
Of my neclenge and unkonngenge
On me to taken swich a thinge
Into owre modris tonge for to endite
The swettere to sowne to more and lyte
And more cler to zoure undirstondyng
Thanne owthir Frensh other Latyn to my supposing
And therefore atte the ende of this storrye
A pater noster ze wolden for me preye
For me that HERRY LONELICH hyhte
And greteth owre lady ful of myhte
Hartelich with an ave that ze hir bede
This processe the bettere I myhte procede
And bringen this book to a good ende
Now thereto Jesu Crist grace me sende
And than an ende there offen myhte be
Now good Lord graunt me for charite

* * * * *

Thanne Merlyn to Blasye cam anon
And there to hym he seide thus son
Blasye thou schalt suffren gret peyne
This storrye to an ende to bringen certeyne
And zit schall I suffren mochel more
How so Merlyn quod Blasye there

I schall be sowht quod Merlyne tho
 Owt from the west with messengeris mo
 And they that scholen comen to seken me
 They have maad sewrawnce I telle the
 Me forto slen for any thing
 This sewrawnce hav they mad to her kyng
 But whanne they me sen and with me speke
 No power they schol hav on me to ben a wreke
 For with hem hens moste I gon
 And thou into othir partyes schalt wel son
 To hem that hav the holy vessel
 Which that is icleped the SEYNT GRAAL
 And wete thou wel and ek forsothe
 That thou and ek this storye bothe
 Ful wel beherd now schall it be
 And also beloved in many contre
 And has that will knowen in sertaygne
 What kynges that weren in grete Bretaygne
 Sithan that Cristendom thedyn was browht
 They scholen hem synde has so that it sawht
 In the storye of BRWTES book
 There scholen ze it fynde and ze weten look
 Which that MARTYN DE BEWRE translated here
 From Latyn into Romaunce in his manere
 But leve me now of BRWTES book
 And aftry this storye now lete us look.

After this latter extract, which is to be found nearly in the middle of the manuscript, the scene and personages of the poem are changed ; and king Enalach, king Mordrens, sir Nesciens, Joseph of Arimathea, and the other heroes of the former part, give place to king Arthur, king Brangors, king Loth, and the monarchs and champions of the British line. In a paragraph, very similar to the second of these extracts, the following note is written in the hand of the text, *Henry Lonelich Skynner, that translated this boke out of Frenshe into Englyshe, at the instaunce of Harry Barton.*

The QUEST OF THE SANGREAL, as it is called, in which devotion and necromancy are equally concerned, makes a considerable part of king Arthur's romantic history, and was one grand object of the knights of the Round Table. He who achieved this hazardous adventure was to be placed there in the *siege perillous*, or *seat of danger*. 'When 'Merlyn had ordayned the rounde table, he said, by them that be 'fellowes of the rounde table the truthe of the SANGREAL shall be 'well knowne, &c.—They which heard Merlyn say soe, said thus to 'Merlyn, sithence there shall be such a knight, thou shouldest ordayne 'by thy craft a siege that no man should sitte therein, but he onlie 'which shall passe all other knights.—Then Merlyn made the siege 'perillous, &c.' Caxton's MORT D'ARTHUR, B. xiv. cap. ii. Sir

Lancelot, *who is come but of the eighth degree from our Lord Jesus Christ*, is represented as the chief adventurer in this honourable expedition. Ibid. B. iii. c. 35. At a celebration of the feast of Pentecost at Camelot by king Arthur, the Sangreal suddenly enters the hall, 'but there was no man might see it nor who bare it,' and the knights, as by some invisible power, are instantly supplied with a feast of the choicest dishes. Ibid. c. 35. Originally LE BRUT, LANCELOT, TRISTAN, and the SAINT GREAL were separate histories; but they were so connected and confounded before the year 1200, that the same title became applicable to all. The book of the SANGREAL, a separate work, is referred to in MORTE ARTHUR. 'Now after that the quest 'of the SANGREAL was fulfilled, and that all the knyghtes that were 'lefte alive were come agayne to the Rounde Table, as the BOOKE OF 'THE SANGREAL makethe mencion, than was there grete joye in the 'courte. And especiallie king Arthur and quene Guenever made grete 'joye of the remnaunt that were come home. And passynge glad was 'the kinge and quene of syr Launcelot and syr Bors, for they had been 'passynge longe awaye in the quest of the SANGREAL. Then, as 'the Frenshe booke sayeth, syr Lancelot, &c.' B. xviii. cap. i. And again, in the same romance. 'Whan syr Bors had tolde him [Arthur] 'of the adventures of the SANGREAL, such as had befallen hym and 'his felawes,—all this was made in grete bookes, and put in almyres at 'Salisbury.' B. xvii. cap. xxiii.¹ The former part of this passage is almost literally translated from one in the French romance of TRISTAN, Bibl. Reg. MSS. 20 D. ii. fol. antep. 'Quant Boort ot conte 'l'aventure del Saint Graal teles com eles esloient avenues, eles furent 'mises en escrit, gardees en lamere de Salibieres, dont Mestre GALTIER 'MAP l'estrest a faist son livre du Saint Graal por lamor du roy Herri 'son sengor, qui fist lestoire tralater del Latin en romanz². Whether Salisbury, or Salibieres is, in the two passages, the right reading, I cannot ascertain. But in the royal library at Paris there is 'Le Roman 'de TRISTAN ET ISEULT, traduit de Latin en Francois, par Lucas 'chevalier du Gast pres de Sarisberi, Anglois, avec figures.' Montfauc. CATAL. MSS. Cod. Reg. Paris. Cod. 6776. fol. max. And again Cod. 6956. fol. max. 'Liveres de TRISTAN mis en Francois par Lucas 'chevalier sieur de chateau du Gat². *Almyres* in the English, and *l'Amere*, properly *aumoire* in the French, mean, I believe, *Presses*, *Chests*, or *Archives*. *Ambry*, in this sense, is not an uncommon old English word. From the second part of the first French quotation which I have distinguished by Italics, it appears, that Walter Mapes, a learned archdeacon in England, under the reign of king Henry III., wrote a French SANGREAL, which he translated from Latin, by the

¹ The romance says, that king Arthur 'made grete clerkes com before him that they should 'cronicle the adventures of these goode knyghtes.'

² There is printed, 'Le Roman du noble et vaillant Chevalier Tristan fils du noble roy Meliadus de Leonnoys, par Luce, chevalier, seigneur du chateau de Gast. Rouen, 1489. fol.'

command of that monarch. Under the idea, that Walter Mapes was a writer on this subject, and in the fabulous way, some critics may be induced to think, that the WALTER, archdeacon of Oxford, from whom Geoffrey of Monmouth professes to have received the materials of his history, was this Walter Mapes, and not Walter Calenius, who was also an eminent scholar, and an archdeacon of Oxford. Geoffrey says in his Dedication to Robert earl of Gloucester, 'Finding nothing said in Bede or Gildas of king Arthur and his successors, although their actions highly deserved to be recorded in writing, and are orally celebrated by the British bards, I was much surprised at so strange an omission. At length Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence, and learned in foreign histories, offered me an ancient book in the British or Armorican tongue; which, in one unbroken story, and an elegant diction, related the deeds of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader. At his request, although unused to rhetorical flourishes, and contented with the simplicity of my own plain language, I undertook the translation of that book into Latin.' B. i. ch. i. See also B. xii. ch. xx. Some writers suppose, that Geoffrey pretended to have received his materials from archdeacon Walter, by way of authenticating his romantic history. These notices seem to disprove that suspicion. In the year 1488, a French romance was published, in two magnificent folio volumes, entitled *HISTOIRE de ROY ARTUS et des CHEVALIERS de la TABLE RONDE*. The first volume was printed at *Rouen*, the second at *Paris*. It contains in four detached parts, the Birth and Achievements of king Arthur, the Life of Sir Lancelot, the Adventure of the Sangreal, and the Death of Arthur, and his Knights. In the body of the work, this romance more than once is said to be written by Walter Map or Mapes, and by the command of his master king Henry. For instance, tom. ii. at the end of PARTIE DU SAINT GRAAL, Signat. d d i. 'Cy fine Maistre GUALTIER MAP son traittie du Saint Graal.' Again, tom. ii. LA DERNIERE PARTIE, ch. i. Signat. d d ii. 'Après ce que Maistre GUALTIER MAP eut tractie des aventures du Saint Graal, assez soufissamment, sicomme il luy sembloit, il fut ad adviz au ROY HENRY SON SEIGNEUR, que ce quil avoit fait ne debuit souffrire sil ne racontoyt la fin de ceulx dont il fait mention.—Et commence Maistre Gualtier en telle manier ceste derniere partie.' This *derniere partie* treats of the death of king Arthur and his knights. At the end of the second tome there is this colophon, 'Cy fine le dernier volume de La Table Ronde, faisant mencion des fais et proesses de monseigneur Launcelot du Lac et dautres plusieurs nobles et vaillans hommes ses compagnons. Compile et extraict precisement et au juste des vrayes histories faisantes de ce mencion par tresnotable et tresexpert historien Maistre GUALTIER MAP, et imprime a Paris par Jehan du Pre. Et lan du grace, mil. cccc. iiiix. et viii. le xvi jour du Septembre.' The passage

quoted above from the royal MSS. in the British Museum, where king Arthur orders the adventures of the Sangreal to be chronicled, is thus represented in this romance. 'Et quant Boort eut compte depuis le commencement jusques a la fin les avantures du Saint Graal telles comme ils les avoit veues, &c. Si fist le roy Artus rediger et mettre par escript aus dictz clers tout ci que Boort avoit compte, &c.' Ibid. tom. ii. La Partie du SAINT GRAAL, ch. ult¹. At the end of the royal MSS. at Paris, [Cod. 6783.] entitled *LANCELOT DU LAC mis en Francois par Robert de Borron par le commandement de Henri roi d'Angleterre*, it is said, that Messire Robert de Borron translated into French, not only LANCELOT, but also the story of the SAINT GRAAL *li tout du Latin du GAUTIER MAPPE*. But the French antiquaries in this sort of literature are of opinion, that the word *Latin*, here signifies *Italian*; and that by this LATIN of Gualtier Mapes, we are to understand *English* versions of those romances made from the *Italian* language. The French History of the SANGREAL, printed at Paris in folio by Gallyot du Pre in 1516, is said, in the title, to be translated from Latin into French rhymes, and from thence into French prose by Robert Borron. This romance was reprinted in 1523.

Caxton's MORTE ARTHUR, finished in the year 1469, professes to treat of various separate histories. But the matter of the whole is so much of the same sort, and the heroes and adventures of one story are so mutually and perpetually blended with those of another, that no real unity or distinction is preserved. It consists of twenty-one books. The first seven books treat of king Arthur. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, of sir Trystram. The eleventh and twelfth of sir Lancelot². The thirteenth of the SAINGRAL, which is also called sir Lancelot's Book. The fourteenth of sir Percival. The fifteenth, again, of sir Lancelot. The sixteenth of sir Gawaine. The seventeenth of sir Galahad. (But all the four last mentioned books are also called the *hystorye of the holy Sanggreall*.) The eighteenth and nineteenth of miscellaneous adventures. The two last of king Arthur and all the knights. Lwwhyd mentions a Welsh SANGREAL, which, he says, contains various fables of king Arthur and his knights, &c. ARCHÆOLOG. BRIT. Tit. vii. p. 265. col. 2. MORTE ARTHUR is often literally translated from various and very ancient detached histories of the heroes of the round table, which I have examined; and on the whole, it nearly resembles Walter Map's romance above-mentioned, printed at Rouen and Paris, both in matter and disposition.

I take this opportunity of observing, that a very valuable vellem fragment of LE BRUT, of which the writing is uncommonly beautiful and of high antiquity, containing part of the story of Merlin and king

¹ Just before it is said, 'Le roy Artus fist venir les CLERCS qui les aventures aux chevalliers mettoient en escript.' As in MORT D'ARTHUR.

² But at the end, this twelfth book is called the *second booke of SYR TRYSTRAM*. And it is added, 'But here is no rehersall of the thyrd booke [of SIR TRISTRAM.]'

Vortigern, covers a MSS. of Chaucer's *ASTROLABE*, lately presented, together with several oriental MSS., to the Bodleian library, by Thomas Hedges, esq., of Alderton in Wiltshire : a gentleman possessed of many curious MSS., and Greek and Roman coins, and most liberal in his communications.]

And not only the pieces of the French minstrels, written in French, were circulated in England about this time ; but translations of these pieces were made into English, which containing much of the French idiom, together with a sort of poetical phraseology before unknown, produced various innovations in our style. These translations, it is probable, were enlarged with additions, or improved with alterations of the story. Hence it was that Robert de Brunne, as we have already seen, complained of *strange* and *quaint* English, of the changes made in the story of *SIR TRISTRAM*, and of the liberties assumed by his contemporary minstrels in altering facts and coining new phrases. Yet these circumstances enriched our tongue, and extended the circle of our poetry. And for what reason these fables were so much admired and encouraged, in preference to the languid poetical chronicles of Robert of Gloucester and Robert of Brunne, it is obvious to conjecture. The gallantries of chivalry were exhibited with new splendour, and the times were growing more refined. The Norman fashions were adopted even in Wales. In the year 1176, a splendid carousal, after the manner of the Normans, was given by a Welsh prince. This was Rhees ap Gryffyth king of South Wales, who at Christmas made a great feast in the castle of Cardigan, then called Aberteivi, which he ordered to be proclaimed throughout all Britain ; and to 'which came many 'strangers, who were honourably received and worthily entertained, so 'that no man departed discontented. And among deeds of arms and 'other shews, Rhees caused all the poets of Wales¹ to come thither ;

¹ In illustration of the argument pursued in the text we may observe, that about this time the English minstrels flourished with new honours and rewards. At the magnificent marriage of the countess of Holland, daughter of Edward I. every king minstrel received xl. shillings. Anstis Ord. Gart. ii. p. 303. And Dugd. Mon. i. 355. In the same reign a multitude of minstrels attended the ceremony of knighting prince Edward on the feast of Pentecost. They entered the hall, while the king was sitting at dinner, surrounded with the new knights. Nic. Trivet. Annal. p. 342. edit Oxon. The whole number knighted was 267. Dugd. Bar. i. 80. b. Robert de Brunne says, this was the greatest royal feast since king Arthur's at Carleon : concerning which he adds, 'therof yit men *rime*.' p. 332. In the wardrobe-roll of the same prince, under the year 1306, we have this entry. 'Will. Fox et Cradoco socio suo CANTATORIBUS 'cantantibus coram Principe et aliis magnatibus in comitiva sua existente apud London, &c. xxs.' Again, 'Willo Ffox et Cradoco socio suo cantantibus in presentia principis et al. Mag- 'natum apud London de dono ejusdem dui per manus Johis de Ringwode, &c. 8, die jan. xxs.' Afterwards in the same roll, four shillings are given, 'Ministrallo comitissæ Mareschal. facienti 'menestralciam suam coram principe, &c. in comitiva sua existent. apud Penreth.' Comp. Garderob. Edw. Princip. Wall. ann. 35 Edw. i. This I chiefly cite to shew the greatness of the gratuity. Minstrels were part of the establishment of the household of our nobility before the year 1307. Thomas earl of Lancaster allows at Christmas, cloth, or *vestis liberata*, to his household minstrels at a great expence, in the year 1314. Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 134. edit. 1618. See supr. p. 91. Soon afterwards the minstrels claimed such privileges that it was thought necessary to reform them by an edict, in 1315. Hearne's Append. Leland. Collectan. vi. 35. Yet, as I have formerly remarked in OBSERVATIONS ON SPENSER'S FAIRIE QUEENE, we find a person in the character of a minstrel entering Westminster-hall on horseback while Edward II. was solemnizing the feast of *Pentecost* as above, and presenting a letter to the king. Walsing. Hist. Engl. Franc. p. 199.

'and provided chairs for them to be set in his hall, where they should dispute together to try their cunning and gift in their several faculties, where great rewards and rich giftes were appointed for the overcomers¹.' Tilts and tournaments, after a long disuse, were revived with superior lustre in the reign of Edward I. Roger earl of Mortimer, a magnificent baron of that reign, erected in his stately castle of Kenilworth a Round Table, at which he restored the rites of king Arthur. He entertained in this castle the constant retinue of 100 knights, and as many ladies; and invited thither adventurers in chivalry from every part of christendom². These fables were therefore an image of the manners, customs, mode of life, and favourite amusements, which now prevailed, not only in France but in England, accompanied with all the decorations which fancy could invent, and recommended by the graces of romantic fiction. They complimented the ruling passion of the times, and cherished in a high degree the fashionable sentiments of ideal honour, and fantastic fortitude.

Among Richard's French minstrels, the names only of three are recorded. I have already mentioned Blondell de Nesle, Fouquet of Marseilles, and Anselme Fayditt, many of whose compositions still remain, were also among the poets patronised and entertained in England by Richard. They are both celebrated and sometimes imitated by Dante and Petrarch. Fayditt, a native of Avignon, united the professions of music and verse; and the Provencals used to call his poetry *de bon mots e de bon son*. Petrarch is supposed to have copied, in his TRIUMFO DI AMORE, many strokes of high imagination, from a poem written by Fayditt on a similar subject; particularly in his description of the Palace of Love. But Petrarch has not left Fayditt without his due panegyric: he says that Fayditt's tongue was shield, helmet, sword, and spear. [Triumf. Am. c. iv.] He is likewise in Dante's Paradise. Fayditt was extremely profuse and voluptuous. On the death of king Richard, he travelled on foot for near twenty years, seeking his fortune; and during this long pilgrimage he married a nun of Aix in Provence, who was young and lively, and could accompany her husband's tales and sonnets with her voice. Fouquet de Marseilles had a beautiful person, a ready wit, and a talent for singing: these popular accomplishments recommended him to the courts of king Richard, Raymond count of Tholouse, and Beral de Baulx; where, as the French would say *il fit les delices de cour*. He fell in

¹ Powell's Wales, 237. edit. 1584. Who adds, that the bards of 'Northwales won the prize, 'and amonge the musicians Rees's owne household men were counted best.' Rees was one of the Welsh princes, who, the preceding year, attended the parliament at Oxford, and were magnificently entertained in the castle of that city by Henry the second. Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. edit. iii. p. 302. It may not be foreign to our present purpose to mention here, that Henry II. in the year 1179, was entertained by Welsh bards at Pembroke castle in Wales, in his passage into Ireland. Powell, ut supr. p. 238. The subject of their songs was the history of king Arthur. See Selden on POLYOLB. f. iii. p. 53.

² Drayton's Heroic. Epist. MORT. ISABEL. v. 53. And Notes ibid. from Walsingham.

love with Adelasia the wife of Beral, whom he celebrated in his songs. One of his poems is entitled, *Las complanchas de Beral*. On the death of all his lords, he received absolution for his sin of poetry, turned monk, and at length was made archbishop of Thoulouse¹. But among the many French minstrels invited into England by Richard, it is natural to suppose, that some of them made their magnificent and heroic patron, a principal subject of their compositions². And this subject, by means of the constant communication between both nations, probably became no less fashionable in France : especially if we take into the account the general popularity of Richard's character, his love of chivalry, his gallantry in the crusades, and the favours which he so liberally conferred on the minstrels of that country. We have a romance now remaining in English rhyme, which celebrates the achievements of this illustrious monarch. It is entitled RICHARD CUER DU LYON, and was probably translated from the French about the period above-mentioned. That it was, at least, translated from the French, appears from the Prologue.

In Fraunce these rymes were wroht,
Every Englyshe ne knew it not.

From which also we may gather the popularity of his story in these lines.

King Richard is the beste³ That is found in any geste⁴.

That this romance, either in French or English, existed before the year 1300, is evident from its being cited by Robert of Gloucester, in his relation of Richard's reign.

In *Romance* of him imade me it may finde iwrite. [Chron. p. 487.]

¹ Beauchamps, Recherch. Theatr. Fr. Paris, 1735. p. 7. 9. It was Jeffrey, Richard's brother, who patronised Jeffrey Rudell, a famous troubadour of Provence, who is also celebrated by Petrarch. This poet had heard, from the adventurers in the crusades, the beauty of a countess of Tripoly highly extolled. He became enamoured from imagination : embarked for Tripoly, fell sick in the voyage through the fever of expectation, and was brought on shore at Tripoly half expiring. The countess, having received the news of the arrival of this gallant stranger, hastened to the shore and took him by the hand. He opened his eyes ; and at once overpowered by his disease and her kindness, had just time to say inarticulately, that *having seen her he died satisfied*. The countess made him a most splendid funeral, and erected to his memory a tomb of porphyry, inscribed with an epitaph in Arabian verse. She commanded his sonnets to be richly copied and illuminated with letters of gold ; was seized with a profound melancholy, and turned nun. I will endeavour to translate one of the sonnets which he made on his voyage. *Yrat et dolent men partray*, &c. It has some pathos and sentiment, 'I should depart pensive, but for this love of mine *so far away*; for I know not what difficulties I have to encounter, my native land being *so far away*. Thou who hast made all things, and who formed this love of mine *so far away*, give me strength of body, and then I may hope to see this love of mine *so far away*. Surely my love must be founded on true merit, as I love one *so far away*! If I am easy for a moment, yet I feel a thousand pains for her who is *so far away*. No other love ever touched my heart than this for her *so far away*. A fairer than she never touched any heart, either near, or *far away*.' Every fourth line ends with *du tuerch*. Nostradamus, &c.

² Fayditt is said to have written a *Chant funebre* on his death. Beauchamps, ib. p. 10.

³ This agrees with what Hoveden says, ubi supr. 'Dicebatur ubique quod non erat talis in orbe.'

⁴ Impr. for W. C. 4to. It contains Sign. A. 1.—Q. iii. There is another edit. impr. W. de Worde, 4to. 1528. There is a MSS. copy of it in Caius College at Cambridge, A. 9. Among Crynes's books in the Bodleian library is a copy of king Richard's romance, printed by W. de Worde in 1509. Cr. 734. 8vo. This edit. was in the Harleian library.

This tale is also mentioned as a romance of some antiquity among other famous romances, in the prologue of a voluminous metrical translation of Guido de Colonna, attributed to Lidgate¹. It is likewise frequently quoted by Robert de Brunne, who wrote much about the same time with Robert of Gloucester.

Whan Philip tille Acres cam litelle was his dede
 The ROMANCE sais gret sham who so that pas² will rede.
 The ROMANCER it sais Richard did make a pele³.—
 The ROMANCE of Richard fais he wan the toun⁴.—
 He tellis in the ROMANCE sen Acres wonnen was
 How God gaf him fair chance at the bataile of Caifas⁵.—
 Sithen at Japhet was slayn fanuelle his stede
 The ROMANS tellis gret pas of his douhty dede⁶.—
 Soudan so curteys never drank no wyne,
 The same the ROMANS sais that is of Richardyn⁷
 In prisoun was he bounden, as the ROMANCE sais,
 In cheynes and lede wonden that hevy was of peis⁸.—

I am not indeed quite certain, whether or no in some of these instances, Robert de Brunne may not mean his French original Peter Langtoft. But in the following lines he manifestly refers to our romance of RICHARD, between which and Langtoft's chronicle he expressly makes a distinction. And in the conclusion of the reign,

I knowe no more to ryme of dedes of kyng Richard :
 Who so wille his dedes all the sothe se,
 The *romance* that men reden ther is porpirt.

¹ Many speken of men that romaunces rede, &c.

Of Bevyys, Gy, and Gawayne,
 Of Tristram, and Percyvayle,
 Of Archeroun, and of Octavian,
 Of Keveloke, Horne, and of Wade,
 That gestours dos of him gestes
 Here dedis ben in remembraunce,
 But of the worthiest wyght in wede,
 Spekes no man, ne in romaunce redes,
 Off that battaylle spekes no man,
 Thet was forsothe of the batayle

Of swythe a fyght as ther was one, &c.—

Ffor ther were in thet on side,
 And there was the best bodi in dede
 Sithen the world was made so ferre,

Of KYNG RYCHARD, and Owayne,
 Of Rowland Ris, and Aglavaule,
 Of Charles, and of Cassibedlan,
 In romances that of hem bi made
 At manges and at great festes,
 In many fair romaunce.
 That ever bystrod any stede
 Off his battaylle ne of his dedes ;
 There all prowes of knyghtes began,
 Thet at TROVE was saunfayle,
 Thet was ECTOR in eche werre, &c.

Laud. K. 76. f. 1. fol. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Cod. membr. Whether this poem was written by Lidgate, I shall not enquire at present. I shall only say here, that it is totally different from either of Lidgate's two poems on the THEBAN and TROJAN WARS; and that the MSS., which is beautifully written, appears to be of the age of Henry the sixth. By the way, it appears from this quotation, that there was an old romance called WADE. Wade's *Bote* is mentioned in Chaucer's MARCHAUNTS TALE, v. 940. p. 68. Urr.

And eke these old wivis, god it wote, They connin so much crafte in *Wadis bote*.
 Again, TROIL. CRESS. iii. 615.

He songe, she plaide, he tolde a tale of *Wade*.

Where, says the glossarist, 'A romantick story, famous at that time, of one WADE, who performed many strange exploits, and met with many wonderful adventures in his Boat *Guigerot*.' Speght says, that Wade's history was *long and fabulous*.

² PASSUS. Compare Percy's Ball. ii. 66. 398. edit. 1767.

⁵ P. 175.

⁶ P. 175.

⁷ P. 188.

³ P. 157.

⁴ Ibid.

⁸ P. 198.

This that I have said it is Pers sawe¹
 Als he in romance² lad ther after gan I drawe³.

It is not improbable that both these rhyming chroniclers cite from the English translation: if so, we may fairly suppose that this romance was translated in the reign of Edward I. or his predecessor Henry III. Perhaps earlier. This circumstance throws the French original to a still higher period.

In the royal library at Paris, there is '*Histoire de Richard Roi d'Angleterre et de maquemore d'Irlande en rime*'⁴ Richard is the last of our monarchs whose achievements were adorned with fiction and fable. If not a superstitious belief of the times, it was an hyperbolical invention started by the minstrels, which soon grew into a tradition, and is gravely recorded by the chroniclers, that Richard carried with him to the crusades king Arthur's celebrated sword CALIBURN, and that he presented it as a gift, or relic, of inestimable value to Tancred king of Sicily, in the year 1191⁵. Rob. of Brunne calls this sword a *jewel*⁶.

And Richard at that time gaf him a faire juelle,

The gude swerd CALIBURNE which Arthur luffed so well. [Chron. p. 153.]

Indeed the Arabian writer of the life of the Sultan Saladin, mentions some exploits of Richard almost incredible. But, as Lord Lyttelton justly observes, this historian is highly valuable on account of the knowledge he had of the facts which he relates. It is from this writer we learn, in the most authentic manner, the actions and negotiations of Richard in the course of the enterprise for the recovery of the holy land, and all the particulars of that memorable war. [History of Hen. II. vol. iv. p. 361. App.]

But before I produce a specimen of Richard's English romance, I stand still to give some more extracts from its Prologues, which contain matter much to our present purpose: as they have very fortunately preserved the subjects of many romances, perhaps metrical, then fashionable both in France and England. And on these therefore, and their origin, I shall take this opportunity of offering some remarks.

Many romayns men make newe	Of good knightes and of trewe:
Of ther dedes men make romauns,	Both in England and in Fraunce;
Of Rowland and of Olyvere,	And of everie Dosepere ⁶
Of Alysandre and Charlemayne	Of kyng Arthur and of Gawayne;

¹ 'The words of my original *Peter Langtoft*.'

² In French.

³ P. 205. Du Cange recites an old French MSS. prose romance, entitled *Histoire de la Mort de Richard Roy d'Angleterre*. Gloss. Lat. IND. AUCT. i. p. cxc. There was one, perhaps the same, among the MSS. of the late Mr. Martin of Palgrave in Suffolk.

⁴ Num. 7532.

⁵ In return for several vessels of gold and silver, horses, bales of silk, four great ships, and fifteen galleys, given by Tancred. Benedict. Abb. p. 642. edit. Hearne.

⁶ *Jocale*. In the general and true sense of the word. Robert de Brunne, in another place, calls a rich pavilion a *jowelle*. p. 152.

⁷ Charlemagne's Twelve Peers. *Douze Pairs*. Fr.

How they wer knyghtes good and curtoys,
Of *Turpin* and of *Oger* the Danois. Of *Troye* men rede in ryme
Of *Hector* and of *Achilles* What folk they flewe in pres, &c¹.

And again in a second Prologue, after a pause has been made by the minstrel in the course of singing the poem.

Herkene now how my tale gothe Though I swere to you no othe
I wyll you rede romaynes none Ne of² '*Pertonape, ne of Ypomedon,*
Ne of *Alisaunder*, ne of *Charlemayne* Ne of *Arthur*, ne of *Garwayne*,
Ne of *Lancelot du Lake* Ne of *Bevis*, ne of *Guy of Sydrake*³,
Ne of *Ury*, ne of *Octavian*, Ne of *Hector* the strong man,
Ne of *Jason*, neither of *Achilles*, Ne of *Eneas*, neither *Hercules*⁴.

Here, among others, some of the most capital and favourite stories of romance are mentioned, Arthur, Charlemagne, the Siege of Troy with its appendages, and Alexander the Great : and there are four authors of high esteem in the dark ages. Geoffry of Monmouth, Turpin, Guido of Colonna, and Callisthenes, whose books were the grand repositories of these subjects, and contained most of the traditionary fictions, whether of Arabian or classical origin, which constantly supplied materials to the writers of romance. I shall speak of these authors, with their subjects, distinctly.

¹ Fol. r. a. ² Perhaps Parthenope, or Parshenopeus. ³ Read, 'ne of *Guy* ne of *Sydrake*.'

⁴ Signat. P. iii. To some of these romances the author of the MSS. LIVES OF THE SAINTS, written about the year 1200, and cited above at large, alludes in a sort of prologue. SECT.

i. p. 14.

Wel auht we long cristendom that is so dere y bougt,
With our lorde's herte blode that she spere hath ye fought.
Men wilnethe more yhere of batayle of kyngis,
And of knygtis hardy, that mochel is le syngis.
Of *Roulond* and of *Olyvere*, and *Guy of Warwyk*,
Of *Wawayen* and *Tristram* that ne foundde here y like,
Who so loveth to here tales of suche thinge,
Here he may y here thyng that nys no lesyng,
Of postoles and marteres that hardi knygttes were
And stedfast were in bataile and fledde nogt for no fere, &c.

The anonymous author of an antient MSS. poem, called '*The boke of Stories called CURSOR 'MUNDI*,' translated from the French, seems to have been of the same opinion. His work consists of religious legends ; but in the prologue he takes occasion to mention many tales of another kind, which were more agreeable to the generality of readers. MSS. Laud, K. 53. f. 117. Bibl. Bodl.

Men lykyn Jestis for to here
Of *Alexandre* the conquerour,
Of *Greece* and *Troy* the strong stryf,
Of *Brut* that baron bold of hand
Of kyng *Artour* that was so ryche,
Of wonders that among his knyghts felle,
As *Gaweyn* and othir full abyll
How kyng *Charles* and *Rowland* fawght
Of *Toystam* and *Ysoud*e the swete,
Of kyng *John* and of *Isenboas*
Stories of divers thynges
Many songs of divers ryme

And romans rede in divers manere
Of *Julius Cesar* the emperour,
Ther many a man lost his lyf :
The first conquerour of Englonde,
Was non in hys tyme so ilyche :
And auntyrs dedyn as men her telle,
Which that kept the round tabyll,
With Sarazins, nold thei be caught ;
How thei with love first gan mete.
Of *Ydoyne* and *Amadas*.
Of princes, prelates, and kynges,
As English, French, and Latyne, &c.

This ylke boke is translate
Into English tong to rede For the love of English lede
Ffor comyn folk of England, &c.

Syldyn yt ys for any chaunce

English tong preched is in Fraunce, &c.

But I do not mean to repeat here what has been already observed, concerning the writings of Geoffry of Monmouth and Turpin. It will be sufficient to say at present, that these two fabulous historians recorded the achievements of Charlemagne and of Arthur: and that Turpin's history was artfully forged under the name of that archbishop about the year 1110, with a design of giving countenance to the crusades from the example of so high an authority as Charlemagne, whose pretended visit to the holy sepulchre is described in the twentieth chapter.

As to the Siege of Troy, it appears that both Homer's poems were unknown, at least not understood in Europe, from the abolition of literature by the Goths in the fourth century, to the fourteenth. Geoffry of Monmouth indeed, who wrote about the year 1160, a man of learning for that age, produces Homer in attestation of a fact asserted in his history: but in such a manner, as shews that he knew little more than Homer's name, and was but imperfectly acquainted with Homer's subject. Geoffry says, that Brutus having ravaged the province of Aquitaine with fire and sword, came to a place where the city of Tours now stands, *as Homer testifies*. [L. i. ch. 14.] But the Trojan story was still kept alive in two Latin pieces, which passed under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis. Dares's history of the destruction of Troy, as it was called, pretended to have been translated from the Greek of Dares Phrygius into Latin prose by Cornelius Nepos, is a wretched performance, and forged under those specious names in the decline of Latin literature¹. Dictys Cretensis is a prose Latin history of the Trojan war, in six books, paraphrased about the reign of Dioclesian or Constantine, by one Septimius, from some Grecian history on the same subject, said to be discovered under a sepulchre by means of an earthquake in the city of Cnossus, about the time of Nero, and to have been composed by Dictys, a Cretan, and a soldier in the Trojan war. The fraud of discovering copies of books in this extraordinary manner, in order to infer from thence their high and indubitable antiquity, so frequently practised, betrays itself. But that the present Latin Dictys had a Greek original, now lost, appears from the numerous grecisms with which it abounds: and from the literal correspondence of many passages with the Greek fragments of one Dictys cited by ancient authors. The Greek original was very probably forged under the name of Dictys, a traditionary writer on the subject, in the reign of Nero, who is said to have been

¹ In the Epistle prefixed, the pretended translator Nepos says, that he found this work at Athens, in the hand-writing of Dares. He add, speaking of the controverted authenticity of Homer, *De ea re Athenis judicium fuit, cum pro infano Homerus haberetur quod does cum hominibus belligerasse descripsit*. In which words he does not refer to any public decree of the Athenian judges, but to Plato's opinion in his *REPUBLIC*. Dares, with Dictys Cretensis next mentioned in the text, was first printed at Milan in 1477. Mabillon says, that a MSS. of the Pseudo-Dares occurs in the Laurentian library at Florence, upwards of 800 years old. Mus. Ital. i. p. 169. This work was abridged by Vincestius Bellovacensis, a friar of Burgundy, about the year 1244. Specul. Histor. lib. iii. 63.

fond of the Trojan story¹. On the whole, the work appears to have been an arbitrary metaphrase of Homer, with many fabulous interpolations. At length Guido de Colonna, a native of Messina in Sicily, a learned civilian and no contemptible Italian poet, about the year 1260, engrafting on Dares and Dictys many new romantic inventions, which the taste of his age dictated, and which the connection between Grecian and Gothic fiction easily admitted ; at the same time comprehending in his plan the Theban and Argonautic stories from Ovid, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus², compiled a grand prose romance in Latin, containing fifteen books, and entitled in most MSS. *Historia de bella Trojano*³. It was written at the request of Mattheo de Porta, archbishop of Salerno. Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis seem to have been in some measure superseded by this improved and comprehensive history of the Grecian heroes : and from this period Achilles, Jason, and Hercules, were adopted into romance, and celebrated in common with Lancelot, Rowland, Gawain, Oliver, and other Christian champions, whom they so nearly resembled in the extravagance of their adventures⁴. This work abounds with oriental imagery, of which the subject was extremely susceptible. It has also some traits of Arabian literature. The Trojan horse is a horse of brass ; and Hercules is taught astronomy, and the seven liberal sciences. But I forbear to enter at present into a more particular examination of this history, as it must often occasionally be cited hereafter. I shall here only further observe in general, that this work is the chief source from which Chaucer derived his ideas about the Trojan story ; that it was

¹ Perizon. Differsat. de Dict. Cretens. sect. xxix. Constantinus, Lascaris, a learned monk of Constantinople, one of the restorers of Grecian literature in Europe near four hundred years ago, says that Dictys Cretensis in Greek was lost. The writer is not once mentioned by Eustathius, who lived about the year 1170, in his elaborate and extensive commentary on Homer.

² The Argonautics of Valerius Flaccus are cited in Chaucer's *Hypsipile* and *Medea*. 'Let him read the book-Argonauticon.' v. 90. But Guido is afterwards cited as a writer on that subject, *ibid.* 97. Valerius Flaccus is a common manuscript.

³ It was first printed Argentorat, 1486. and *ibid.* 1489. fol. The work was finished, as appears by a note at the end, in 1287. It was translated into Italian by Philip or Christophex Cessio, a Florentine, and this translation was first printed at Venice in 1481. 4to. It has also been translated into German. Lambec ii. 948. The purity of our author's Italian style has been much commended. For his Italian poetry, see Mongitor, *ubi sup.* p. 167. Compare also Diar. Eruditor. Ital. xiii. 258. Montfaucon mentions, in the royal library at Paris, *Le de Tiebes qui sut racine de Troye le grand.* Catal. MSS. ii, p. 923—198.

⁴ Bale says, that Edward III, having met with our author in Sicily, in returning from Asia, invited him into England, xiii. 36. This prince was interested in the Trojan story, as we shall see below. Our historians relate, that he wintered in Sicily in the year 1270. Chron. Rob. Brun, p. 227. 'Preface to Hearne's Rob. of Gloucester, p. lx. And Strype's ANNALS, ii. p. 313. edit. 1725. Where Stowe is mentioned as an industrious collector of ancient chronicles. In the year 1568, among the proofs of Stowe's attachment to popery, it was reported to the privy council by archbishop Grindal, that 'he had a great sort of foolish fabulous books 'of old print, as of sir DEGORY, sir TRYAMOUR, &c. A great parcell also of old-written English chronicles, both in parchment and paper.' See Strype's GRINDALL. B. i. ch. xiii. pag. 125. And APPEND. NUM. xvii. A writer quoted by Hearne, supposed to be John Stowe the chronicler, says, that 'Guido de Columpna arriving in England at the commandment of king Edward the firste, made scholies and annotations upon Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius. Besides these, he writ at large the Battayle of Troy.' Hemming. Cartul. ii. 649. Among his works is recited *Historia de Reibus Rebusque Anniis*. It is quoted by many writers under the title of *Chronicum Britannorum*. He is said also to have written *Chronicum Magnum libris xxxvi.* Mongitor. Bibl. Sic. i. 265.

professedly paraphrased by Lydgate, in the year 1420, into a prolix English poem, called the *Boke of Troye*¹, at the command of Henry V.; that it became the ground-work of a new compilation in French, on the same subject, written by Raoul le Feure chaplain to the duke of Burgundy, in the year 1464, and partly translated into English prose in the year 1471, by Caxton, under the title of the *Recuyel of the histories of Troy*. at the request of Margaret duchess of Burgundy: and that from Caxton's book afterwards modernised, Shakespeare borrowed his drama of *Troilus* and *Cressida*².

Proofs have been given in the two prologues just cited, of the general popularity of Alexander's story, another branch of Grecian history famous in the dark ages. To these we may add the evidence of Chaucer.

¹ Who mentions it in a French as well as Latin 'romance.' In Lincoln's-inn library there is a poem entitled *BELLUM TROJANUM*, Num. 150. Pr.

Sichen god hade this worlde wrought.

Edit. 1555. Signat. B. i. p. 2.

As in the latyn and the frenshe yt is.

It occurs in French, MSS. Bibl. Reg. Brit. Mus. 16. F. ix. This MSS. was probably written not long after the year 1390.

² The western nations, in early times, have been fond of deducing their origin from Troy. This tradition seems to be couched under Odin's original emigration from that part of Asia which is connected with Phrygia. Asgard, or *Asia's fortress*, was the city from which Odin led his colony; and by some it is called Troy. To this place also they supposed Odin to return after his death, where he was to receive those who died in battle, in a hall roofed with glittering Shields. Bartholin. L. ii. cap. 8. p. 402. seq. This hall, says the Edda, is in the city of Asgard, which is called the *Field of Ida*. Bartholin. *ibid*. In the very sublime ode on the Dissolution of the World, cited by Bartholine, it is said, that after the twilight of the gods should be ended, and the new world appear, *the Asæ shall meet in the field of Ida, and tell of the destroyed habitations*. Barthol. L. ii. cap. 14. p. 597. Compare Arngrim. Jon. Crymog. l. i. c. 4. p. 45. 46. Edda, fab. 5. In the proem to Resenius's Edda, it is said, 'Odin appointed twelve judges or princes, at Sigtune in Scandinavia, as at Troy; and established there all the laws of Troy, and the customs of the Trojans.' Hickes. Thesaur. i. Dissertat. Epist. p. 39. Mallet's Hist. Dannem. ii. p. 34. Bartholinus thinks, that the compiler of the Eddic mythology, who lived A.D. 1070, finding that the Britons and Franks drew their descent from Troy, was ambitious of assigning the same boasted origin to Odin. But this tradition appears to have been older than the Edda. And it is more probable, that the Britons and Franks borrowed it from the Scandinavian Goths, and adapted it to themselves; unless we suppose that these nations, I mean the former, were branches of the Gothic stem, which gave them a sort of inherent right to the claim. This reasoning may perhaps account for the early existence and extraordinary popularity of the Trojan story among nations ignorant and illiterate, who could only have received it by tradition. Geoffry of Monmouth took this descent of the Britons from Troy, from the Welsh or Armoric bards, and they perhaps had it in common with the Scandinavian scalders. There is not a syllable of it in the authentic historians of England, who wrote before him; particularly those antient ones, Bede, Gildas, and the uninterpolated Nennius. Henry of Huntingdon began his history from *Cæsar*; and it was only on further information that he added *Brute*. But this information was from a MSS. found by him in his way to Rome in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, probably Geoffry's original. *H. Hunt. Epistol. ad Warin*. MSS. Cantabr. Bibl. Publ. cod. 251. I have mentioned in another place, that Witlas, a king of the West Saxons, grants in his charter, dated A.D. 833, among other things, to Croyland-abbey, his robe of tissue, on which was embroidered *The Destruction of Troy*. Obs. on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. sect. v. p. 176. This proves the story to have been in high veneration even long before that period: and it should at the same time be remembered, that the Saxons came from Scandinavia.

This fable of the descent of the Britons from the Trojans was solemnly alledged as an authentic and undeniable proof in a controversy of great national importance, by Edward I. and his nobility, without the least objection from the opposite party. It was in the famous dispute concerning the subjection of the crown of England to that of Scotland, about the year 1301. The allegations are in a letter to pope Boniface, signed and sealed by the king and his lords. Ypodigm. Neustr. apud Camd. Angl. Norman. p. 492. Here is a curious instance of the implicit faith with which this tradition continued to be believed, even in a more enlightened age; and an evidence that it was equally credited in Scotland.

Alisaundres storie is so commune,
That everie wight that hath discrecioun
Hath herde somewhat or al of his fortune¹.

And in the *House of Fame*, Alexander is placed with Hercules². I have already remarked, that he was celebrated in a Latin poem by Gualtier de Chatillon, in the 1212³. Other proofs will occur in their proper places⁴. The truth is, Alexander was the most eminent knight errant of Grecian antiquity. He could not therefore be long without his romance. Callisthenes, an Olynthian, educated under Aristotle with Alexander, wrote an authentic life of Alexander⁵. This history, which is frequently referred to by ancient writers, has been long since lost. But a Greek life of this hero, under the adopted name of Callisthenes, at present exists, and is no uncommon manuscript in good libraries⁶. It is entitled, Βίος Αλεξανδρου του Μακεδονος και Πραξεις. That is, *The Life and Actions of Alexander the Macedonian*⁷. This piece was written in Greek, being a translation from the Persi, by Simeon Seth, styled *Magister*, and protovestiarary or wardrobe keeper of the palace of Antiochus at Constantinople⁸, about the year 1070, under the emperor Michael Ducas.⁹ It was most probably very

¹ V. 656. p. 165. Urr. ed.

2 V. 323.

³ In the reign of Henry I. the sheriff of Nottinghamshire is ordered to procure the queen's chamber at Nottingham to be painted with the HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. Madox. Hist. Exch. p. 249-259. 'Depingi facias HISTORIAM ALEXANDRI undiqueque.' In the Romance of Richard, the minstrell says of an army assembled at a siege in the holy land, Sign. Q. iii.

Covered is both mount and playne,
He never had halfe the route

Kyng ALYSAUNDER and Charlemayne
As in the city now aboute.

By the way, this is much like a passage in Milton, *Par. Reg.* iii. 337.

Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,

When Agrican, &c.

⁴ Recherch. sur la Vie et les ouvrages de Callisthene. Par M. l'Abbe Sevin. Mem. de Lit. viii. p. 126. 4to. But many very ancient Greek writers had corrupted Alexander's history with fabulous narratives, such as Orthogoras, Onesicritus, &c.

⁵ Particularly Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MSS. Barocc. Cod. xvii. And Bibl. Reg. Paris. Cod. 2064. Montfaucon. Catal. MSS. p. 733. Passages cited from this MSS., ii. Steph. Byzant. Abr. Berckel V. Βουκεφάλεως. Cæsar Bulenger de Circo, c. xiii. 30, &c. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiv. 148. 149. 150. It is added by Du Cange, Glossar. Gr. ubi vid. Tom. ii. Catal. Scriptor. p. 24.

7 *Προτοβεστιαριος*, *Protovestiarius*. Du Cange, Constantinop. Christ. lib. ii. § 16. n. 5. Et ad Zonar. p. 46.

⁸ Allat. de Simeonibus. p. 181. And Labb. Bibl. nov. MSS. p. 115. Simeon Seth translated many Persicand Arabic books into Greek. Allat. ubi supr. p. 182. seq. Among them he translated from Arabic into Greek, about the year 1100, for the use or at the request of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, the celebrated Indian Fables now commonly called the *Fables of Pilpay*. This work he entitled *Στεφανίτης και Ιχνηλατης*, and divided it into fifteen books. It was printed in Berlin, by Seb. Godfr. Starchius, A.D. 1697. 8vo Under the title, *Συμειων Μωχιστρου και φιλοσοφου του Σηδ Κυλλις και Διμνι*. These are the names of two African or Asiatic animals called in Latin *Thoes*, a sort of fox, the principal interlocutors in the fables. Sect. i. ii. This curious monument of a species of instruction peculiar to the orientals, is upwards of 2000 years old. It has passed under a great variety of names. Khofru a king of Persia, in whose reign Mahomet was born, sent his physician named Burzvisch into India, on purpose to obtain this book, which was carefully preserved among the treasures of the kings of India: and commanded it to be translated out of the Indian language into the ancient Persic. Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. p. 456. It was soon afterwards turned into Syriac, under the title *Calaileg and Dammag*. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vi. p. 461. About A.D. 750, one of the caliphs ordered it to be translated from the ancient Persic into Arabic, under the name *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. ubi supr. In the year 920, the Sultan Ahmed, of the dynasty of the Sannanides, procured a translation into more modern Persic: which was soon afterwards put into verse by a celebrated Persian poet named Roudeki. Herbel. ibid. Fabric. ibid. p. 462. About the year 1130, the Sultan Bahram, not satisfied with this Persian version, ordered another to be executed by Nasrallah, the most eloquent man of his age, from the Arabic text

soon afterwards translated from the Greek into Latin, and at length from thence into French, Italian, and German¹. The Latin translation was printed Colon. Argentorat. A.D. 1498². Perhaps before. For among Hearn's books in the Bodleian library, there is an edition in quarto, without date, supposed to have been printed at Oxford by Frederick Corsellis, about the 1468. It is said to have been made by

of Mocanna : and this Persian version is what is now extant, under the title *Kalila ve Damna*. Herbel. *ibid*. Also Herbel. p. 118. But as even this last-mentioned version has too many Arabic idioms, and obsolete phrases, in the reign of Sultan Hosein Mirza, it was thrown into a more modern and intelligible style, under the name of *Anwar Soheli*. Fraser's Hist. Nad. Shaw. Catal. MSS. p. 19. 20. Nor must it be forgotten, that about the year 1100, the Emir Sohail, general of the armies of Hussain, Sultan of Khorassan, of the posterity of Timeur, caused a new translation to be made by the doctor Hussien Vaez, which exceeded all others, in elegance and perspicuity. It was named *Anwar Sohaili*, *Splendor Canopi*, from the Emir who was called after the name of that star. Herbel. p. 118. 245. It would be tedious to mention every new title and improvement which it has passed through among the eastern people. It has been translated into the Turkish language both in prose and verse : particularly for the use of Bajazet the second and Solyman the second. Herbel. p. 118. It has been also translated into Hebrew, by Rabbi Joel : and into Latin, under the title *Directorium vite humane*, by Johannes of Capua. [fol. fine ann.] From thence it got into Spanish, or Castilian : and from the Spanish was made an Italian version, printed at Ferrara, A.D. 1583. oct. viz. *Lelo Damno* [for *Caliah u Damnah*] *del Governo de regni, sotto morali*, &c. A second edit. appeared at Ferrara in 1610. oct. viz. *Philosophia morale del doni*, &c. But I have a notion there was an Italian edition at Venice under the last-mentioned title, with old rude cuts, 1552. 4to. From the Latin version it was translated into German, by the command of Eberhard, first duke of Wirtenberg : and this translation was printed at Ulm, 1583. fol. At Strasburgh, 1525. fol. Without name of place, 1548. 4to. At Francfort on the Mayne, 1565. oct. A French translation by Gib. Gaulmin from the Persic of Nasrallah above-mentioned appeared at Paris, 1698. But this is rather a paraphrase, and was reprinted in Holland. Starchius. ubi supr. præf. §. 19. 20. 22. Fabric. ubi supr. p. 463. seq. Another translation was printed at Paris, viz. 'Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et De Lokman traduits d'Ali 'Tchelchi-Bengalek auteur Turc, par M. Galland, 1714,' ii vol. Again, Paris, 1724. ii vol. Fabricius says, that Mons. Galland had procured a Turkish copy of this book four times larger than the printed copies, being a version from the original Persic, and entitled *Humagoun Nameh*, that is, *The royal or imperial book*, so called by the orientals, who are of opinion that it contains the whole art of government. Fabric. ubi supr. p. 465. Herbel. p. 456. A Translation into English from the French of the four first books was printed at London in 1747, under the title of PILPAY'S FABLES.—As to the name of the author of this book, Herbelot says that Bidpai was an Indian philosopher, and that his name signifies the *merciful physician*. Herbelot. p. 206. 456. And Bibl. Lugdun. Catal. p. 301. Others relate, that it was composed by the Bramins of India, under the title *Kurtuk Dummik*. Fraser, ubi supr. p. 19. It is also said to have been written by Isame fifth king of the Indians, and translated into Arabic from the Indian tongue 300 years before Alexander the Macedonian. Abraham Ecchelens. Not. and Catal. Ebed Jesu, p. 87.—The Indians reckon this book among the three things in which they surpass all other nations, viz. 'Liber CULILA et DIMNA, ludus 'Shatangri, et novem figuræ numerariæ.' Saphad. Comment. ad Carm. Tograi. apud Hyde, prolegom. ad lib. de lud. Oriental. d. 3. Hyde intended an edition of the Arabic version. Præfat. ad lib. de lud. Oriental. vol. ii. 1767. edit. ad calc. I cannot forsake this subject without remarking, that the Persians have another book, which they esteem older than any writings of Zoroaster, entitled *Javidan Chrad*, that is, *æterna Sapientia*. Hyde Præfat. Relig. Vet. Persarum. This has been also one of the titles of Pilpay's Fables. Wolfii Bibl. Hebr. i. 468. ii. 931. iii. 350. iv. 934.

¹ Causab. Epist. ad Jos. Scaliger, 402. 413. Scalig. Epist. ad Casaubon. 113 115. Who mentions also a translation of this work from the Latin into Hebrew, by one who adopted the name of Jos. Gorionides, called Pseudo-Gorionides. This Latin history was translated into German by John Hartlieb Moller, a German physician, at the command of Albert duke of Bavaria, and published August. Vindel. A.D. 1478. fol. Lambec. lib. ii. de Bibl. Vindobon. p. 949. Labbe mentions a fabulous history of Alexander ; written, as he says, in 1217, and transcribed in 1455. Undoubtedly this in the text. Londinensis quotes 'pervetustum quendam 'librum manuscriptum de actibus Alexandri.' Hearn's T. Caius, ut infr. p. 82. 86. 258.

² Lenglet mentions 'Historia fabulosa incerti authoris de Alexandri Magni præliis. fol. 1494. He adds, that it is printed in the last edition of Cæsar's Commentaries by Grævius in oct. Bibl. des Romans, ii. p. 228. 229. edit. Amst. Compare Vogt's *Catalogus librorum rarior*, pag. 24. edit. 1753. Montfaucon says this history of Callisthenes occurs often in the royal library at Paris, both in Greek and Latin : but that he never saw either of them printed. Cat. MSS. ii. pag. 733.—2543. I think a life of Alexander is subjoined to an edition of Quintus Curtius in 1584, by Joannes Monachus.

one Æsopus, or by Julius Valerius¹: supposititious names, which seem to have been forged by the artifice, or introduced through the ignorance of scribes and librarians. The Latin translation, however, is of high antiquity in the middle age of learning: for it is quoted by Gereldus Cambrenis, who flourished about the year 1190.² About the year 1236, the substance of it was thrown into a long Latin poem, written in elegiac verse³, by Aretinus Quilichinus⁴. This fabulous narrative of Alexander's life and achievements, is full of prodigies and extravagancies⁵. But we should remember its origin. The Arabian books abound with the most incredible fictions and traditions concerning Alexander the Great, which they probably borrowed and improved from the Persians. They call him Escander. If I recollect right, one of the miracles of this romance is our hero's horn. It is said, that Alexander gave the signal to his whole army by a wonderful horn of immense magnitude, which might be heard at the distance of sixty miles, and that it was blown or sounded by sixty men at once⁶. This is the horn Orlando won from the giant Jatmud, and which, as Turpin and Islandic bards report, was endued with magical powers, and might be heard at the distance of twenty miles. Cervantes says, that it was bigger than a massy beam⁷. Boyardo Berni, and Ariosto have all such a horn; and the fiction is here traced to its original source. But in speaking of the books which furnished the story of Alexander, I must not forget that Quintus Curtius was an admired historian of the romantic ages. He is quoted in the

¹ Du Cange Glossar. Gr. v. Εἰσαλλιος. Jurat. ad Symmachus, iv. 33. Barth. Adversar. ii. 10. v. 14.

² Hearne, T. Cui Vindic. Antiquit. Acad. Oxon. tom. ii. Not. p. 802. Who thinks it a work of the monks. 'Nec dubium quin monachus quispiam Latine, ut potuit, scripserit. Eo modo, quo et alios id genus fœtus parturiebant scriptores aliquot monastici, e fabulis quas vulgo 'admodum placere sciebant.' ibid.

³ A Greek poem on this subject will be mentioned below, written in poetic verses, entitled *Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ Μανιδάων*.

⁴ Labb. Bibl. Nov. MSS. p. 68. Ol. Borrich. Dissertat. de Poet. p. 89.

⁵ The writer relates, that Alexander, inclosed in a vessel of glass, dived to the bottom of the ocean for the sake of getting a knowledge of fishes and sea-monsters. He is also represented as soaring in the air by the help of gryphons. At the end, the opinions of different philosophers are recited concerning the sepulchre of Alexander. Nectabanos, a magician and astrologer, king of Ægypt, is a very significant character in this romance. He transforms himself into a dragon, &c. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 309. b. seq. In some of the MSS. of this piece which I have seen, there is an account of Alexander's visit to the trees of the sun and moon: but I do not recollect this in the printed copies. Undoubtedly the original has had both interpolations and omissions. Pseudo-Gorionides above-mentioned, seems to hint at the ground-work of this history of Alexander in the following passage. 'Cæteras autem res ab Alexandro gestas, et egregia ejus facinora ac quæcunque demum perpetravit, ea in libris Medorum et Persarum, atque apud Nicolaum, Titum, et Strabonem; et in libris Medorum et Persarum, atque apud Nicolaum, Titum, et Strabonem; et in libris nativitatibus Alexandri, rerumque ab ipso gestarum, quos Magi ac Ægyptii eo anno quo Alexander decessit, composuerunt, scripta reperies.' Lib. ii. c. 12.—22. [Lat. Vers.] p. 152. edit. Jo. Frid. Briethaupt.

⁶ It is also in a MSS. entitled *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*, Lib. 5. MSS. Bodl. D. 1. 5. This treatise, ascribed to Aristotle, was anciently in high repute. It is pretended to have been translated out of Greek into Arabic or Chaldee by one John a Spaniard; from thence into Latin by Philip a Frenchman; at length into English verse by Lidgate: under whom more will be said of it. I think the Latin is dedicated to Theophina, a queen of Spain.

⁷ Observat. Fairie Queen i. §. v. p. 202.

POLICRATION of John of Salisbury, who died in the year 1181. [viii. 18.] Eneas Sylvius relates, that Alphonsus IX. king of Spain, in the thirteenth century, a great astronomer, endeavoured to relieve himself from a tedious malady by reading the bible over fourteen times, with all the glosses; but not meeting with the expected success, he was cured by the consolation he received from once reading Quintus Curtius. [Op. p. 476.] Peter Blesensis, archdeacon of London, a student at Paris about the year 1150, mentioning the books most common in the schools, declares that he *profited much by frequently looking into this author*¹. Vincentius Bellocensis, cited above, a writer of the thirteenth century, often quotes Curtius in his *Speculum Historale*². He was also early translated into French. Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a fine copy of a French translation of this classic, adorned with elegant old paintings and illuminations, entitled, *Quinte Curse Ruf, des faiz d'Alexandre*, ix. liv. translate par Vasque de Lucene Portugalois. Escript par la main de Jehan du Chesne, a Lille³. It was made in 1468. But I believe the Latin translations of Simeon Seth's romance on this subject, were the best known and most esteemed for some centuries.

The French, to resume the main tenour of our argument, had written metrical romances on most of these subjects, before or about the year 1200. Some of these seem to have been formed from prose histories, enlarged and improved with new adventures and embellishments from earlier and more simple tales in verse on the same subject. Chrestien of Troys wrote *Le Romans du Graal* or the adventures of the Sangrale, which included the deeds of king Arthur, Sir Tristram, Lancelot du Lake, and the rest of the knights of the round table, before 1191. There is a passage in a coeval romance, relating to Chrestien, which proves what I have just advanced, that some of these histories previously existed in prose.

Christians qui entent et paine	A rimoyer le meillor conte,
Par le commandement le Conte,	Qu'il soit contez in cort royal
Ce est li contes del Graal	Do li quens li bailla le livre. ⁴

¹ Epist. 101. *Frequenter inspicere historias & Curtii, &c.*

² iv. 61. &c. Montfaucon, I think, mentions a MSS. of Q. Curtius in the Colbertine library at Paris, 800 years old. See Barth. ad Claudian. p. 1165. Alexander Benedictus, in his history of Venice, transcribes whole pages from this historian. I could give other proofs.

³ 17 F. i. Brit. Mus. And again, 20 C. iii. And 15 D. iv.

⁴ Appud Fauchett, Rec. p. 99. Who adds, *Je croy bien que Romans que nous avons aujourd'hui imprimez, tels que Lancelot du Lac. Tristan, et autres, sont refondus sus les vielles 'proses et rymes et puis refrachis de language.'* Rec. liv. ii. x. The oldest MSS. of romances on these subjects which I have seen are the following. They are in the royal MSS. of the British Museum. *Le Romanz de Tristan*, 20 D. ii. This was probably transcribed not long after the year 1200.—*Histoire du Lancelot ou S. Graal*, ibid. iii. Perhaps older than the year 1,200.—Again, *Histoire du S. Graal, ou Lancelot*, 20 C. vi. 1. Transcribed soon after 1200. This is imperfect at the beginning. The subject of Joseph of Arimathea bringing a vessel of the Sanguis realis, or Sangral, that is our Saviour's blood, into England, is of high antiquity. It is thus mentioned in *Morte Arthur*. 'And then the old man had an harpe, and he sung an olde Songe how Joseph of Arimathy came into this lande.' B. iii. c. 5.

Chrestien also wrote the romance of *Sir Percival*, which belongs to the same history¹. Godfrey de Leigni, a contemporary, finished a romance begun by Chrestien, entitled *La Chartete*, containing the adventures of Launcelot. Fauchet affirms, that Chrestien abounds with beautiful inventions. [P. 105, *ibid.*] But no story is so common among the earliest French poets as Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers. In the British Museum we have an old French MSS. containing the history of Charlemagne, translated into prose from Turpin's Latin. The writer declares, that he preferred a sober prose translation of this authentic historian, as histories in rhyme, undoubtedly very numerous on this subject, looked so much like lies². His title is extremely curious. 'Ci comence l'Estoire que Turpin le Ercevesque 'de Reins fit del bon roy Charlemayne, coment il conquist 'Espaigne, e delivera des Paens. Et pur ceo qe *Estoire rimée* 'semble mensunge, est ceste mis in prose, solun le Latin que Turpin 'mesmes fist, tut ensi cume il le vist et vist³.

Oddegir the Dane makes a part of Charlemagne's history; and, I believe, is mentioned by archbishop Turpin. But his exploits have been recorded in verse by Adenez, an old French poet, not mentioned by Fauchet, author of the two metrical romances of *Berlin* and *Cleomades*, under the name of *Ogier le Danois*, in the 1207. This author was master of the musicians, or, as others say, herald at arms, to the duke of Brabant. Among the royal MSS. in the Museum, we have a poem, *Le Livre de Ogeir de Dannemarche*. [15 E. vi. 4.] The French have likewise illustrated this champion in Leonine rhyme. And I cannot help mentioning, that they have in verse *Visions of Oddegir the Dane in the kingdom of Fairy*, 'Vision d' Ogeir le 'Danois au Royaume de Faerie en vers Francois,' printed at Paris in 1548.

On the Trojan story, the French have an ancient poem, at least not posterior to the thirteenth century, entitled *Roman de Troye*, written

¹ Fauchet, p. 103. This story was also written in very old rhyme by one Menessier, not mentioned in Fauchet, from whence it was reduced into prose 1530. fol. Paris. PERCAVAL LE GALOIS. *le quel acheva les aventure du Saint Graal, avec aucun faits du chevalier Gawain, transleez du rime de l'ancien auteur MESSENIER, &c.* In the royal library at Paris is LE ROMAN DE PERSEVAL le Galois, par CRESTIEN DE TROYES. In verse, fol. Mons. Galland thinks there is another romance under this title, Mem. de Lit. iii. p. 427. seq. 433. 8vo. The author of which he supposes may be Raoul de Biavaiz, mentioned by Fauchet, p. 142. Compare Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. p. 250. The author of this last-mentioned Percevall, in the exordium, says that he wrote among others, the romances of Eneas, Roy Marc, and Uselt le Blonde: and that he translated into French, Ovid's Art of Love.

² There is a curious passage to this purpose in an old French prose romance of Charlemagne, written before the year 1200. 'Baudouin Comte de Hainau trouva a sens en Bourgongne le 'VIE de Charlemagne: et mourant la donna a sa sour Yolond Comtesse de S. Paul qui m'a 'prie que je la mette en *Roman sans ryme*. Parce que tel se delitera el Roman qui del 'Latin n'ent cure; et par le Roman sera miex garde. Maintes gens en ont ouy conter et 'chanter, mais n'est ce mensongs non ce qu'ils en disent et chantent cil conteour ne cil jug-'leor. NUZ CONTES RYMEZ N'EN EST VRAIS: TOT MENSONGE CE QU'ILS DIENT,' Liv. quatr.

³ MSS. Harl. 273. 23. Cod. Membr. f. 86. There is a very old metrical romance on this subject, *ibid.* MSS. Harl. 527. r. f. r. Cod. membr. 4to.

⁴ 8vo. There is also *L'Histoire du preux Meurvin fils d'OGIER le DANOIS*. Paris. 1252-4to. And 1540. 8vo.

by Benoit de Saint More. As this author appears not to have been known to the accurate Fauchett, nor la Croix du Maine; I will cite the exordium, especially as it records his name; and implies that the piece is translated from the Latin, and that the subject was not then common in French.

Cette estoire n'est pas usee
La retraite ne fut encore
L' a translate, et fait et dit,

N'en gaires livres n'est trouvee :
Mais Beneoit de sante More,
Et a sa main les mots escrit.

He mentions his own name again in the body of the work, and at the end.

Je n'en fait plus ne plus en dit Beneoit qui c'est Roman fit¹.

Du Cange emunerates a metrical MSS. romance on this subject by Jaques Millet, entitled *De la Destruction de Troie*². Montfaucon, whose extensive enquires nothing could escape, mentions Dares Phrygius translated into French verse, at Milan, about the twelfth century³. We find also, among the royal MSS. at Paris Dictys Cretensis, translated into French verse. [Montf. Catal MSS. ii. p. 1662.] To this subject, although almost equally belonging to that of Charlemagne, we may also refer a French romance in verse, written by Philip Mosques, canon and chancellor of the church of Tournay. It is in fact, a chronicle of France: but the author, who does not chuse to begin quite so high as Adam and Eve, nor yet later than the Trojan war, opens his history with the rape of Helen, passes on to an ample description of the siege of Troy; and, through an exact detail of all the great events which succeeded, conducts his reader to the year 1240. This work comprehends all the fictions of Turpin's Charlemagne, with a variety of other extravagant stories dispersed in many professed romances. But it preserves numberles curious particulars, which throw considerable light on historical facts. Du Cange has collected from it all that concerns the French emperors of Constantinople, which he has printed at the end of his entertaining history of that city.

It was indeed the fashion for the historians of these times, to form such a general plan as would admit all the absurdities of popular tradition. Connection of parts, and uniformity of subject, were as little studied as truth. Ages of ignorance and superstition are more affected by the marvellous than by plain facts; and believe what they find written, without discernment or examination. No man before the sixteenth century presumed to doubt that the Franks derived their origin from Francus, a son of Hector; that the Spaniards were descended from Japhet, the Britons from Brutus, and the Scotch from Fergus. Vincent de Beauvais, who lived under Louis the ninth of France, and who, on account of his extraordinary erudition, was appointed preceptor to that king's sons, very gravely classes arch-

¹ See M. Galland ut sup., p. 425. ² Gloss. Lat. IND. AUT. p. xciii. ³ Monum. Fr. i. 374.

bishop Turpin's Charlemagne among the real histories, and places it on a level with Suetonius and Cesar. He was himself an historian, and has left a large history of the world, fraught with a variety of reading, and of high repute in the middle ages; but edifying and entertaining as this work might have been to his contemporaries, at present it serves only to record the prejudices, and to characterise their credulity. He flourished about 1260.

Hercules and Jason, as I have before hinted, were involved in the Trojan story by Guido de Colonna, and hence became familiar to the romance writers¹. The Hercules, the Theseus, and the Amazons of Boccacio, hereafter more particularly mentioned, came from this source. I do not at present recollect any old French metrical romances on these subjects, but presume that there are many. Jason seems to have vied with Arthur and Charlemagne; and so popular was his expedition to Colchos, or rather so firmly believed, that in honour of so respectable an adventure, a duke of Burgundy instituted the order of the *Golden Fleece*, in the year 1468. At the same time his chaplain Raoul le Feure illustrated the story which gave rise to this magnificent institution, in a prolix and elaborate history, afterwards translated by Caxton². But I must not forget, that among the royal MSS. in the Museum, the French romance of *Hercules* occurs in two books, enriched with numerous ancient paintings. [17 E. ii.] *Pertonafe* and *Ypomedon*, in our Prologue, seem to be Parthenopeus and Hippomedon, belonging to the Theban story, and mentioned, I think, in Statius. An English romance in verse, called *Childe Ippomedone*, will be cited hereafter, was most probably translated from the French.

The conquests of Alexander the great were celebrated by one Simon, in old Pictavian or Limosin, about the twelfth century. This piece thus begins:

Chanson voil dis per ryme et per Leoin
Del fil Filippe lo roy de Macedoin. [Fauch. p. 77.]

An Italian poem on Alexander, called *Trionfo Magno*, was presented to Leo X., by Dominicho Falugi Anciseno, in the year 1521. Cre-scimbeni says it was copied from a Provencal romance³. But one of the most valuable pieces of the old French poetry is on the subject of this victorious monarch, entitled, *Roman d'Alexandre*. It has been called the second poem now remaining in the French

¹ The TROJOMANNA SAGA, a Scandic MSS. at Stockholm, seems to be posterior to Guido's publication. It begins with Jason and Hercules, and their voyage to Colchos: proceeds to the rape of Helen, and ends with the seige and destruction of Troy. It celebrates all the Grecian and Asiatic heroes concerned in that war. Wanl. Antiquit. Septentr. p. 315. col. 1.

² Observat, on Spenser's Fairy Queen, i. § v. P. 176. seq. Montfaucon mentions *Medee et Jasonis Historia a Guidone de Columna*. Catal. MSS. Bibl. Coislin. ii. p. 1109.—818,

³ Istor. Volg. Poef. i. iv. p. 332. In the royal MSS, there is a French poem entitled *La Vengeance da graunt Alexandre* 19 D. i. 2. Brit. Mus. I am not sure whether or no it is not a portion of the French *Alexandre*, mentioned below, written by Jehan li Nivelois.

language, and was written about the year 1200. It was confessedly translated from the Latin; but it bears a nearer resemblance to Simeon Seth's romance, than to Quintus Curtius. It was the confederated performance of four writers, who, as Fauchett expresses himself, were *associez en leur JONGLERIE*. [Fauchett, Rec. p. 83.] Lambert li Cors, a learned civilian, began the poem: and it was continued and completed by Alexander de Paris, John de Nivelois, and Peter de Saint Clost¹. The poem is closed with Alexander's will. This is no imagination of any of our three poets, although one of them was a civil lawyer. Alexander's will, in which he nominates successors to his provinces and kingdom, was a tradition commonly received, and is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Marcellinus². I know not whether this work was ever printed. It is voluminous; and in the Bodleian library at Oxford is a vast folio MSS. of it on vellum, which is of great antiquity, richly decorated, and in high preservation. [MSS. Bodl. B. 264. fol.] The margins and initials exhibit, not only fantastic ornaments and illuminations exquisitely finished, but also pictures executed with singular elegance, expressing the incidents of the story, and displaying the fashion of buildings, armour, dress, musical instruments³, and other particulars appropriated to the times. At the end we read this hexameter, which points out the name of the scribe.

Nomen scriptoris est THOMAS PLENUS AMORIS.

Then follows the date of the year in which the transcript was completed, viz. 1338. Afterwards there is the name and date of the illuminator, in the following colophon, written in golden letters. 'Che livre fu perfais de la enluminiere an xviii⁶. jour davryl par Jehan de grise l'an de grace m.ccc.xliiii.' Hence it may be concluded, that the illuminations and paintings of this superb MSS., which were most probably begun as soon as the scribe had finished his part, took up six years: no long time, if we consider the attention of an artist to ornaments so numerous, so various, so minute, and so laboriously touched. It has been supposed, that before the appearance of this poem, the *Romans*, or those pieces which celebrated GESTS, were constantly composed in short verses of six or eight syllables: and that in this *Roman d'Alexandre* verses of twelve syllables were first used. It has therefore been imagined, that the verses called ALEXANDRINES, the present French heroic measure, took their rise from this poem; Alexander being the hero, and Alexander the chief of

¹ Fauchett, *ibid.* Mons. Galland mentions a French romance in verse, unknown to Fauchett, and entitled *Roman d'Athys et de Prophylas*, written by one Alexander, whom he supposes to be this Alexander of Paris. Mem. Lit. iii. p. 429. edit. Amst. It is often cited by Carpentier, Suppl. Cang.

² Fabric. Bibl. Gr. c. iii. l. viii. p. 205.

³ The most frequent of these are organs, bagpipes, lutes, and trumpets.

⁴ The bishop of Gloucester has a most beautiful French MSS. on vellum of *Mort d'Arthur*, ornamented in the same manner. It was a present from Vertue the engraver.

the four poets concerned in the work. That the name, some centuries afterwards, might take place in honour of this celebrated and early effort of French poetry, I think is very probable; but that verses of twelve syllables made their first appearance in this poem, is a doctrine, which, to say no more, from examples already produced and examined, is at least ambiguous¹. In this poem, Gadifer, hereafter mentioned, of Arabian lineage, is a very conspicuous champion.

Gadifer su moult preus, d'un Arrabi lignage.

A rubric or title of one of the chapters is, 'Comment Alexander fuit mys en un vesal de vooire pour veoir le merveiles, &c.' This is a passage already quoted from Simeon Seth's romance, relating Alexander's expedition to the bottom of the ocean, in a vessel of glass, for the purpose of inspecting fishes and sea monsters. In another place, from the same romance, Alexander turns astronomer, and soars to the moon by the help of four gryphons. The caliph is frequently mentioned in this piece; and Alexander, like Charlemagne, has his twelve peers.

These were the four reigning stories of romance. On which perhaps English pieces, translated from the French, existed before or about the year 1300. But there are some other English romances mentioned in the prologue of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, which we likewise probably received from the French in that period, and on which I shall here also enlarge.

BEUVES *de Hanton*, or *Sir Beavis of Southampton*, is a French romance of considerable antiquity, although the hero is not older than the Norman conquest. It is alluded to in our English romance on this story, which will again be cited, and at large.

Forth thei yode *so saith the boke*².

And again more expressly,

Under the bridge wer sixty belles, Right as the *Romans* telles³.

The *Romans* is the French original. It is called the Romance of *Beaves de Hanton*, by Perre Labbe. [Nov. Bibl. p. 334. edit. 1652.] The very ingenious Monsieur de la Curne de sainte Palaye mentions an ancient French romance in prose, entitled *Beufres de Hanton*. [Mem. Lit. xv. 582. 4to.] Chaucer mentions BEVIS, with other famous romances, but whether in French or English is uncertain⁴. *Beuves of Hantonne* was printed at Paris in 1502. [4to. Percy's Ball. iii. 217.] Ascapart was one of his giants, a character⁵ in very old French romances. Bevis was a Saxon chieftain, who seems to have extended his dominion along the southern coasts of England, which he is said to

¹ See Pref. *Le Roman de la Rose*, par Mons. L' Abbe Lenglet, i. p. xxxvi.

³ Sign P. ii.

⁴ Signat. E. iv.

⁵ Rim. Vhop.

⁵ Selden's Drayton. Polyolb. s. iii. p. 37.

⁶ It is now inclosed in the beautiful gardens of Cencrue, Sir John Mordaunt, and gives name to his seat.

have defended against the Norman invaders. He lived at Downton in Wiltshire. Near Southampton is an artificial hill called *Bevis Mount*, on which was probably a fortress¹. It is pretended that he was earl of Southampton. His sword is shewn in Arundel castle. This piece was evidently written after the crusades; as Bevis is knighted by the king of Armenia, and is one of the generals at the siege of Damascus.

GUY EARL OF WARWICK is recited as a French romance by Labbe². In the British Museum a metrical history in very old French appears, in which Felicia, or Felice, is called the daughter of an earl of Warwick, and Guido, or Guy of Warwick, is the son of Seguart the earl's steward. The MSS. is at present imperfect. [MSS. Harl. 3775. 2.] Montfaucon mentions among the royal MSS. at Paris, *Roman de Guy et Beuves de Hanton*. The latter is the romance last mentioned. Again, *Le Livre de Guy de Warwick et de Harold d'Ardenne*. [Catal. MSS. p. 792.] This Harold d'Arden is a distinguished warrior of Guy's history, and therefore his achievements sometimes form a separate romance; as in the royal MSS. of the British Museum, where we find *Le Romant de Herolt Dardenne*. [15 E. vi. 8 fol.] In the English romance of Guy, mentioned at large in its proper place, this champion is called *Syr Heraude of Arderne*. [Sign. L. ii. vers.] At length this favorite subject formed a large prose romance, entitled, *Guy de Warwick Chevalier d'Angleterre et de la belle fille Felix samie*, and printed at Paris in 1525³. Chaucer mentions Guy's story among the *Romaunces of Pris* [Rim. Thop.]: and it is alluded to in the Spanish romance of *Tirante il Blanco*, or *Tirante the White*, supposed to have been written not long after the year 1430. [Percy's Ball. iii. 100.] This romance was composed, or perhaps enlarged, after the crusades; as we find, that Guy's redoubted encounters with Colbrond the Danish giant, with the monster of Dunsmore heath, and the dragon of Northumberland, are by no means equal to some of his achievements in the holy land, and the trophies which he won from the Soldan under the command of the emperor Frederick.

The romance of SIDRAC, often entitled, *Le Livre Sydrac le philosophe le quel hom appelle le livre de la fontane de totes Sciences*, appears to have been very popular, from the present frequency of its MSS. But it is rather a romance of Arabian philosophy than of chivalry. It is a system of natural knowledge, and particularly treats of the virtues of plants. Sidrac, the philosopher of this system, was

¹ Ubi. supr.

² Fol. And again, ib. 1526. 4to.

³ Among the Bennet MSS. there is ROMANZ DE GUI DE WARWYK. Num L. It begins,
Puis cel tems ke deus fu nez.

This book belonged to Saint Augustin's abbey at Canterbury. With regard to the preceding romance of BEVIS, the Italians had *Euovo d'Antona*, undoubtedly from the French, before 1348. And Luhyd recites in Welsh, *Ystori Boun o Hamtun* ARCHÆOL. p. 264.

astronomer to an eastern king. He lived 847 years after Noah, of whose book of astronomy he was possessed. He converts Bocchus, an idolatrous king of India, to the christian faith, by whom he is invited to build a mighty tower against the invasions of a rival king of India. But the history, no less than the subject of this piece, displays the state, nature, and migrations of literature in the dark ages. After the death of Bocchus, Sidrac's book fell into the hands of a Chaldean renowned for piety. It then successively becomes the property of king Madian, Namaan the Asyrrian, and Grypho archbishop of Samaria. The latter had a priest named Demetrius, who brought it into Spain, and here it was translated from Greek into Latin. This translation is said to be made at Toledo, by Roger de Palermo, a minorite friar, in the thirteenth century. A king of Spain then commanded it to be translated from Latin into Arabic, and sent it as a most valuable present to Emir Elmomenim, lord of Tunis. It was next given to Frederick II, emperor of Germany, famous in the crusades. This work, which is of considerable length, was translated into English verse, and will be mentioned on that account again. Sidrac is recited as an eminent philosopher, with Seneca and king Solomon, in the *Marchaunt's Second tale*, ascribed to Chaucer¹.

It is natural to conclude, that most of these French romances were current in England, either in the French originals, which were well understood at least by the more polite readers, or else by translation or imitation, as I have before hinted, when the romance of *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, in whose prologue they are recited, was translated into English. That the latter was the case as to some of them, at least, we shall soon produce actual proofs. A writer, who has considered these matters with much penetration and judgment, observes, that probably from the reign of our Richard I., we are to date that remarkable intercommunication and mutual exchange of compositions which we discover to have taken place at some early period between the French and English minstrels. The same set of phrases, the same species of characters, incidents, and adventures, and often the identical stories, being found in the metrical romances of both nations². From close connection and constant intercourse, the traditions and the champions of one kingdom were equally known in the other : and although Bevis and Guy were English heroes, yet on these principles this circumstance by no means destroys the supposition, that their achievements, although perhaps already celebrated in rude English songs, might be first wrought into romance by the French³. And it seems probable,

¹ Urr. p. 616. v. 1932. There is an old translation of SIDRAC into Dutch. MSS. Marshall, Bibl. Bodl. 31. fol.

² Percy's Ess. on Anc. Engl. Minstr. p. 12.

³ Dugdale relates, that in the reign of Henry IV. about the year 1410, a lord Beauchamp travelling into the east, was hospitably received at Jerusalem by the Soldan's lieutenant : 'Who hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy of Warwick, whose story they had in books of their own language, invited him to his palace, and royally feasting him, presented him with three precious stones of great value, besides divers cloaths of silk and gold given to

that we continued for some time this practice of borrowing from our neighbours. Even the titles of our oldest romances, such as *Sir Blanfordamore*, *Sir Triamore*, *Sir Eglamour of Artoys*¹, *La Mort d'Arthur*, with many more, betray their French extraction. It is likewise a presumptive argument in favour of this assertion, that we find no prose romances in our language, before Caxton translated from the French the History of Troy, the Life of Charlemagne, the Histories of Jason, Paris, and Vyenue², the Death of King Arthur, and other prose pieces of chivalry: by which, as the profession of minstrelsy decayed and gradually gave way to a change of manners and customs, romances in metre were at length imperceptibly superseded, or at least grew less in use as a mode of entertainment at public festivities.

Various causes concurred, in the mean time, to multiply books of chivalry among the French, and to give them a superiority over the English, not only in the number but in the excellence of those compositions. Their barons lived in greater magnificence. Their feudal system flourished on a more sumptuous, extensive, and lasting establishment. Schools were instituted in their castles for initiating the young nobility in the rules and practice of chivalry. Their tilts and tournaments were celebrated with a higher degree of pomp; and their ideas of honour and gallantry were more exaggerated and more refined.

We may add, what indeed has been before incidentally remarked, that their troubadours were the first writers of metrical romances. But by what has been here advanced, I do not mean to insinuate without any restrictions, that the French entirely led the way in these composi-

'his servants.' Baron. i. p. 243. col. 1. This story is delivered on the credit of John Rouse, the traveller's contemporary. Yet it is not so very improbable that Guy's history should be a book among the Saracens, if we consider, that Constantinople was not only a central and connecting point between the eastern and western world, but that the French in the thirteenth century had acquired an establishment there under Baldwin earl of Flanders: that the French language must have been known in Sicily, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Antioch, in consequence of the conquests of Robert Guiscard, Hugo le Grand, and Godfrey of Bulloigne: and that pilgrimages into the holy land were excessively frequent. It is hence easy to suppose, that the French imported many of their stories or books of this sort into the east; which being thus understood there, and suiting the genius of the orientals, were at length translated into their language. It is remarkable, that the Greeks at Constantinople, in the twelfth century, and since, called all the Europeans by the name of Franks; as the Turks do to this day. See Selden Polyolb. § viii. p. 130.

¹ In our English *SYR EGLAMOUR OF ARTOYS*, there is this reference to the French from which it was translated. Sign. E. i.

His own mother there he wedde,
Again, fol. ult.

In ROMAUNCE as we rede

In ROMAUNCE this cronycle ys.

The authors of these pieces often refer to their original, just as Ariosto mentions Turpin for his voucher.

² But I must not omit here that Du Cange recites a metrical French romance in MSS. *Le Roman de Girard de Vienne*, written by Bertrand le Clerc. Gloss. Lat. i. IND. AUCT. p. cxciii. Madox has printed the names of several French romances found in the reign of Edward III. among which one on this subject occurs. Formul. Anglic. p. 12. Compare *Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen*, vol. ii. § viii. p. 43. Among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, there is in verse *Histoire de Gyrart de Vienne et de sus freres*, 20 D. xi. 2. This MS. was perhaps written before the year 1300.

tions. Undoubtedly the Provençal bards contributed much to the progress of Italian literature. Raimond IV. of Aragon, count of Provence, about the year 1220, a lover and a judge of letters, invited to his court the most celebrated of the songsters who professed to polish and adorn the Provençal language by various sorts of poetry. [Giovan. Villani, *Istor.* l. vi. c. 92.] Charles I., his son-in-law, and the inheritor of his virtues and dignities, conquered Naples, and carried into Italy a taste for the Provençal literature. At Florence especially this taste prevailed, where he reigned many years with great splendour, and where his successors resided. Soon afterwards the Roman court was removed to Provence¹. Hitherto the Latin language had only been in use. The Provençal writers established a common dialect: and their examples convinced other nations, that the modern languages were no less adapted to composition than those of antiquity². They introduced a love of reading, and diffused a general and popular taste for poetry, by writing in a language intelligible to the ladies and the people. Their verses being conveyed in a familiar tongue, became the chief amusement of princes and feudal lords, whose courts had now begun to assume an air of greater brilliancy: a circumstance which necessarily gave great encouragement to their profession, and by rendering these arts of ingenious entertainment universally fashionable, imperceptibly laid the foundation of polite literature. From these beginnings it were easy to trace the progress of poetry to its perfection, through John de Meun in France, Dante in Italy, and Chaucer in England.

This praise must undoubtedly be granted to the Provençal poets. But in the mean time, to recur to our original argument, we should be cautious of asserting in general and indiscriminating terms, that the Provençal poets were the first writers of metrical romance: at least we should ascertain with rather more precision than has been commonly used on this subject, how far they may claim this merit. I am of opinion that there were two sorts of French troubadours, who have not hitherto been sufficiently distinguished. If we diligently examine their history, we shall find that the poetry of the first troubadours consisted in satires, moral fables, allegories, and sentimental sonnets. So early as the year 1180, a tribunal called the *Court of Love*, was instituted both in Provence and Picardy, at which questions in gallantry were decided. This institution furnished eternal matter for the poets, who threw the claims and arguments of the different parties into verse,

¹ Villani acquaints us, that Prunetto Latini, Dante's master, was the first who attempted to polish the Florentines by improving their taste and style; which he did by writing his grand work the *Tesoro* in Provençal. He died in 1294. Villan. *ibid.* l. ix. c. 135.

² Dante designed at first that his *Inferno*, and that piece should appear in Latin. But finding that he could not so effectually in that language impress his satirical strokes and political maxims on the laity, or illiterate, he altered his mind, and published those pieces in Italian. Had Petrarch written his *Africa*, his *Eclogues*, and his prose compositions in Italian, the literature of his country would much sooner have arrived at perfection.

in a style that afterwards led the way to the spiritual conversations of Cyrus and Clelia¹. Fontenelle does not scruple to acknowledge, that gallantry was the parent of French poetry². [Theatr Fr. p. 13.] But to sing romantic and chivalrous adventures was a very different task, and required very different talents. The troubadours therefore who composed metrical romances form a different species, and ought always to be considered separately. And this latter class seems to have commenced at a later period, not till after the crusades had effected a great change in the manners and ideas of the western world. In the mean time, I hazard a conjecture. Cinthio Giraldi supposes, that the art of the troubadours, commonly called the *Gay Science*, was first communicated from France to the Italians, and afterwards to the Spaniards. [Huet, Orig. Rom. p. 108.] This perhaps may be true: but at the same time it is highly probable, as the Spaniards had their JUGLARES or convivial bards very early, as from long connection they were immediately and intimately acquainted with the fictions of the Arabians, and as they were naturally fond of chivalry, that the troubadours of Provence in great measure caught this turn of fabling from Spain. The communication, to mention no other obvious means of intercourse in an affair of this nature, was easy through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, by which the two nations carried on from early times a constant commerce. Even the French critics themselves universally allow, that the Spaniards, having learned rhyme from the Arabians, through this very channel conveyed it to Provence. Tasso preferred *Amadis de Gaul*, a romance originally written in Spain, by Vasco Lobeyra, before the year 1300², to the most celebrated pieces of the Provencal poets. [Disc. del Poem Eroic. l. ii. p. 45. 46.] But this is a subject which will perhaps receive illustration from a writer of great taste, talents, and industry, Monsieur de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, who will soon oblige the world with an ample history of Provencal poetry; and whose researches into a kindred subject, already published, have opened a new and extensive field of information concerning the manners, institutions, and literature of the feudal ages³.

SECTION. IV.

VARIOUS matters suggested by the Prologue of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, cited in the last section, have betrayed us into a long digression, and interrupted the regularity of our annals. But I could not neglect

¹ This part of their character will be insisted upon more at large when we come to speak of the works of Chaucer.

² Nic. Antonius, Bibl. Hispan. Vet. tom. ii. l. viii. c. 7. num. 291.

³ See *Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, &c. Paris, 1759. ii. tom. 12mo.

so fair an opportunity of preparing the reader for those metrical tales, which having acquired a new cast of fiction from the crusades, and a magnificence of manners from the increase of chivalry, now began to be greatly multiplied, and as it were professedly to form a separate species of poetry. I now therefore resume the series, and proceed to give some specimens of the English metrical romances which appeared before or about the reign of Edward II., and although most of these pieces continued to be sung by the minstrels in the halls of our magnificent ancestors for some centuries afterwards, yet as their first appearance may most probably be dated at this period, they properly coincide in this place with the tenour of our history. In the mean time, it is natural to suppose, that by frequent repetition and successive changes of language during many generations, their original simplicity must have been in some degree corrupted. Yet some of the specimens are extracted from manuscripts written in the reign of Edward III. Others indeed from printed copies, where the editors took great liberties in accommodating the language to the times. However in such as may be supposed to have suffered most from depravations of this sort, the substance of the ancient style still remains, and at least the structure of the story. On the whole, we mean to give the reader an idea of those popular heroic tales in verse, professedly written for the harp, which began to be multiplied among us about the beginning of the fourteenth century. We will begin with the romance of RICHARD CUEUR DE LYON, already mentioned.

The poem opens with the marriage of Richard's father, Henry II., with the daughter of Carbarryne, a king of Antioch. But this is only a lady of romance. Henry married Eleanor the divorced queen of Louis of France. The minstrels could not conceive any thing less than an eastern princess to be the mother of this magnanimous hero.

. His barons him redde¹
 That they graunted hem a wyfe to wedde,
 Hastily he sent his sonde Into many a divers londe,
 The fayrest woman that was on lyve
 They sholde bringe him to wyve.

The messengers or ambassadors, in their voyage, meet a ship adorned like Cleopatra's galley.

<p>Suche ne sawe they never none, Every nayle with gold ygrave Her mast was of yvory, Her ropes al of whyte sylke, The noble shyp was wythout And her loft³ and her wyndlace⁴ In the shyppe there were dyght And a lady therein was</p>	<p>For it was so gay begone Of pure gold was his sklave² Of samyte her sayle wytly, As whyte as ever was any mylke. With clothes of gold spred about, Al of gold depaynted was: Knyghtes and lordes of myght, Bryght as sonne thorowe the glas.</p>
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¹ Advised.

² Rudder. *Clavus*.

³ Deck.

⁴ Windlass.

Her men abroad gon stonde And becked them with her honde,
And prayed them for to dwell And they adventures to tell.—

‘To dyverse londes do we wende
‘For kynge Harry hath us sende
‘For to seche hym a quene,
‘The fayrest that myght on erthe bene.’

Up arose a kynge of chayre
With that word, and spake fayre,
The chayre was of carbunkell stone,
Suche sawe they never none,

And other dukes hym besyde, Noble men of moche pryde,
And welcomed the messengers every chone,
Into the shippe they gan gone.—

Clothes of sylke wer sprad on borde,

The kyng then anon badde, As it is in ryme radde¹,
That his doughter wer forthe fet And in a chayre bi hym set,
Trompettes bigan to blowe, She was set in a throwe²

With xx knyghtes her aboute
And double so many of ladyes stoute.—
Whan thei had done their mete
Of adventures they bygin to speke.
The kyng them told in his reason,
How it cam hym in a vysyon,

In his lond that he came fro In to Engeland for to go
And hys doughter that was hym dere
For to wende with him in fere³

And in this manner we bi dyght Unto your londe to wende ryght.
Then answerede a messengere His name was cleped Barnagere,
‘Ferther we will seeke nought ‘To my lord she shall be brought.’

They soon arrive in England, and the lady is lodged in the tower of
London, one of the royal castles.

The messengers the kyng have tolde
Of that lady fayre and bolde

There she lay in the toure The lady that was whyt as floure ;
Kynge Harry gan hym dyght
With esles, barons, and many a knyght

Ayent that ladye for to wende For he was courteys and hende :
The damosell to londe was ladde
Clothes of golde bifore her spradde,

The messengers on eche a syde, And mynystrells of moche pryde.
Kynge Harry liked her seynge
That fayre lady, and her fader the kynge.—

To Westminster they went in fere Lordes, ladies, that ther were,
Trompettes bigan for to blowe
To mete⁴ thei went in a throwe, &c.⁵

The first of our hero's achievements in chivalry is at a splendid

¹ *i.e.* The French original.

³ Company.

⁴ To dinner.

² Immediately.

⁵ Sign. A. ii.—A. iii.

This formidable axe is again mentioned at the siege of Acon, or Acre, the ancient Ptolmais.

Kyng Rycharde after anone ryght Towards Acrys gan hym dyght,
And as he sayled towarde Surrye¹, He was warned of a spye,
How the folke of the hethen law, A gret chayne thei had i drawe
Over the haven of Acres fers Was fastened to two pyllers

That no shyppe sholde in wyne².—

Therefore seven yers and more All crysten kynges laye thore
And with hongre suffre payne For lettynge of thatsame chayne.

When kyng Rycharde herde that tydinge

For joye his herte bigan to sprynge,

A swyfte strong galey he toke.

*Trenchemere*³, so saith the boke.—

The galey yede as swifte As any fowle by the lyfte⁴,

And kyng Rycharde that was so goode,

With his axe afore the shippe stooode

And whan he cam to the chayne,

With his axe he smote it a twayne⁵,

That all the barons verament Sayd it was a noble dent,

An for joye of that dede The cuppes faste aboute yede⁶,

With good wyne, piment and clare,

And failed towards Acrys citee

King Rycharde out of his galye

Let caste wild fire into the skye.

His trompettes yede in his galye

Men might here it to the skye,

Trompettes, horne, and shalmys⁷,

The sea burnt al of fyre grekys⁸.

The *fyre grekys*, or Grecian fire, seems to be a composition belonging to the Arabian chemistry. It is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine historians, and was very much used in the wars of the middle ages, both by sea and land. It was a sort of wild-fire, said to be inextinguishable by water, and chiefly used for burning ships, against which it was thrown in pots or phials by the hand. In land engagements it seems to have been discharged by machines constructed on purpose. The oriental Greeks pretended that this artificial fire was invented by Callinicus, an architect of Heliopolis, under Constantine; and that Constantine prohibited them from communicating the manner of making it to any foreign people. It was however in common use among the nations confederated by Byzantines: and Anna Comnena has given an account of its ingredients⁹, which were bitumen, sulphur, and naphtha. It is called *feu gregois* in the French

¹ Syria.

² So Fabyan of Rosamond's bower, 'that no creature, man or woman, myght *wynne* to her.' *i.e. go in*, by contraction, *Win*. Chron. vol. i. p. 320. col. i. edit. 1533.

³ Rob. Brun. Chron. p. 170.

The kyng's owne galeie he cald it *Trenchemere*.

⁴ A bird on wing. Or perhaps, *By the lyfte*, is, through the air. Lye in Junius, V. **LIFT**.

⁵ In two. Thus Rob. de Brunne says, 'he fondred the Sarazyns otuynne.' p. 574. He forced the Sarazens into *two parties*.

⁶ Went. ⁷ Shawms.

⁸ Sign. G. iii.

⁹ Du Cange, Not. ad Joinvil. p. 71. And Gl. Lat. V. **IGNIS GRÆCUS**.

chronicles and romances. Our minstrell, I believe, is singular in saying that Richard scattered this fire on Saladin's ships: many monkish historians of the holy war, in describing the siege of Acon, relate that it was employed on that occasion, and many others, by the Saracens against the Christians¹. Procopius, in his history of the Goths, calls it MEDEA'S OIL, as if it had been a preparation used in the sorceries of that enchantress².

The quantity of huge battering rams and other military engines, now unknown, which Richard was said to have transported into the holy land, was prodigious. The names of some of them are given in another part of this romance³. It is an historical fact, that Richard was killed by the French from the shot of an arcubalist, a machine which he often worked skilfully with his own hands: and Guillaume le Briton, a Frenchman, in his Latin poem called *Philippeis*, introduces Atropos making a decree, that Richard should die by no other means than by a wound from this destructive instrument; the use of which, after it had been interdicted by the pope in the year 1139, he revived, and is supposed to have shewn the French in the crusades⁴.

Gynnes⁵ he had of wonder wyse, Mangelles⁶ of grete quyentyfe,
Arblast bowe made with gynne
The holy land therewith to wynne;
Over all other utterly
He had a myle⁷ of grete maystry,
In the myddes of a shyppe to stonde
Suche ne sawe they never in no londe.

¹ See more particularly Chron. Rob. Brun. p. 170. And Benedict. Abb. p. 652. And Joinv. Hist. L. p. 39. 46. 52. 53. 62. 72.

² iv. 11.

³ Twenty grete gynnes for the nones Kyng Richard sent for to cast stones, &c.
Among these were the *Mategryffon* and the *Robynet*. Sign. N. iii. The former of these is thus described. Sign. E. iiii.

I have a castell I understonde Is made of tembre of Englonde
With syxe stages full of tourelles Well flouryshed with cornelles, &c.

⁴ Du Cange Not Joinv. p. 68. MATEGRYFFON is the *Terror or plague of the Greeks*. Du Cange, in his Gallo-Byzantine history, mentions a castle of this name in Peloponnesus. Benedict says, that Richard erected a strong castle, which he called *Mate gryffon*, on the brow of a steep mountain without the walls of the city of Messina in Sicily. Benedict. Abb. p. 621. ed. Hearn. sub ann. 1190. Rober. de Brunne mentions this engine from our romance. Chron. p. 157.

The romance it sais Richarde did make a pele,
On kastle wife allwais wrought of tre ful wele.
In schip he ded it lede, &c.
He pele from that dai forward he cald it *Mate gryffon*.

Pele is a house. Archbishop Turpin mentions Charlemagne's wooden castles at the siege of a city in France, cap ix.

⁵ Carpentier's Suppl. Du Cange, Lat. Gl. tom. i. p. 434. And Du Cange ad Ann. Alex. p. 357.

⁶ Engines.

⁷ It is observable, that MANGANUM, *Mangonell*, was not known among the Roman military machines, but existed first in Byzantine Greek Μαγγανον, a circumstance which seems to point out its inventors, at least to shew that it belonged to the oriental art of war. It occurs often in the Byzantine Tactics, although at the same time it was perhaps derived from the Latin *Machina*: yet the Romans do not appear to have used in their wars so formidable and complicated an engine, as this is described to have been in the writers of the dark ages. It was the capital machine of the wars of those ages. Du Cange in his CONSTANTINOPOLIS CHRISTIANA mentions a vast edifice at Constantinople in which the machines of war were kept. p. 155.

⁸ Mill.

Foure sayles were therto all newe Yelow and grene rede and blew,
 With canvas i layde all aboute Full costly within and withoute,
 And all within ful of fyre Of torches made of wexe clere,
 Overth wart and endlonge,
 With spryngelles¹ of fyre they dyde honde,
 Grounde they neyther corne ne good,
 But robbed as thei were wood; Out of their eyen cam red blode².
 Before the trough one ther stode That all in blode was begone
 Such another was never none And hornes he had upon his hede
 The Sarasyns of hym had grete drede³.

The last circumstance recalls a fiend-like appearance drawn by Shakespeare; in which, exclusive of the application, he has converted ideas of deformity into the true sublime, and rendered an image terrible, which in other hands would have probably been ridiculous.

. Methought his eyes
 Were two full moons, he had a thousand noses,
 Horn's whelk'd and wav'd like the enridged sea.
 It was some fiend. [King Lear, iv. vi.]

At the touch of this powerful magician, to speak in Milton's language, 'The griesly terror grows tenfold more dreadful and deform.'

The moving castles described by our minstrell, which seem to be so many fabrics of romance, but are founded in real history, afforded suitable materials for poets who deal in the marvellous. Accordingly they could not escape the fabling genius of Tasso, who has made them instruments of enchantment, and accommodated them, with great propriety, to the operations of infernal spirits.

At the siege of Babylon, the soldan Saladin sends king Richard a horse. The messenger says,

¹ Espringalles, Fr. engines. Du Cange, Gl. Lat. SPINGARDA, QUADRELLUS. And Not. Joinv. p. 78. Perhaps he means pellets of tow dipped in the Grecian fire, which sometimes were thrown from a sort of mortar. Joinville says, that the Greek fire thrown from a mortar looked like a huge dragon flying through the air, and that at midnight the flashes of it illuminated the christian camp, as if it had been broad day. When Louis's army was encamped on the banks of the Thanis in Egypt, says the same curious historian, about the year 1249, they erected two *chats chateils*, or covered galleries, to shelter their workmen, and at the end of them two *befrois*, or vast moveable wooden towers, full of cross-bow men who kept a continual discharge on the opposite shore. Besides eighteen other new-invented engines for throwing stones and bolts. But in one night, the deluge of Greek fire ejected from the Saracen camp utterly destroyed these enormous machines. This was a common disaster; but Joinville says that his pious monarch sometimes averted the danger, by prostrating himself on the ground, and invoking our Saviour with the appellation of *Beau Sire*, p. 37.

² This device is thus related by Robert of Brunne, chron. p. 175. 176.

Richard als suitehe did raise his engyns
 The Inglis wer than blythe, Normans and Petevyns :
 In bargeis and galeis he set mylnes to go,
 The sailes, as men sais, som were blak and blo,
 Som were rede and grene, the wynde about them blew.
 The stones were of Kynes, the noyse dreadfull and grete
 It affraied the Sarazins, as leven the fyre out schete.
 The noise was unride, &c.

Rynes is the river Rhine, whose shores or bottom supplied the stones shot from their military engines. The Normans, a barbarous people, appear to have used machines of immense and very artificial construction at the seige of Paris in 885. See the last note. And Vit. Saladin. per Schultens, p. 135. 141. 167. &c.

³ Sign. ut supr.

'Thou sayst thy God is full of myght:
 'Wilt thou graunte with spere and shelde,
 'To detryve the ryght in the felde,
 'With helme, hauberke, and brondes bryght,
 'On stronge stedes gode and lyght,
 'Whether ben of more power,
 'Thy God almight or Jupiter?
 'And he sent me to say this
 'Yf thou wylt have an hors of his,
 'In all the londes that thou hast gone
 'Suche ne thou sawest never none:
 'Favell of Sypres, ne Lyard of Prys¹,
 'Ben not at ned as he ys;
 'And yf thou wylte, this same daye,
 'He shall be brought the to assaye.'
 Rycharde answered, 'Thou sayest well,
 'Suche an horse, by saynt Myghell,
 'I wolde have to ryde upon.—

'Bydde hym sende that hors to me,
 'And I shall assaye what they be, 'Yf he be trusti, withoute sayle,
 'I kepe none other to me in batayle.'

The messengers tho home wente, And told the sowdan in presente,
 That Rycharde in the field wolde come hym unto:
 The ryche sowdan bade to com hym unto
 A noble clerke that could well conjoure,
 That was a mayster nygromansoure²:
 He commaunded, as I you telle,
 Thorough the fende's myght of helle,

Two strong fendes of the ayre	In lykenes of two stedes fayre
Both lyke in hewe and here,	As men sayd that ther were:
No man sawe never none syche	That was one was a mare iliche,
That other a colte, a noble stede,	Where that he wer in ony mede,

¹ Horses belonging to Richard, 'Favel of Cyprus, and Lyard of Paris.' Robert de Brunne mentions one of these horses, which he calls PHANUEL. Chron. p. 175.

Sithen at Japhet was slayn PHANUEL his stede,
 The Romans telles gret pas ther of his douthy dede.

This is our romance, viz. Sign. Q. iii.

To hym gadered every chone

And slewe FAVELL under hym,

Tho was Richard wroth and grym.

This was at the siege of Jasse, as it is here called. Favell of Cyprus is again mentioned, Sign. O. ii.

FAVELL of Cyprus is forth set

And in the sadell he hym sett.

Robert of Brunne says that Saladin's brother sent king Richard a horse. Chron. p. 194.

He sent to king Richard a stede for curteisie

On of the best reward that was in paemie.

'In the wardrobe roll of prince Edward, afterwards king Edward II. under the year 1272, the masters of the horse render their accounts for horses purchased, specifying the colours. and prices with the greatest accuracy. One of them is called, 'Unus eqws FAVELLES cum stella in fronte, &c.' Hearne's JOANN. DE TROKELowe. Præf. p. xxvi. Here favellus is interpreted by Hearne to be *honeycomb*. I suppose he understands a dappled or roan horse. But FAVELLUS, evidently an adjective, is barbarous Latin for FALVUS, or *fulvus*, a dun or light yellow, a word often used to express the colour of horses and hawks. Carpentier, SUPPL. Du Fresne LAT. GLOSS. V. FAVELLUS. tom. ii. p. 370. It is hence that king Richard's horse is called FAVEL. From which word PHANUEL, in Robert de Brunne is a corruption.

² Necromancer.

(Were the knyght ¹ never so bolde,) Whan the mare nye ² wolde,
 (That hym sholde holde ayenst his wylle,) But soone he wolde go her tyll³,
 And kneel downe and souke ⁴ his dame,
 Therewhyle the sowdan with shame
 Sholde kynge Rychard quelle, All this an aungell gan him telle,
 That to hym came aboute mydnight,
 'Awake, he sayd, goddis knyght :
 'My lorde ⁵ doth the to onderstonde
 'That the shal com on hors to londe,
 'Fayre it is, of body ipyght, To betray the if the sowdan myght ;
 'On hym to ryde have thou no drede
 'For he thee helpe shall at nede.'

The angel then gives king Richard several directions about managing this infernal horse, and a general engagement ensuing, between the Christian and Saracen armies⁶,

He lepte on hors whan it was lyght ;
 Or he in his sadel did lepe
 Of many thynges he toke kepe.—
 His men brought hem that he had,
 A square tree of fourty fete,
 Before his sadell anone he it sete
 Faste that they should it brase, &c.
 Hymself was richely begone,
 From the creste ryght to the tone⁷,

He was covered wondersly wele All with splentes of good stele.
 And ther above an hauberke. A shafte he had of trusty werke,
 Upon his shoulders a shelde of stele,
 With the lybardes⁸ painted wele ;
 And helme he had of ryche entayle,
 Trusty and trewe was his ventayle :

Upon his creste a dove whyte Sygnyfycane of the holy sprite,
 Upon a cross the dove stode Of gold iwrought ryche and gode,
 God⁹ hymself Mary and Johon As he was done the rode upon¹⁰.
 Insygnyfycance for whom he faught, The spere hed forgot he nauht,
 Upon his shaft he wolde it have Goddis name theron was grave

Now herken what othe he sware,
 Or thay to the battayle went there :
 'Yf it were so, that Rycharde myght
 'Slee the sowdan in felde with fyght,

'At our wylle everychone 'He and his shold gone
 'In to the cyte of Babylone ; 'And the kynge of Masydoyne

¹ His rider. ² Neigh. ³ Go to her. ⁴ Suck. ⁵ God.

⁶ In which the Saracen line extended twelve miles in length, and

Again, The grounde myght unneth be sene For byght armure and speres kene.

Lyke as snowe lyeth on the mountaynes So were fulfylled hylles and playnes
 With hauberkes bryght and harneys clere Of trompettes and tabourere.

⁷ From head to foot. ⁸ Leopards. ⁹ Our Saviour.

¹⁰ 'As he died upon the cross.' So in an old fragment cited by Hearne, Gloss. Rob. Brunne p. 634.

Pyned under Ponce Pilat,

Don on the rod after that.

'He sholde have under his honde 'And yf the sowdan of that londe
'Myght slee Rycharde in the felde With swerde or spere under shelde,
'That Crysten men sholde go 'Out of that londe for ever mo,

'And the Sarasyns theyr wyll in wolde.'

Quod kynge Rycharde, 'Therto I holde,

'Therto my glove, as I am knyght.'

They be armyd and redy dyght:

Kynge Rycharde to his sadell dyde lepe,

Certes, who that wolde take kepe

To se that fyght it were fayre; Ther stedes ranne with grete ayre¹

Al so hard as thei myght dyre², After theyr fete sprange out fyre:

Tabours and trompettes gan blowe: Ther men myght se in a throwe

How kynge Rychard that nobleman, Encountred with the sowdan,

The chefe was tolde of Damas³. His truste upon his mare was,

And tharfor, as the boke us telles⁴,

Hys crouper henge full of belles⁵,

And his peytrell⁶ and hys⁷ arswone

Thre myle men myght here the sowne.

His mare nyhed, his belles dyd rynge,

For grete pryde, withoute lesynge,

A faucon brode⁸ in honde he bare, For he thocht he wolde thare

Have slayne Rycharde with treasowne

Whan his colte sholde knele downe As a colte sholde souk his dame,

And he was ware of that shame,

His eres⁹ with waxe were stopped faste,

Therefore Rycharde was not agaste,

He stroke the stede that under hym wente,

And gave the Sowdan his deth with a dente;

In his shelde verament Was paynted a serpent,

Wyth the spere that Rycharde helde

He bare hym thorough under hys shelde,

Non of hys armure myght hym laste,

Brydell and peytrell al to braste,

Hys gythes and hys steropes also

Hys mare to grounde wente tho;

¹ Ire.

² Dare.

³ I do not understand this. He seems to mean the Sultan of Damas, or Damascus. See Du Cange, Joinv. p. 87.

⁴ The French romance.

⁵ Anciently no person seems to have been gallantly equipped on horseback, unless the horse's bridle or some other part of the furniture, was stuck full of small bells. Vincent of Beauvais, who wrote about 1264, censures this piece of pride in the knights templars. They have, he says, bridles embroidered, or gilded, or adorned with silver, 'Atique in pectoralibus CAMPANULAS INFIXAS MAGNUM emittentes SONITUM, ad gloriam eorum et decorem.' Hist. lib. xxx. cap. 85. Wicliffe, in his TRIALOGUE, inveighs against the priests for their fair hors, 'and jolly and gay sadeles, and bridles *ringing* by the way, &c.' Lewis's WICKLIFFE, p. 121. And hence Chaucer may be illustrated, who thus describes the state of a monk on horseback. Prol. Cant. v. 170.

Aud when he rode, men might his bridel here

GINGLING in a whistling wind as clere,

And eke as lowde, as doth the chapell bell.

That is, because his horse's bridle or trappings were strung with bells.

⁶ The breast-plate, or breast-band of a horse. *Poitral*, Fr. *Pectorale*, Lat. Thus Chaucer of the Chanon YEMAN's horse. Chan. Yon. Prol. v. 575. Urr.

About the PAYNTRELL stooede the some ful hie.

² The saddle-bow. '*Arcenarium* extencellatum cum argento,' occurs in the wardrobe rolls, ab. an. 21 ad an. 25 Edw. iii. Membr. xi. This word is not in Du Cange or his supplement.

⁸ F. *bird*.

⁹ Ears.

Maugre her heed, he made her seche
 The grounde, withoute more speche,
 Hys feete towarde the fyrmament, Bihynde hym the spere outwent
 Ther he fell dede on the grene,
 Rycharde smote the fende with spores¹ kene,
 And yn the name of the holi goost
 He dryveth ynto the hethen hoost, And as sone as he was come,
 Asonder he brake the sheltron², And al that ever afore hym stode,
 Hors and man to the grounde yode, Twenti fote on either syde, &c.
 Whan the kyng of Fraunce and hys men wyste
 That the mastry had the Crysten,
 They waxed bold, and gode herte toke
 Stedes bestrode, and shaftes shoke³.

Richard arming himself is a curious Gothic picture. It is certainly a genuine picture, and drawn with some spirit; as is the shock of the two necromantic steeds, and other parts of this description. The combat of Richard and the Soldan, on the event of which the christian army got possession of the city of Babylon, is probably the DUEL OF KING RICHARD, painted on the wall of a chamber in the royal palace of Clarendon⁴. The Soldan is represented as meeting Richard with a hawk on his fist, to shew indifference, or a contempt of his adversary; and that he came rather prepared for the chace, than the combat. Indeed in the feudal times, and long afterwards, no gentleman appeared on horseback, unless going to battle, without a hawk on his fist. In the *Tapestry of the Norman Conquest*, Harold is exhibited on horseback, with a hawk on his fist, and his dogs running before him, going on an embassy from king Edward the Confessor to William Duke of Normandy⁵. *Tabour*, a drum, a common accompaniment of war, is mentioned as one of the instruments of martial music in this battle with characteristical propriety. It was imported into the European armies from the Saracens in the holy war. The word is constantly written *tabour*, not *tambour*, in Joinville's HISTORY OF SAINT LOUIS, and all the elder French romances. Joinville describes a superb bark or galley belonging to a Saracen chief, which he says was filled with cymbals, *tabours*, and Saracen horns⁶. Jean d'Orronville, an old French

¹ Spurs.

² *Schiltron*. I believe soldiers drawn up in a circle. Rob. de Brunne uses it in describing the battle of Fowkirke, Chron. p. 305.

Thar SCHELTRON sone was shad with Inglis that wer gode.

Shad is separated.

³ Signat. M. ii.

⁴ See *supr.* p. 114.

⁵ The hawk on the fist was a mark of great nobility. We frequently find it, upon antique seals and miniatures, attributed to persons of both sexes. So sacred was this bird esteemed, that it was forbidden in a code of Charlemagne's laws, for any one to give his hawk or his sword as part of his ransom. '*In compositionem Wirigildi volumus ut ea denter que in lege continentur excepto accipitre et spatha.*' Lindebrog. Cod. Leg. Antiq. p. 895. In the year 1337, the bishop of Ely excommunicated certain persons for stealing a hawk, sitting on her perch, in the cloisters of the abbey of Bermondsey in Southwark. This piece of sacrilege, indeed, was committed during service-time in the choir: and the hawk was the property of the bishop. Registr. Adami Orleton. Episc. Winton. fol. 56. b. In Archiv. Winton. In DOMESDAY-BOOK, a Hawk's Airy, *Aira Accipitris*, is sometimes returned amongst the most valuable articles of property.

⁶ *Histoir. de S. Loys*, p. 30. The original has 'Cors Sarazinois.' Also p. 52. 56. And Du Cange's Notes, p. 61.

chronicler of the life of Louis duke of Bourbon, relates, that the king of France, the king of Thrasimere, and the king of Bugie landed in Africa, according to their custom, with cymbals, kettle drums, *tabours*¹, and whistles². Babylon, here said to be besieged by king Richard, and so frequently mentioned by the romance writers and the chroniclers of the crusades, is Cairo or Bagdat. Cairo and Bagdat, cities of recent foundation, were perpetually confounded with Babylon, which had been destroyed many centuries before, and was situated at a considerable distance from either. Not the least enquiry was made in the dark ages concerning the true situation of places, or the disposition of the country in Palestine, although the theatre of so important a war; and to this neglect was owing, in a great measure, the signal defeats and calamitous distresses of the christian adventurers, whose numerous armies, destitute of information, and cut off from every resource, perished amidst unknown mountains, and impracticable wastes. Geography at this time had been but little cultivated. It had been studied only from the ancients: as if the face of the earth, and the political state of nations, had not, since the time of those writers, undergone any changes or revolutions.

So formidable a champion was king Richard against the infidels, and so terrible the remembrance of his valour in the holy war, that the Saracens and Turks used to quiet their froward children only by repeating his name. Joinville is the only writer who records this anecdote. He adds another of the same sort. When the Saracens were riding, and their horses started at any unusual object, '*ils disoient 'a leurs chevaulx en les picquent de l'esperon, et cuides tu que ce soit le 'ROY RICHART*³?' It is extraordinary, that these circumstances should have escaped Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Benedict, Longtoft, and the rest of our old historians, who have exaggerated the character of this redoubted hero, by relating many particulars more likely to be fabulous, and certainly less expressive of his prowess.

SECTION V.

THE romance of SIR GUY, which is enumerated by Chaucer among the 'Romances of Pris,' affords the following fiction, not uncommon indeed in pieces of this sort, concerning the redemption of a knight

¹ I cannot find *Glais*, the word that follows, in the French dictionaries. But perhaps it answers to our old English *Glee*. Du Cange, Gl. Lat. V. CLASSICUM.

² Cap. 76. *Nacaires*, is here the word for kettle-drums. Du Cange, ubi supr. p. 59. Who also from an old roll *de la chambre des COMPTES de Paris* recites, among the household musicians of a French nobleman, 'Menestrel du *Cor Sarazinois*,' ib. p. 60. This instrument is not uncommon in the French romances.

³ Hist. de S. Loyis, p. 16. 104. Who had it from a French MSS. chronicle of the holy war. Du Cange's Notes, p. 45.

from a long captivity, whose prison was inaccessible, unknown, and enchanted¹. His name is Amis of the Mountain.

Here besyde an Elfish knyhte² Has taken my lorde in fyghte,
And hath him ledde with him away In the Fayry³, Syr, permafay.

Was Amis, quoth Heraude, your husbond?

A doughtyer knygte was none in londe.

Then told Heraude to Raynborne, How he loved his father Guyon:

Then sayd Raynburne, for thy sake,

To morrow I shall the way take,

And nevermore come agayne,

Tyll I bring Amys of the Mountayne.

Raynborne rose on the morrow erly,

And armed hym full richely.—

Raynborne rode tyll it was noone,

Tyll he came to a rocke of stone;

Ther he founde a strong gate,

He blissed hym, and rode in thereat.

He rode half a myle the waie,

He saw no light that came out of daie,

Then cam he to a watir brode,

Never man ovir suche a one rode.

Within he saw a place greene

Suche one had he never erst seene.

Within that place there was a pallaice,

Closed with walles of heathenesse⁴;

The walles thereof were of cristall,

And the sommers of corall⁵.

¹ The Romance of Sir Guy is a considerable volume in quarto. My edition is without date, 'Imprinted at London in Lothburye by Wylliam Copland,' with rude wooden cuts. It runs to Sign. S. ii. It seems to be older than the *Squyr of lowe degree*, in which it is quoted. Sign. a. iii.

Or else so bolde in chivalrie

As was syr Gawayne or syr GIE.

The two best MSS. of this romance are at Cambridge, MSS. Bibl. Publ. Mor. 690. 33. And MSS. Coll. Caii, A. 8.

² In Chaucer's Tale of the *Chanon Yeman*, chemistry is termed an ELFISH art, that is, taught or conducted by Spirits. This is an Arabian idea. Chan. Yem. T. p. 122. v. 772. Urry's edit.

Whan we be there as we shall exercise
Again, *ibid.* v. 363.

Our ELVISHE craft. - - - -

Though he sit at his boke both daie and night,
In lerning of this ELVISH nice lore.

³ 'Into the land of Fairy, into the region of Spirits.'

⁴ 'Walls built by Pagans or Saracens. Walls built by magic.' Chaucer, in a verse taken from *Syr Bevy's*, [Sign. a. ii.] says that his knight had travelled,

As well in Christendom as in HETHENESS.

Prol. p. 2. v. 49. And in *Syr Eglamour of Artoys*, Sign. E. ii.

Eglamour sayd to hym yeys,

I am come out of HETHENES.

Syr Bevy's of Hamptoun. Sign. b. iii.

They found shippers more and lesse
Also, Sign. C. i.

Of panimes and of hethenesse.

The first dede withouten lesse

That Bevy's dyd in hethenesse.

⁵ I do not perfectly understand the materials of this fairy palace.

The walls thereof were of cristall

And the somers of corall.

But Chaucer mentions *corall* in his temple of Diana. KNIGHTS TALE, v. 1912.

And northward, in a touret on the wall,

Of alabastre white, and red corall.

An oratorie riche for to see.

Carpentier cites a passage from the romance *De Troyes*, in which a chamber of alabaster is mentioned. SUPPL. LAT. GLOSS. Du Cange, tom. i. p. 136.

En celle chambre n'oit noienz,

De chaux, d'areine, de cimenz,

Enduit, ni moillerons, ni emplaistre,

Tot entiere sut *alambastre*.

Raynborne had grete dout to passe,
 The watir so depe and brode was :
 And at the laste his steede leepe Into the broad watir deepe.
 Thyrti fadom he sanke adowne,
 Then cleped¹ he to god Raynborne.
 God hym help, his steede was goode,
 And bure hym ovir that hydious floode.
 To the pallaice he yrode² anone,
 And lyghted downe of his steede full soone.
 Through many a chamber yede Raynborne,
 A knyghte he found in dongeon.
 Raynborne grete hym as a knyght courtoise,
 Who oweth, he said, this fayre pallaice?
 That knyght answered hym, yt is noght,
 He oweth it that me hither broght.
 Thou art, quod Raynburne, in feeble plight,
 Tell me thy name, he sayd, syr knight :
 That knyghte sayd to hym agayne,
 My name is Amys of the Mountayne.
 The lord is an Elvish man That me into thys pryson wan.
 Arte thou Amys, than sayde Raynborne,
 Of the Mountaynes the bold barrone ?
 In grete perill I have gone. To seke thee in this rocke of stone.
 But blissed be God now have I thee Thou shalt go home with me.
 Let be, sayd Amys of the Mountayne,
 Great wonder I have of thee certayne ;
 How that thou hythur wan : For syth this world fyrst began
 No man hyther come ne myghte,
 Without leave of the Elvish knyghte,
 Me with thee thou mayest not lede, &c.³

Afterwards, the Knight of the Mountain directs Raynburne to find a wonderful sword which hung in the hall of the palace. With this weapon Raynburne attacks and conquers the Elvish knight ; who buys his life, on condition of conducting his conqueror over the perilous ford, or lake, above described, and of delivering all the captives confined in his secret and impregnable dungeon.

Guyon's expedition into the Soldan's camp, an idea furnished by the crusades, is drawn with great strength and simplicity.

Guy asked his armes anone,	Hosen of yron Guy did upon :
In hys hawberke Guy hym clad,	He drad no stroke whyle he it had.
Upon hys head hys helme he cast.	And hasted hym to ryde full fast.
A syricle ⁴ of gold thereon stode,	The emperarour had none so goode ;
Aboute the syricle for the nones	Were sett many precyous stones.
Above he had a coate armour wyde ;	
Hys sword he toke by hys syde :	
And lept upon his stede anone,	Styrrope with foote touched he none.
Guy rode forth without boste,	Alone to the Soudan's hoste :
Guy saw all that countrie	Full of tentes and pavylyons bee :

¹ Called.² Went.³ Sign. K k. iii. sep.⁴ Circle.

On the pavylyon of the Soudone Stood a carbuncle-stone:
 Guy wist therebie it was the Soudones
 And drew hym thyther for the nones,
 Alt the meete¹ he founde the Soudone,
 And hys barrons everychone,
 And tenne kynges aboute hym, All they were stout and grymme:
 Guy rode forth, and spake no worde,
 Tyll he cam to the Soudan's borde²;
 He ne rought³ with whom he mette,
 But on thys wyse the Soudan he grette,
 'God's curse have thou and thyne
 'And tho that leve⁴ on Apoline.'
 Than sayd the Soudan, 'What art thou
 'That thus prowldie speakest now?
 'Yet found I never man certayne
 'That suche wordes durst me sayne.'
 Guy sayd, 'So God me save from hell,
 'My ryght nam I shall thee tell,
 'Guy of Warwicke my name is.'
 Than sayd the Sowdan ywis,
 'Arte thou the bolde knyght Guyon,
 'That art here in my pavylyon?
 'Thou fluest my cosyn Coldran
 'Of all Sarasyns the boldest man, &c.⁵

I will add Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrond, as it is

¹ At dinner.

² Table. Chaucer, Sq. T. 105.

And up he rideth to the hie borde.

Chaucer says that his knight had often '*began the bord* above in all nations.' Prol. 52. The term of chivalry, *to begin the board*, is to be placed in the uppermost seat of the hall. Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. App. p. xv. 'the earl of Surrey *began the borde* in presence: the earl of Arundel 'washed with him, and satt both at the first messe. . . . *Began the borde* at the chamber's 'end.' i.e. sat at the head of that table which was at the end of the chamber. This was at Windsor, A.D. 1519. In *Syr Eglamour of Artoys*, we have *to begin the dese*, which is the same thing.

Lordes in halle wer sette

And waytes blewe to the mete,—

The two knyghtes the *dese* began.

Sign. D. iii. Chaucer, Squ. T. 99. And Kn. T. 2002. In a celebration of the feast of Christmas at Greenwich, in the year 1488, we have, 'The duc of Bedeford *beganne the table* 'on the right side of the hall, and next untoo hym was the lorde Dawbeneye, &c.' That is, *He sate at the head of the table*. Leland. Coll. iii. 237. edit. 1770. 'To begin the *bourd* is to begin the *tournament*. Lydgate, Chron. Troy, B. ii. ch. 14.

The grete justes, *bordes*, or *tournay*.

I will here take occasion to correct Hearne's explanation of the word *Bourder* in Brunne's Chron. p. 204.

A knygt a BOURDOUR king Richard hade

A douty man in stoure his name was Markade.

BOURDOUR, says Hearne, is *boarder*, pensioner. But the true meaning is, a *Wag*, an arch fellow, for he is here introduced putting a joke on the king of France. BOURDE is *jest*, *trick*, from the French. See above, p. 70. Chauc. Gam. 1974. and Non. Urr. 2294. Knyghton mentions a favourite in the court of England who could procure any grant from the king *burdando*. Du Cange, Not. Joinv. p. 116. Who adds, 'De la vient le mot de *Bourdeurs* 'qui estoient ces farceurs ou plaisantins qui divertissoient les princes par le recit des fables et 'des histoires des Romans.—Aucuns estiment que ce mot vient des *behourds* qui estoit une 'espece des Tournois.' Also Diss. Joinv. p. 174.

³ Cared, valued. Chaucer, Rom. R. 1873.

I ne rought of deth ne of life.

⁴ Those who believe.

⁵ Sign. Q. iil.

touched with great spirit, and may serve to illustrate some preceding hints concerning this part of our hero's history.

Then came Colbronde forthe anone,
 On foote, for horse could bare hym none.
 For when he was in armure dight Fower horse ne bare hym might.
 A man had ynough to done To bere hym hys wepon.
 Then Guy rode to Colbronde, On hys stede ful wele renned¹:
 Colbronde smote Guy in the fiede
 In the middest of Syr Guyes shelde;
 Through Guyes hawberk that stroke went
 And for no maner thyng it withstent²
 In two yt share³ Guyes stedes body
 And fell to ground hastily.
 Guy upstert as an eger lyoune,
 And drue hys gode sworde browne:
 To Colbronde he let it flye, But he might not reche so hye.
 On hys shoulder the stroke fell downe
 Through all hys armure share Guyon⁴.
 Into the bodie a wound untyde That the red blude gan oute glyde.
 Colbronde was wroth of that rap, He thought to give Guy a knap.
 He smote Guy on the helme bryght
 That out sprang the fyre lyght.
 Guy smote Colbronde agayne,
 Through shielde and armure certayne.
 He made his swerde for to glyde
 Into his bodie a wound ryht wyde.
 So smart came Guyes bronde That it braste in hys hond.

The romance of the SQUIRE OF LOW DEGREE, who loved the king's daughter of Hungary⁵, is alluded to by Chaucer in *the Rime of Sir Topas*⁶. The princess is thus represented in her closet, adorned with painted glass, listening to the Squire's complaint⁷.

That ladi herde hys mournyng alle, Ryght undir the chambre walle:
 In her oryall⁸ there she was, Closyd well with royall glas,
 Fulfyllyd yt was with ymagery, Every windowe by and by
 On eche syde had ther a gynne,
 Sperde⁹ with manie a dyvers pyne,

¹ Running.

² 'Nothing could stop it.'

³ Divided.

⁴ 'Guy cut through all the giant's armour.'

⁵ It contains 38 pages in 4to. 'Imprinted at London by me Wyllyam Copland.' I have never seen it in MSS.

⁶ Observations on the Fairy Queen, i. §. iv. p. 139.

⁷ Sign. a. iii.

⁸ An Oriel seems to have been a recess in a chamber, or hall, formed by the projection of a spacious bow-window from top to bottom. Rot. Pip. an. 18. Hen. iii. [A.D. 1234.] 'Et in quadam capella pulchra et decenti facienda ad caput Orioli camere regis in castro Herefordie, 'de longitudine xx pedum.' This Oriel was at the end of the king's chamber, from which the new chapel was to begin. Again, in the castle of Kenilworth. Rot. Pip. an. 19. Hen. iii. [A.D. 1235.] 'Et in uno magno Oriollo pulchro et competenti, ante ostium magne camere regis in castro de Kenilworth faciendi, viz. xvis. ivd. per Brev. regis.' The etymologists have been puzzled to find the derivation of an oriel-window. A learned correspondent suggests, that ORIEL is Hebrew for *Lux mea*, or *Dominus illuminatio mea*.

⁹ Closed, shut. In Pierce Plowman, of a blind man, 'unsparryd his eine,' i.e. opened his eyes.

Anone that ladie fayre and fre, Undyd a pynne of yvere,
 And wyd the wyndowes she open set,
 The sunne shonne yn at hir closet,
 In that arbre fayre and gaye
 She sawe where that squire lay, &c.

I am persuaded to transcribe the following passage, because it delineates in lively colours the fashionable diversions and usages of ancient times. The King of Hungary endeavours to comfort his daughter with these promises, after she had fallen into a deep and incurable melancholy from the supposed loss of her paramour.

To morrow ye shall yn huntyng fare ;
 And yede, my doughter, yn a chare,
 Yt shal be covered wyth velvette reede
 And clothes of fyne golde al about your heede,
 With damaske whyte and asure blewe
 Well dyaperd¹ with lyllyes newe :

¹ Embroidered, Diversified. Chaucer of a bow, Rom. R. v. 934.

And it was painted wel and thwitten

And ore al *diapred*, and written, &c.

Thwitten is, *twisted, wreathed*. The following instance from Chaucer is more to our purpose. Knight's Tale, v. 2160.

Upon a stede bay, trappid in stele,

Coverid with cloth of gold *diaprid* wele.

This term, which is partly heraldic, occurs in the Provisor's rolls of the Great-wardrobe, containing deliveries for furnishing rich habiliments, at tilts and tournaments, and other ceremonies. 'Et ad faciendum tria harnesia pro Rege, quorum duo de velvetto albo operato cum garteriis de blu et *diaprez* per totam campedinem cum wodehouses.' Ex Comp. J. Coke clerici, Provisor. Magn. Garderob. ab ann. xxi. Edw. iii. de 23 membranis. ad ann. xxiii. memb. x. I believe it properly signifies embroidering on a rich ground, as tissue, cloth of gold, &c. This is confirmed by Peacham. 'DIAPERING is a term in drawing.—It chiefly serveth to counterfeit cloth of gold, silver, damask, brancht velvet camblet, &c.' Compl. Gent. p. 345. Anderson, in his History of Commerce, conjectures, that *Diaper*, a species of printed linen, took its name from the city of Ypres in Flanders, where it was first made, being originally called *d'ipre*. But that city, and others in Flanders, were no less famous for rich manufactures of stuff; and the word in question has better pretensions to such a derivation. Thus *rich cloth embroidered with raised work* we called *d'ipre*, and from thence *diaper*; and to do this, or any work like it, was called *diaper*, from whence the participle. *Sattin of Bruges*, another city of Flanders, often occurs in inventories of monastic vestments, in the reign of Henry VIII.: and the cities of Arras and Tours are celebrated for their tapestry in Spenser. All these cities, and others in their neighbourhood, became famous for this sort of workmanship before 1200. The *Armator* of Edward III., who finishes all the costly apparatus for the shews above-mentioned, consisting, among other things, of variety of the most sumptuous and ornamented embroideries on velvet, satin, tissue, &c. is John of Cologne. Unless it be Colonia in Italy. Rotul. prædict. memb. viii. memb. xiii. 'Quæ omnia ordinata fuerunt per garderobarium competentem, de precepto ipsius Regis: et facta et parata par manus Johis de Colonia, Armatoris ipsius domini nostri Regis.' Johannes de Strawesburgh [Strasbourg] is mentioned as *broudator regis*, i.e. of Richard II., in Antis, Ord. Gart. i. 55. Also, ii. 42. I will add a passage from Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, v. 450.

Of cloth-making she had such a haunt,

She passid them of *Ippe* and of *Gaunt*.

'Cloth of Gaunt,' i.e. Ghent, is mentioned in the *Roman of the Rose*, v. 574. Bruges was the chief mart for Indian commodities, about the thirteenth century. In the year 1318, five Venetian galleasses, laden with Indian goods, arrived at this city, in order to dispose of their cargoes at the fair. L. Guic. Descr. di Paesi bass. p. 174. Silk manufacturers were introduced from the east into Italy, before 1130. Gianon. Hist. Napl. xi. 7. The crusades much improved the commerce of the Italian states with the east in this article, and produced new artificers of their own. But to recur to the subject of this note. *Diaper* occurs among the rich silks and stuffs in the French *Roman de la Rose*, where it seems to signify *Damask*. v. 21867.

Samites, *dyapres*, camelots.

I find it likewise in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, written about 1200. MSS. Bodl. fol. i. b; col. 2.

Dyapres d'Antioch, famis de Romanie,

Here is also a proof that the Asiatic stuffs were at that time famous: and probably *Romanie*

Your pomelles shalbe ended with golde,
 Your chaynes enameled many a folde.
 Your mantell of ryche degre Purple palle and armyne fre.
 Jennets of Spayne that ben so wyght
 Trapped to the ground with velvet bryght
 Ye shall have harpe, sautry, and songe,
 And other myrthes you amonge,
 Ye shall have rumney, and malespine,
 Both ypocrasse and vernage wyne :
 Mountrese and wyne of Greke, Both algrade and despice eke ;
 Antioche and bastarde, Pymment¹ also, and garnarde ;
 Wine of Greke, and muscadell, Boto clare, piment, and rochell,
 The reed your stomake to defye And pottes of osey sett you bye.
 You shall have venyson ybake,²
 The best wylde fowle that may be take ;
 A lese of harehound³ with you to streke,
 An hart, and hynde, and other lyke,
 Ye shal be set at such a tryst

is Romania. The word often occurs in old accounts of rich ecclesiastical vestments: Du Cange derives this word from the Italian *diaspro*, a jasper, a precious stone which shifts its colours. V. DIASPRUS. In Dugdale's Monasticon we have *diasperatus*, diapered. 'Sandalia cum caligis de rubeo sameto DIASPERATO breudata cum imaginibus regum.' Tom. iii. 314: And 321,

¹ Sometimes written *pimeate*. In the romance of *Syr Beuys*, a knight just going to repose, takes the usual draught of *pimeate*: which mixed with spices is what the French romances call *vin du coucher*, and for which an officer, called *ESPICIER*, was appointed in the old royal household of France. Signat. m. iii.

The knight and she to chamber went :
 With *pimeate* and with spicery, When they had dronken the wyne.
 Carpentier, Suppl. Gloss. Lat. Du Cange, tom. iii. p. 842. So Chaucer, Leg. Dido, v. 185.
 The spicis parted, and the wine agon, Unto his chamber he is lad anon.
 Froissart says, among the delights of his youth, that he was happy to taste,
 —Au couchier, pour mieulx dormir, Espices, claiet, et rocelle.
 Mem. Lit. x. 665. Not. 4to. Lidgate of Tideus and Polimite in the palace of Adrastus at Thebes. Stor. Theb. p. 634. ed. Chauc. 1687.

—Gan anon repaire
 To her lodging in a ful stately toure ; Assigned to hem by the herbejour.
 And aftir spicis plenty and the wine In cuppis grete wrought of gold ful fyne,
 Without tarrying to bedde straighes they gone, &c.
 Chaucer has it again, Squ. T. v. 311. p. 62. Urr. And Mill, T. v. 270. p. 26.
 He sent her *piment*, methe, and spicid ale.

Some orders of monks are enjoined to abstain from drinking *pimentum* or *piment*. Yet it was a common refecton in the monasteries. It is a drink made of wine, honey, and spices. 'Thei ne could not meddell the geste of Bacchus to the clere honie ; that is to say, they could 'not make ne *piment* ne clarre.' Chaucer's Boeth. p. 371. a. Urr. *Clarre* is clarified wine. In French *Clarey*. Perhaps the same as piment, or hypocrass. Mem. Lit. viii. p. 674. 4to. Compare Chauc. Sh. T. v. 2579. Urr. Du Cange Gloss. Lat. V. PIMENTUM. SPECIES. And Suppl. Carp. And Mem. sur l'anc. Chevalier. i. p. 19. 48. I must add, that *πικριν-σάριος*, or *πικριν-σάριος*, signified an *Apothecary* among the middle and lower Greeks. Du Cange, Gl. Gr. in Voc. i. 1167. And ii: Append. Etymolog. Vocab. Ling. Gall. p. 301. col. 1. In the register of the bishop of Nivernois, under the year 1287, it is covenanted, that whenever the bishop shall celebrate mass in S. Mary's abbey, the abess shall present him with a peacock, and a cup of piment. Carpentier, ubi supr. vol. iii. p. 277.

² Chaucer says of the Frankelein, Prol. p. 4. Urr. v. 345.

Withoutin *bake mete* never was his house.
 And in this poem, Signat. B. iii.

With birds in *bread y bake*, The tele the duck and drake.

³ In a MSS. of Froissart full of paintings and illuminations, there is a representation of the grand entrance of Queen Isabel of England into Paris, in the year 1324. She is attended by a greyhound who has a flag, powdered with fleurs de lys, bound to his neck. Montfaucon Monum. Fr. ii. p. 234.

That hart and hynde shall come to you fyst,
 Your desease to dryve ye fro To here the bugles there yblowe.
 Homward thus shall ye ryde, On haukyng by the ryvers syde,
 With goshauke and with gentil fawcon
 With buglehorn and merlyon.

When you come home your menie amonge,
 Ye shall have revell, daunces, and songe :
 Lytle chyldren, great and smale,
 Shall syng as doth the nyghtyngale,

Than shal ye go to your evensong, With tenours and trebles among,
 Threscore of copes of damask bryght
 Full of perles they shalbe pyghte.—

Your sensours shal be of golde Endent with asure manie a folde .
 Your quere nor organ songe shall want
 With countre note and dyscaunt
 The other halfe on orgayns playing,
 With yong chyldren ful fayn synging.

Than shal ye go to your suppere And sytte in tentis in grene arbere,
 With clothe of arras pyght to the grounde,
 With saphyres set of dyamounde.—
 A hundred knyghtes truly tolde
 Shall plaie with bowles in alayes colde.

Your disease to dryve awaie To se the fisshes yn poles plaie.
 To a drawe brydge then shall ye, Thone halfe of stone, thother of tre.
 A barge shal meet you full ryht, With xxiii ores ful bryght

With trompettes and with claryowne,
 The fresshe watir to rowe up and downe.
 Than shall you, doughter, aske the wyne

Wyth spises that be gode and fyne Gentyll pottes with genger grene,
 Wyth dates and deynties you betweene.
 Fortie torches brenynge bryght
 At your brydges to bring you lyght.
 Into youre chambre they shall you brynge
 Wyth muche myrthe and more lykynge.
 Your blankettes shall be of fustiane,
 Your sheets shal be of cloths of rayne¹ :

¹ Cloath, or linen, of Rennes, a city in Britany. Chaucer, Dr. v. 255.

And many a pilowe, and every bere

Of clothe of raynes to slepe on softe, Him thare not nede to turnin ofte.

Tela de Reynes is mentioned among habits delivered to knights of the garter, 2 Rich. ii. Anstis, Ord. Gart. i. 55. Cloath of Rennes seems to have been the finest sort of linen. In the old MSS. MYSTERY, or religious comedy, of MARY MAGDALENE, written in 1512, a GALANT, one of the retainers to the groupe of the Seven Deadly Sins, is introduced with the following speech.

Hof, Hof, Hof, a frysch new galaunt !
 Ware of thryft, ley that a doune :
 What mene ye, syrrys, that I were a marchaunt,
 Because that I am new com to toun ?
 With praty . . . wold I fayne round,
 I have a *shert* of *reyns* with sleeves peneaunt,
 A lase of sylke for my lady Constant——
 I woll, or even, be shaven for to seme yong, &c.

So also in Skelton's MAGNIFICENCE, a Morality written much about the same time. f. xx. b.

Your skynne, that was wrapped in *shertes of raynes*,
 Nowe must be storm ybeten.——

Your head-shete shal be of pery pyght¹,
 Wyth dyamondes set and rubys bryght.
 Whan you are layd in bed so softe,
 A cage of golde shal hange alofte,
 Wythe longe peper fayre burning,
 And cloves that be swete smellyng,
 Frankinsense and olibanum,
 That whan ye slepe the taste may come
 And yf ye no rest can take
 All nyght mynstrels for you shall wake².

SYR DEGORE is a romance perhaps belonging to the same period³. After his education under a hermit, Sir Degore's first adventure is against a dragon. This horrible monster is marked with the hand of a master⁴.

Degore went furth his waye,	Through a forest half a daye :
He herd no man, nor sawe none,	Tyll yt past the hygh none,
Then herde he grete strokes falle,	That yt made greth noyse withalle,
Full sone he thoght that to se,	Towetewhat the strokes myght be :

There was an erle, both stout and gaye,
 He was com ther that same daye,
 For to hunt for a dere or a do,
 But hys houndes were gone him fro.
 Then was ther a dragon grete and grymme,
 Full of fyre and also venymme,
 Wyth a wyde throte and tuskes grete,
 Uppon that knygte fast gan he bete.
 And as a lyon then was hys feete,
 Hys taylor was long, and full unmeete :

Betwene hys head and hys taylor	Was xxii fote withouten fayle ;
Hys body was lyke a wyne tonne,	
He shone ful bryght agaynst the sunne :	
Hys eyen were bright as any glasse,	
His scales were hard as any brasse ;	
And thereto he was necked lyke a horse,	
He bare hys hed up wyth grete force :	
The breth of hys mouth that did out blow	
As yt had been a fyre on lowe.	

He was to loke on, as I you telle,	As yt had bene a fiende of helle.
Many a man he had shent,	And many a horse he had rente.

As the minstrel profession became a science, and the audience grew more civilized, refinements began to be studied, and the romantic poet

¹ 'Inlaid with jewels.' Chaucer, Kn. T. v. 2938. p. 22. Urr.

And then with cloth of gold and with *perie*.

And in numberless other places.

² Sign. D. ii. seq. At the close of the romance it is said That the king, in the midst of a great feast which lasted forty days, created the squire king in his room; in the presence of his TWELVE LORDS. See what I have observed concerning the number TWELVE.

³ It contains 32 pages in qto. Coloph. 'Thus endeth the Tretyse of Syr Degore, im-
 'prynted by Willyam Copland.' There is another copy dated 1560. There is a MSS. of it
 among bishop More's at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690. 36. SYR DEGARE.

⁴ Sign. B. ii.

sought to gain new attention, and to recommend his story, by giving it the advantage of a plan. Most of the old metrical romances are, from their nature, supposed to be incoherent rhapsodies. Yet many of them have a regular integrity, in which every part contributes to produce an intended end. Through various obstacles and difficulties one point is kept in view, till the final and general catastrophe is brought about by a pleasing and unexpected surprise. As a specimen of the rest, and as it lies in a narrow compass, I will develop the plan of the fable now before us, which preserves at least a coincidence of events, and an uniformity of design.

A king's daughter of England, extremely beautiful, is solicited in marriage by numerous potentates of various kingdoms. The king her father vows, that of all these suitors, that champion alone shall win his daughter who can unhorse him at a tournament. This they all attempt, but in vain. The king every year assisted at an anniversary mass for the soul of his deceased queen, who was interred in an abbey at some distance from his castle. In the journey thither, the princess strays from her damsels in a solitary forest; she is discovered by a knight in rich armour, who by many solicitations prevails over her chastity, and, at parting, gives her a sword without a point, which he charges her to keep safe; together with a pair of gloves, which will fit no hands but her own¹. At length she finds the road to her father's castle, where, after some time, to avoid discovery, she is secretly delivered of a boy. Soon after the delivery, the princess having carefully placed the child in a cradle, with twenty pounds in gold, ten pounds in silver, the gloves given her by the strange knight, and a letter, consigns him to one of her maidens, who carries him by night, and leaves him in a wood, near a hermitage, which she discerned by the light of the moon. The hermit in the morning discovers the child; reads the letter, by which it appears that the gloves will fit no lady but the boy's mother, educates him till he is twenty years of age, and at parting gives him the gloves found with him in the cradle, telling him that they will fit no lady but his own mother. The youth, who is called Degore, sets forward to seek adventures, and saves an earl from a terrible dragon, which he kills. The earl invites him to his palace, dubshim a knight, gives him a horse and armour, and offers him half his territory. Sir Degore refuses to accept this offer, unless the gloves, which he had received from his foster-father the hermit, will fit any lady of his court. All the ladies of the earl's court are called before him, and among the rest the earl's daughter, but upon trial the gloves will fit none of them. He therefore takes leave of the earl, proceeds on his adventures, and meets with a large train of knights; he is informed that they were going to

¹ Gloves were anciently a costly article of dress, and richly decorated. They were sometimes adorned with precious stones. Rot. Pip. an. 53. Hen. iii. [A.D. 1267.] 'Et de i. pectine auri cum lapidibus pretiosis ponderant. xliiis. et iii. ob. Et de ii. paribus chirothecarum cum LAPIDIBUS.' This golden comb, set with jewels, realises the wonders of romance.

tourney with the king of England, who had promised his daughter to that knight who could conquer him in single combat. They tell him of the many barons and earls whom the king had foiled in several trials. Sir Degore, however, enters the lists, overthrows the king, and obtains the princess. As the knight is a perfect stranger, she submits to her father's commands with much reluctance. He marries her ; but in the midst of the solemnities which preceded the consummation, recollects the gloves which the hermit had given him, and proposes to to make an experiment with them on the hands of his bride. The princess, on seeing the gloves, changed colour, claimed them for her own, and drew them on with the greatest ease. She declares to Sir Degore that she was his mother, and gives him an account of his birth : she told him that the knight his father gave her a pointless sword, which was to be delivered to no person but the son that should be born of their stolen embraces. Sir Degore draws the sword, and contemplates its breadth and length with wonder : is suddenly seized with a desire of finding out his father. He sets forward on this search, and on his way enters a castle, where he is entertained at supper by fifteen beautiful damsels. The lady of the castle invites him to her bed, but in vain ; and he is lulled asleep by the sound of a harp. Various artifices are used to divert him from his pursuit, and the lady even engages him to encounter a giant in her cause¹. But Sir Degore rejects all her temptations, and pursues his journey. In a forest he meets a knight richly accoutred, who demands the reason why Sir Degore presumed to enter his forest without permission. A combat ensues. In the midst of the contest, the combatants being both unhorsed, the strange knight observing the sword of his adversary not only to be remarkably long and broad, but without a point, begs a truce for a moment. He fits the sword to a point which he had always kept, and which had formerly broken off in an encounter with a giant ; and by this circumstance discovers Sir Degore to be his son. They both return into England, and Sir Degore's father is married to the princess his mother.

The romance of KYNG ROBERT OF SICILY begins and proceeds thus².

<i>Here is of kyng Robert of Cicyle.</i>	<i>Hou pride dude bim beguile.</i>
Princes proude that beth in pres,	I wol ou tell thing not lees.
In Cisyle was a noble kyng,	Faire an strong and sumdele zyng ³ ;
He hadde a broder in greete Roome,	
Pope of al cristendome ;	

¹ All the romances have such an obstacle as this. They have all an enchantress, who detains the knight from his quest by objects of pleasure : and who is nothing more than the Calypso of Homer, the Dido of Virgil, and the Armida of Tasso.

² MSS. Vernon, ut supr. Bibl. Bodl. f. 299. It is also in Caius College Camb. MSS. Claff. E. 147. 4. And Bibl. Publ. Cambr. MSS. More, 690. 35. And Brit. Mus. MSS. Harl. 525. 2. f. 35. Cod. membran. Never printed.

³ Young.

Another he hadde in Alemayne,
 An emperour that Sarazins wrougte payne.
 The kyng was hete¹ kyng Robert
 Never mon ne wuste him ferte,

He was kyng of great honour Ffor that he was conquerour :
 In al the worlde nas his peer, Kyng ne prince, far ne neer :
 And, for he was of chivalrie flour, His broder was made emperour :
 His oder broder, godes vikere, Pope of Rome, as I seide ere ;
 The pope was hote pope Urban, He was goode to god and man :

The emperour was hote Valemounde,
 A stronger warreoure nas non founde,

After his brother of Cisyle, Of whom that I schal telle awchyle.
 The kyng ythoughte he hadde no peer
 In al the world, far no neer,

And in his yougt he hadde pryde Ffor he was nounpere in uche syde,
 At midsomer a seynt Jones niht, The king to churche com ful riht,
 Ffor to heren his even-song ;
 Him thoughte he dwelled ther ful long,
 He thouhte more in worldes honour
 Than in Crist our saveour :

In Magnificat² he herde a vers, He made a clerke het him rehers,
 In language of his own tonge,
 In Latyn he nuste³ what heo songe ;

The vers was this I tell ye, ' Deposuit potentes de sede
 ' Et exaltavit humiles,' This was the vers withouten les
 The clerke seide anone righte, ' Sire suche is godes mihte,
 ' That he make heyge lowe,
 ' And lowe heyge, in luytell throwe ;

' God may do, withoute lyge⁴, ' His wil in twenking of an eige⁵,
 The kyng seide, with hert unstabl ' All yor song is fals and fable :
 ' What man hath such power ' Me to bringe lowe in daunger ?
 ' I am floure of chivalrye, ' Myn enemys I may distruye :
 ' No man lyveth in no londe ' That may me withstonde.

' Then is this a song of noht.'
 ' This erreur he hadde in thought,
 And in his thought a sleep him tok,
 In his pulput⁶, as seith the boke.

Whan that evensong was al don, A kyng i lyk hem out gon
 And all men with hem wende, Kyng Roberd lefte oute of mynde⁷.
 The newe⁸ kyng was, as I yow telle,
 Godes aungell his pruide to felle.

The aungell in hall joye made And all men of hym weore glade.
 The kyng wakede that laye in church,
 His men he thouhte wo to werche ;

Ffor he was left ther alon, And dark niht hym fel upon,
 He gan crie after his men, Ther nas non that spak agen.
 But the sextune atten ende Of the churche him gan wende⁹,

¹ Named.² The hymn so called.³ *Ne wist* Knew not.⁴ Lie.⁵ Eye.⁶ Stall, or seat.⁷ 'A king like him went out of the chapel, and all the company with him ; while the real king Robert was forgotten and left behind.'⁸ Supposed.⁹ Went to him.

And saide, 'What dost thou nouth here,
 'Thou falls thef, thou losenger?
 'Thou art her with felenye 'Holy chirche to robby, &c.'
 The kyng bigon to renne out faste;
 As a man that was wodely, At his paleys gate he stood,
 And hail the porter gadelyng¹, And bad him come in higing²:
 The porter seide, 'Who clepeth³ so?'
 He answerde, 'Anone tho, 'Thou schalt witen ar I go;
 'Thi kyng I am thou schalt knowe:
 'In prisoun thou schall ligge lowe,
 'And ben an hanged and to drawe 'As a traytour bi the lawe,
 'You schal wel witen I am kyng, &c.'

When admitted, he is brought into the hall; where the angel, who had assumed his place, makes him *the fool of the hall*, and cloathes him in a fool's coat. He is then sent out to lie with the dogs; in which situation he envies the condition of those dogs, which in great multitudes were permitted to remain in the royal hall. At length the emperor Valemounte sends letters to his brother king Robert, inviting him to visit, with himself, their brother the pope at Rome. The angel, who personates king Robert, welcomes the messengers, and cloathes them in the richest apparel, such as could not be made in the world.

The aungell welcomede the messagers,
 And gaf them clothes riche of pers⁴,
 Ffurred al with ermyne, In crystendone is non so fyne;
 And all was chouched midde perre⁵,
 Better was non in cristante:
 Such clothe, and hit werre to dihte,
 Al cristendom hit make ne mihte,
 Of that wondrede al that londe,
 How that clothe was wrougt with honde,
 Where such cloth was to selle,
 He ho hit made couthe no mon telle.
 The messengers went with the kynge⁶
 To grete Rome, withoute lettyng;
 The Fool Robert also went, Clothed in lodly⁷ garnement,
 With ffoxes tayles mony a bout⁸,
 Men mihte him knowen in the route,
 The aungel was clothed al in whyt, Was never seyge⁹ such samyt¹⁰:
 And al was crouched on perles riche,
 Never mon seighe non hem liche.
 Al whit attyr was, and steede, The steede was fair ther he yede¹¹,
 So feir a steede as he on rod Was never mon that ever bistrod.
 The aungel cam to Roome sone Real¹² as fel a kyng to done.
 So rech a kyng com never in Roome
 All men wondrede whether he come.

¹ Renegado, traitor.² At the call, [in haste.]³ Calls.⁴ Price.⁵ Precious stoner⁶ That is, the Angel.⁷ Lothly, loathsome.⁸ In many knots.⁹ Seen.¹⁰ Cloth of gold.¹¹ Went.¹² Royal.

His men weore realliche ¹ dight	Heore ² riches can seote no wiht,
Of clothis, gurdles, and other thing,	Evriche sqyzer ³ thoughte a kyng ;
And al ride of riche array,	Bote ⁴ kyng Robert, as i ow say,
Al men on him gan pyke,	For he rod al other unlyke.
An ape rod of his clothing	In tokne that he was underling.
The pope and the emperour also,	And other lordes mony mo,
Welcommede the aungel as for kyng,	
And made joye of his comyng ;	
Theose three bredrene made cumfort,	
The aungel was broder mad bi sort,	
Wel was the pope and emperour	
That hadden a broder of such honour.	

Afterwards they return in the same pomp to Sicily, where the angel, after so long and so ignominious a penance, restores king Robert to his royalty.

Sicily was conquered by the French in the eleventh century⁵, and this tale might have been originally got or written during their possession of that island, which continued through monarchies⁶. But Sicily, from its situation, became a familiar country to all the western continent at the time of the crusades, and consequently soon found its way into romance, as did many others of the mediterranean islands and coasts, for the same reason. Another of them, Cilicia, has accordingly given title to an ancient tale called, the KING OF TARS ; from which I shall give some extracts, touched with a rude but an expressive pencil.

‘ Her bigenneth of the KYNG OF TARS, and of the Soudan of

¹ Royally.

² Their.

³ Squire.

⁴ But.

⁵ There is an old French Romance, ROBERT LE DIABLE, often quoted by Carpentier in his Supplement to Du Cange. And a French *Morality*, without date, or name of the author, in MSS. *Comment il sut enjoinct a ROBERT le diable, fils du duc de Normandie, pour ses mesfaites, de faire le fol sang parler, et depuis N. S. ut merci du lui.* Beauchamp's Rech. Theat. Fr. p. 109. This is probably the same Robert I. The French prose romance of ROBERT LE DIABLE, printed in 1496, is extant in the little collection, of two volumes, called BIBLIOTHEQUE BLEUE. It has been translated into other languages : among the rest into English. The English version was printed by Wynkyn de Worde. The title of one of the chapters is, *How god sent an aungell to the hermyte to shewe him the penaunce that he should gyve to Robert for his synnes.*—‘ Yf that Robert wyll be shryven of his synnes, he must kepe and counterfeite the wayes of a fole and be as he were dombe, &c.’ It ends thus,

Thus endeth the lyfe of Robert the devyll
And of his condycyons that was full evyll

That was the servaunte of our lorde
Emprinted in London by Wynkyn de Worde

The volume has this colophon. ‘ Here endeth the lyfe of the moost ferefullest and unmercyfullest and myschevous Robert the devyll which was afterwards called the servaunt of our ‘ Lorde Jhesu Cryste. Emprinted in Fletestrete in [at] the syngye of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde.’ There is an old English MORALITY on this tale, under the very corrupt title of ROBERT CICYLL, which was represented at the High-Cross in Chester, in 1529. There is a MSS. copy of the poem, on vellum, in Trinity college library at Oxford, MSS. Num. LVII. fol.

⁶ A passage in Fauchett, speaking of hyme, may perhaps deserve attention here. ‘ Pour le ‘ regard de *Siciliens*, je me tiens presque assure, que Guillaume Ferrabrach frere de Robert ‘ Guischart et autres seigneurs de Calabre et Pouille enfans de Tancred Francois-Normand. ‘ l’ont portee aux pais de leur conquete, estant une coustume des gens de deca chanter, ‘ avant que combattre, les beaux faits de leurs ancestres, composez en vers.’ Rec. p. 70. Boccaccio's Tancred, in his beautiful Tale of TANCRED AND SIGISMUNDA, was one of these Franco-Norman kings of Sicily. Compare Nouv. Abreg. Chronol. Hist. Fr. pag. 102. Edit. 1752.

‘Dammias¹, how the Soudan of Dammias was cristened thoru godis ‘gras².’

Herkeneth now, bothe old and zying,
Ffor Marie love, that swete thyng :

Howe a werre bi gan

Bi tweene a god cristene kyng, And an hethene heih lordyng,
Of Damas the Soudan.

The kyng of Tars hadde a wyf, The feireste that mihte bere lyf,

That eny mon telle can :

A dougter thei hadde ham bi tweene,

That heore³ rihte heire scholde ben ;

Whit so⁴ father of swan :

Chaast heo⁵ was, and feit of chere.

With rode⁶ red so blösme on brere,

Eigen⁷ stepe and gray,

Lowe schuldres, and whyt swere⁸

Her to seo⁹ was gret preyere

Of princes pert in play.

The worde¹⁰ of hire spronge ful wyde

Ffeor and ner, bi vch a syde :

The Soudan herde say ;

Him thoughte his herte wolde broke on five

Bote he mihte have hire to wive,

That was so feire a may,

The Soudan ther he satte in halle ;

He sent his messagers faste with alle,

To hire fader the kyng.

And seyde, hou so hit ever bi falle,

That mayde he wolde clothe in palle

And spousen hire with his ryng,

‘And alles¹¹ I swere withouten fayle

‘I chull¹² hire winnen in pleye battayle

‘With mony an heih lordyng, &c.’

The Soldan, on application to the king of Tarsus for his daughter, is refused ; and the messengers return without success. The Soldan’s anger is painted with great characteristical spirit.

The Soudan sate at his des, I served of his furste mes ;

Thei comen into the halle

To fore the prince proud in pres, Heore tale thei tolde withouten les

And on heore knees gan falle ;

And seide, ‘Sire the king of Tars ‘Of wikked words nis not scars,

‘Hethene hounde¹³ he doth the¹⁴ calle ;

‘And or his dogtur he give the tille¹⁵ ‘Thyn herte blode he woll spille

‘And thi barrons alle.’

¹ Damascus.

² MS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. f. 304. It is also in Bibl. Adv. Edingb. W. 4. i. Num. iv. In five leaves and a half. Never printed.

⁶ Ruddy, [complexion.]

⁷ Eyes.

⁸ Neck.

⁹ See.

¹⁰ The report of her.

¹¹ Also, [else.]

¹² Shall.

¹³ A phrase often applied to the Saracens. So in *Syr Bewys*, Signat. C. ii. b.

To speke with an *hethene hounde*.

¹⁴ Thee.

¹⁵ ‘Before his daughter is given to thee.’

Whan the Soudan this i herde, As a wod man he ferde,
 His robe he rent adoune ;
 He tar the har¹ of hed and berde,
 And seide he wold her wene with swerde,
 Beo his lord seynt Mahoune.
 The table adoune rihte he smote, In to the floore foote hot²
 He lokede as a wylde lyoun ;
 Alle that he hitte he smotte down riht
 Both sergeaunt and kniht,
 Erle and eke baroun.
 So he ferde forsothe a plihte, Al a day, al a nihte,
 That no man mihte him chaste³.—
 A morwen when hit was day lihte, He sent his messagers ful rihte,
 After his barouns in haste :
 ‘ Lordynges, he seith, what to rede⁴, ‘ Me is done a grete mysdede,
 ‘ Of Taars the cristen kyng ;
 ‘ I bad him both land and lede
 ‘ To have his doughter in worthli wede,
 ‘ And spousen hire with my ryng
 ‘ And he seide, withouten fayle ‘ First he wolde me sle in batayle,
 ‘ And many a grete lordyng.
 At sertes⁵ he schal be forswore, ‘ Or to wrothele⁶ that he was bore
 ‘ Bote he hit therto⁷ bryng.
 ‘ Therefore lordynges, I have after ow sent
 ‘ Ffor to come to my parliment,
 ‘ To wite of zow counsayle.’
 And all onswerde with gode entent
 Thei wolde be at his commaundement
 Withouten any fayle.
 And when thei were alle at his heste,
 The Souden made a well grete feste,
 For love of his battayle ;
 The Soudan gedrede a hoste unryde⁸
 With Sarazyns of muchel pryde.
 The kyng of Taars to assayle.
 Whan the kyng hit herde that tyde He sent about on vche syde,
 All that he mihte off seende ;
 Grat werre tho bi gan to wrake Ffor the marriage ne most be take
 Of that same mayden heende⁹.
 Battayle thei sette uppon a day, With inne the thridde day of May,
 Ne longer nolde thei leende¹⁰,
 The Soudan com with grete power, With helme briht, and feir banere,
 Uypon that kyng to wende.

¹ ‘ Tore the hair.² Struck, Stamped.³ Check:⁴ ‘ What counsel shall we take.’⁵ ‘ But certainly.’⁶ Loss of health or safety. Malediction. So R. of Brunne, Chron. Apud. Hearne’s Rob. Glouc. p. 737. 738.

Morgan did after conseile,

And wrought him selfe to *wrotherheile*.

Again,

To zow al was a wikke conseile,

That ze selle se full *wrotherheile*.⁷ ‘ To that issue.’⁸ Unright. Wicked.⁹ Hend. Handsome.¹⁰ Tarry.

The Soudan ladde an huge oft,
 And com with mucche pruyde and cost,
 With the kyng of Taars to fihte.
 With him mony a Sarazyn feer¹, All the feolds feor and neer,
 Of helmes leomede² lihte.
 The kyng of Taars com also The Soudan battayle for to do
 With mony a cristene knihte ;
 Either ost gon othur assayle Ther bi gon a strong batayle
 That grislyche was of sihte.
 Threo hethene agen twey cristene men,
 And felde hem down in the fen,
 With wepnes stif and goode
 The steorne Sarazyns in that fihte, Slowe vr cristen men doun rihte,
 Thei fouhte as heo weore woode.
 The Souldan's ostein that stounde Ffeolde the cristene to the grounde,
 Mony a freoly foode ;
 The Sarazyns, with outen fayle. The cristens culd³ in that battayle,
 Nas non that hem withstooode.
 Whan the kyng of Taars saw the siht Wood he was for wrathe⁴ a pliht ;
 In honde he hent a spere,
 And to the Soudan he rode ful riht, With a dunt⁵ of much miht,
 Adoun he gon him bere ;
 The Souldan neigh he hadde islawe,
 But thritti thousand of hethen lawe
 Commen him for to were ;
 And broukten him agen upon his stede,
 And holpe him wel in that nede,
 That no mon miht him dere⁶.
 When he was brouht uppon his stede,
 He sprong as sparkle doth of glede⁷,
 Ffor wrathe and for envye ;
 All that he hotte he made them blede,
 He ferde as he wolde a wede⁸.
 Mahoun help, he gan crye.
 Mony an helm ther was unweved, And mony a bacinet⁹ to cleved
 And saddles mony empye ;
 Men miht se uppon the felde Moni a kniht ded under schelde,
 Of the cristen cumpagnie
 Whon the kyng of Taars saug hem so ryde,
 No longer than he nold abyde,
 Bote fleyh¹⁰ to his owne cite :
 The Sarazyns, that ilke tyde, Sloug a doun bi vche syde
 Vr cristene folk so fre.
 The Sarazyns that tyme, sauns fayle, Slowe vre cristene in battayle,
 That reuthe it was to se ;
 And on the morwe for heore¹¹ sake
 Truwes thei gunne for to gidere take¹²,
 A moneth and dayes thre.

¹ Companion.² Shone.³ Killed.⁴ Wrappe. Orig.⁵ *Dint*. Wound, stroke.⁶ Hurt.⁷ Coal.

Firebrand.

⁸ 'As if he was mad.'⁹ Helmet.¹⁰ Flew.¹¹ Their.¹² 'They began to make a truce together.'

As the kyng of Taars satte in his halle,
 He made ful gret deol¹ withalle,
 Ffor the folk that he hedde ilore² :
 His douhter com in riche palle,
 On kneos he³ gan biforen hym falle,
 And seide with sything sore :
 ' Ffather, she seide, let me bi his wyf
 ' That ther be no more stryf, &c.'

To prevent future bloodshed, the princess voluntarily declares she is willing to be married to the Soldan, although a Pagan : and notwithstanding the king her father peremptorily refuses consent, and resolves to continue the war, with much difficulty she finds means to fly to the Soldan's court, in order to produce a speedy and lasting reconciliation by marrying him.

To the Souldan heo⁴ is i fare ;
 He com with mony an heig lordyng,
 Ffor to welcom that swete thying,
 Theor he com in hire chare⁵ :

He cust⁶ hire with mony a sithe His joye couthe no man hithe⁷,
 A wei was al hire care.
 Into chambre heo was led, With riche clothes heo was cled,
 Hethene as thaug heo were⁸.
 The Souldan ther he satte in halle, He commaunded his knihtes alle
 That mayden ffor to fette,
 On cloth of riche purpil palle, And on here bed a comli calle,
 Bi the Souldan she was sette.
 Unsemli was hit ffor to se Heo that was so bright of ble
 To habbe⁹ so foule a mette¹⁰, &c.

They are then married, and the wedding is solemnized with a grand tournament, which they both view from a high tower. She is afterwards delivered of a son, which is so deformed as to be almost a monster. But at length she persuades the Soldan to turn christian ; and the young prince is baptised, after which ceremony he suddenly becomes a child of most extraordinary beauty. The Soldan next proceeds to destroy his Saracen idols.

He hente a stof with herte grete, And al his goddis he gan to bete,
 And drough hem al adoun ;
 And leyde on til that he con swete With sterne strokes and with grete
 On Jovyn and Plotoun,
 On Astrot and sire¹¹ Jovyn On Termagaunt and Apollin,
 He brak them scul and croun ;

¹ Dole. Grief.

² Lost.

³ She.

⁴ She.

⁵ Chariot.

⁶ Kist.

⁷ Know.

⁸ As if she had been a heathen. One of that country.'

⁹ Have.

¹⁰ Mate.

¹¹ I know not if by *sire Jovyn* he means Jupiter, or the Roman emperor called Jovinian, against whom saint Jerom wrote, and whose history is in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, c. 50. He is mentioned by Chaucer as an example of pride, luxury, and lust. *SOMP. T. v. 7511.* Verdier (in V.) recites a *Moralite* on Jovinian, with 19 characters, printed at Lyons, from an ancient copy in 1581, 8vo. With the title *L'Orgueil et presumption de l'Empereur JOVINIAN*. But *Jovyn* being mentioned here with *Plotoun* and *Apollin*, seems to mean *Jove* or *Jupiter*; and the appellation, *SIRE*, perhaps implies *father*, or *chief*, of the heathen gods.

On Termagaunt, that was heore brother,
 He left no lym hol witte other,
 Ne on his lorde seynt Mahoun, &c.

The Soldan then releases 30,000 christians, whom he had long detained prisoners. As an apostate from the pagan religion, he is powerfully attacked by several neighbouring Saracen nations : but he solicits the assistance of his father-in-law the king of Tars ; and they both joining their armies, in a pitched battle, defeat five Saracen kings, Kenedoch, Lesyas king of Taborie, Merkel, Cleomadas, and Membrok. There is a warmth of description in some passages of this poem, not unlike the manner of Chaucer. The reader must have already observed, that the stanza resembles that of Chaucer's RIME OF SIR TOPAS¹.

IPOMEDON is mentioned among the romances in the Prologue of RICHARD CUER DE LYON ; which, in an ancient copy of the British Museum, is called SIR IPOMYDON : a name borrowed from the Theban war, and transferred here to a tale of the feudal times². This piece is evidently derived from a French original. Our hero Ippomedon is son of Ermones king of Apulia, and his mistress is the fair heiress of Calabria. About the year 1230, William Ferrabras³, and his brethren, sons of Tancred the Norman, and well known in the romantic history of the Paladins, acquired the signories of Apulia and Calabria. But our English romance seems to be immediately translated from the French ; for Ermones is called king of *Poyle*, or Apulia, which in French is *Pouille*. I have transcribed some of the most interesting passages⁴.

Ippomedon, although the son of a king, is introduced waiting in his father's hall, at a grand festival. This servitude was so far from being dishonourable, that it was always required as a preparatory step to knighthood⁵.

Everie year the kyng weld	At Whytsuntyde a fest held
Of dukis, erlis, and barouns,	Mani ther com from diverse tounes,
Ladyes, maydens, gentill and fre,	Come theydr frome ferre countre :
And grette lordis of ferre lond,	Thedyr were prayd by fore the hond ⁶ .
Whan all were come to gidyr than	Ther was joy of mani a man ;
Ffull ryche I wene were there pryse,	
Ffor better might no man devyse,	
Ippomedon that day servyde in halle,	
All spake of hym both grete and smalle.	
Ladyes and mayden by helde hym on,	
So goodly a youth they had sene non :	

¹ The romance of SIR LIBEAUX OR LYBIUS DISCONIUS, quoted by Chaucer, is in this stanza. MSS. Cott. CAL. A. 2. f. 40.

² MSS. Harl. 2252. 44. f. 54. And in the library of Lincoln cathedral, (K. k. 3. 10.) is an ancient imperfect printed copy, wanting the first sheet

³ *Bras de fer*. Iron arms.

⁴ MSS. f. 55.

⁵ See p. supr.

⁶ Before-hand.

Hys feyre chere in halle theym smerte
 That mony a lady son smote throw the herte.
 And in theyr hartys they made mone
 That there lordis ne were suche one.

After mete they went to pley, All the peple, as I you say;
 Some to chambre, and some to boure,
 And some to the hye toure¹; And some on the halle stode
 And spake what hem thoht gode: Men that were of that cite²
 Enquired of men of other cuntre, &c.

Here a conversation commences concerning the heiress of Calabria:
 and the young prince Ippomedon immediately forms a resolution to
 visit and to win her. He sets out in disguise.

Now they furth go on their way, Ippomedon to hys men gan say,
 That thei be none of them alle, So hardi by his name hym calle,
 Whenso thei wend farre or neare, Or over the straunge ryvere;
 Ne no man telle what I am
 Where I schall go, ne where I came,
 All they graunted his commaundement,
 And furthe thei went with one consent.

Ippomedon and Thelomew Robys had on and mantills newe,
 Of the richest that might be, Ther nas ne suche in that cuntree:
 Ffor many was the riche stone That the mantills were uppon.
 So long there waie they have nome³ That to Calabre they are come:
 Thei come to the castell yate The porter was redy there at,
 The porter to them thei gan calle And prayd him go into the halle
 And say thy lady⁴ gent and fre,
 That commen are men of farre contree,
 And yf yt please hir we will her pray,
 That we might ete with hyr to day.

The porter seyde full cortessly 'Your errand to do I am redy.'
 The ladie to her mete was sette, The porter cam and fayr her grette,
 'Madame, he seyde, god yow save, 'At your gate gestis you have,
 'Straunge men us for to se 'Thei aske mete for charyte.'
 The ladie commaundeth sone anone That the gates wer undone,
 'And brynge them alle bfore me 'Ffor welle at ese shall thei be.'
 Thei took heyr pagis hors and alle, These two men went into the halle,
 Ippomedon on knees hym sette, And the ladye feyre he grette:
 'I am a man of straunge cowntre 'And pryve yow of your will to be
 'That I myght dwelle with you to gere 'Of your nourture for to lere⁵,
 'I am com from farre lond; 'Ffor speche I here bi fore the hand
 'That your nourture and your servyse, 'Ys holden of so grete emprise,

¹ In the feudal castles, where many persons of both sexes were assembled, and who did not know how to spend the time, it is natural to suppose that different parties were formed, and different schemes of amusement invented. One of these, was to mount to the top of one of the highest towers in the castle.

² The Apulians. ³ Took.

⁴ She was lady, by inheritance, of the signory. The female feudatories exercised all the duties and honours of their feudal jurisdiction in person. In Spencer, where we read of the *Lady of the Castle*, we are to understand such a character. See a story of a *Comtesse*, who entertains a knight in her castle with much gallantry. Mem. sur. l'anc. Chev. ii. 69. It is well known that anciently in England ladies were sheriffs of counties. Margaret countess of Richmond was a justice of the peace.

⁵ Learn.

'I pray you that I may dwell here
The ladye by held Ippomedon,
She knew non suche in her lande,
She sawe also bi his norture
She cast ful sone in hire thoght
But hit was worship her untoo
She sayd, 'Syr, welcome ye be,
'Sithe ye have had so grete travayle,
'In this cuntre ye may dwell here,

'Of the cuppe ye shall serve me

'And all your men with you shal be,

'Ye may dwell here at your wille,
'Madame, he said, grantmercy.'
She commandith him to the mete,
Hesaluted theym greete and smalle,
All thei said sone anon,
Ne so light, ne so glad,
There was none that sat nor yede³,
And seyde, he was no lytell syre
Whan thei had ete, and grace sayd,
Upp then aroos Ippomedon,
Ant hys mantyl hym a boutte;
Ant everie mon seyde to other there,
'Shall serve⁵ my ladye of the wyne,

That they hym scornyd wist he noght

On othyr thyng he had his thoght.

And drewe a lace of sylke ful clere,

Adowne than felle hys mantylle by,

That lytell gyfte⁶ that he wold nome

Tell afte sum better come.

Up it toke the bottelere,
Ant preyde the ladye hartely
Al that was tho in the halle
And sayde he was no lytyll man
There he dwelled moni a day,
He bare hym on so fayre manere
All loved hym that com hym by,

The ladye had a cosyn that hight Jason,

Full well he loved Ippomedon;

When that he yed in or oute,

The lady lay, but she slept noght,

For of the squyerre she had grete thoght;

How he was feyre and shape wele,
Ther was non in al hir londe
But she howde wele for no case,
Ne of no man could enquire,

She hire bi thought of a quayntyse,

If she miht know in any wise,

'Some of your servyse to bere.'

He semed wel a gentilmon,
So goodli a man and wel farrand¹;
He was a man of grete valure:
That for no servyse cum he noght;
In feir servyse hym to do.

'And al that comyn be with the;

'Of a servyse ye shall not fayle:

'And al your will for to here,

'Bote² your beryng be full ylle.'
He thanked the ladye corteysly.
But or he sette in ony sete,
As a gentillmon shuld in halle;

Thei saw nevir so godli a mon,
Ne non that so ryche atire had:
But thei had merveille of his dede⁴,
That myht showe soche atyre.
And the tabyll awaye was layd;
And to the bottery he went anon,
On hym lokyd all the route,
'Will ye se the proude squeeer
'In hys mantyll that is so fyne?'

He toke the cuppe of the botelere,

He preyed hym for hys curtesy,

that he wold nome

By fore the lady he gan it bere
To thanke hym of his curtesie,
Grete honoure they spake hym alle.
That such gyftis gifte kan.

And servyd the ladye wel to pay,
To knightis, ladyes, and squyerre,
Ffor he bare hym so cortessly.

Jason went with hym aboute.

Body and armes, and everie dele:
So wel he seymd doughty of honde.
Whence he came nor what he was,
Other than of that squyerre.

¹ Handsome. ² Unless. ³ Walked. ⁴ Behaviour. ⁵ "Who is to serve." ⁶ i.e. His mantle.

To wete whereof he were come ;
 This was hyr thought al their some
 She thought to wode hyr men to tame¹
 That she myghte knowe hym by his game.
 On the morow whan yt was day To her men she gan to say,
 ' To morrowe whan it is day light, ' Lok ye be al redy dight,
 ' With your houndis more and lesse,
 ' In fforrest to take my gresse,
 ' And thare I will myself be ' Your game to by holde and se.'
 Ippomedon had houndis three That he broght from his cuntree ;
 Whan thei were to the wode gone,
 This ladye and her men ichone,
 And with them her houndis ladde All that any houndis hadde.
 Syr Tholomew for gate he noght,
 Hys maistres houndes thedyr he broght,
 That many a day he had ronne ere,
 Fful wel he thought to note hem there.
 When thei came to the launde on hight,
 The quenes pavylyon thar was pight,
 That she might see al the best, All the game of the forrest,
 And to the lady broght mani a best²,
 Herte and hynd, buck and doo, And othir bestis many mo.
 The houndis that wer of gret prise, Plucked down dere all atryse,
 Ippomedan he with his hounds throo
 Drew down both buck and doo.
 More he took with houndes thre Than al that othir cumpagnie,
 Thare squyres undyd hyr dere Eche man after his manere :
 Ippomedon a dere gede unto, That ful konningly gon he hit undo,
 So feyre that venyson he gan to dight,
 That both hym by held squyere and knight :
 The ladye looked oute of her pavylyon,
 And sawe hym dight the venyson.
 There she had grete dainte And so had all that dyd hym see :
 She sawe all that he down droughe
 Of huntynge she wist he coude ynoghe
 And thought in her hert then That he was com of gentillmen :
 She bade Jason hire men to calle Homethen passyd grete and smalle :
 Home thei com son anon, This ladye to hir met gan gon,
 And of venery³ had her fille Ffor they had take game at wille.

He is afterwards knighted with great solemnity.

The heraudes gaff the childe⁴ the gee, And M pounde he had to fee,
 Mynstrelles had giftes of gold
 And fourty dayes thys feste was holde⁵.

The metrical romance entitled, LA MORT ARTHURE, preserved in the same repository, is supposed by the learned and accurate Wanley, to be a translation from the French : who adds, that it is not perhaps older than the times of Henry VII⁶. But as it abounds with many

¹ Tempt.

² Beast.

³ Venison.

⁴ Ippomedon.

⁵ MSS. f. 61. b.

⁶ MSS. Harl. 2252. 49. f. 86. Pr. ' Lordings that are lesse and deare.' Never printed.

Saxon words, and seems to be quoted in SYR BEVVS, I have given it a place here¹. Notwithstanding the title and the exordium, which promises the history of Arthur and the Sangreal, the exploits of Sir Lancelot du Lake king of Benwike, his intrigues with Arthur's queen Geneura, and his refusal of the beautiful daughter of the earl of Ascalot, form the greatest part of the poem. At the close, the repentance of Lancelot and Geneura, who both assume the habit of religion, is introduced. The writer mentions the tower of London. The following is a description of a tournament performed by some of the knights of the Round Table².

Tho to the castelle gon they fare, To the ladye fayre and bryhte :
 Blithe was the ladye thare,
 That thei wold dwell with her that nyght.
 Hastely was there soper yare³
 Of mete and drinke richely dight ;
 On the morrowe gan thei dine and fare
 Both Lancellot and that othir knight.
 When they come in to the felde, Myche ther was of game and play,
 Awhile they lovid⁴ and bi held
 How Arthur's knightis rode that day,
 Galehodis⁵ party bigun to⁶ held,
 On fote his knightis ar led away, Launcellott stiffe was undyr schelde,
 Thenkis to help yf that he may.
 Besyde him come than syr Gawayne, Bremer⁷ as eny wilde bore ;
 Lancellot springis hem agayne⁸ In rede armys that he bore :
 A dynte he gaff with mekill mayne Syr Ewayne was unhorsid thare,
 That al men went⁹ he had ben slayne So was he woundyd wondyr fare¹⁰;
 Syr Beorte thoughte no thinge good, When Syr Ewayne unhorsyd was ;
 Fforth he springis, as he were wode, To Launcellot withouten lese :
 Launcellott hitt hym on the hode, The next way to grounde he chese ;
 Was won so stiffe agayne hym stode
 Fful thin he made the thickest prees¹¹.
 Syr Lyonell be gonne to tene¹²,
 And hastely he made hym bowne¹³,
 To Launcellott, with herte kene,
 He rode with helme and sword browne ;
 Launcellott hytt hym as I wene,
 Through the helme in to the crowne :
 That eny aftir it was sene
 Bothe horse and man ther yod adoune.
 The knightis gadrede to gedre than And gan with crafte, &c.

I could give many more ample specimens of the romantic poems of these nameless minstrels, who probably flourished before or about the reign of Edward II¹⁴. But it is neither my inclination nor intention to

¹ Signat. K. ii. b. ² MSS. t. 89. b.

³ Ready. See GLOSSARY to the Oxf. edit. of Shakespeare, 1771. In *Voc*.

⁴ Hovered. ⁵ Sir Galaad's. ⁶ Perhaps *yeld*, i.e. yield.

⁷ Fierce. ⁸ Against. ⁹ Weened. ¹⁰ Sore. ¹¹ Crowd. ¹² Be Troubled. ¹³ Ready

¹⁴ *Octavian* is one of the romances mentioned in the Prologue to *Cure de Lyon*, above cited. In the Cotton MSS. there is the metrical romance of *Octavian Imperator*, but it has nothing

write a catalogue, or compile a miscellany. It is not to be expected that this work should be a general repository of our ancient poetry. I cannot however help observing, that English literature and English poetry suffer, while so many pieces of this kind still remain concealed and forgotten in our MSS. libraries. They contain in common with the prose romances, to most of which indeed they gave rise, amusing images of ancient customs and institutions, not elsewhere to be found, or at least not otherwise so strikingly delineated: and they preserve pure and unmixed, those fables of chivalry which formed the taste and awakened the imagination of our elder English

of the history of the Roman emperors. Pr. 'Jhesu at was with spere ystonge.' Calig. A. 12. f. 20. It is a very singular stanza. In bishop More's MSS. at Cambridge, there is a poem with the same title, but a very different beginning, viz. 'Lytyll and mykyll olde and younge.' Bibl. Publ. 690. 30. The emperor *Octavian*, perhaps the same as mentioned in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 368. Among Hatton's MSS. in Bibl. Bodl. we have a French poem, *Romance de Othenien Emperour de Rome*. Hyper. Bodl. 4046. 21.

In the same line of the aforesaid Prologue, we have the romance of *Ury*. This is probably the father of the celebrated Sir Ewaine or Yvain, mentioned in the *Court Mantell*. Mem. Anc. Cheval. ii. p. 62.

Li rois pris par la destre main	L'amiz monseignor Yvain
Qui au ROI URIEN su filz,	Et bons chevaliers et hardiz,
Qui tant ama chiens et oisiaux.	

Specimens of the English *Syr Beuys* may be seen in Percy's Ball. iii. 216. 217, 297. edit. 1767. And *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, §. ii. p. 50. It is extant in the black letter. It is in MSS. at Cambridge, Bibl. Publ. 690. 30. And Coll. Caii. A. 9. 5. And MSS. Bibl. Adv. Edingb. W. 4. 1. Num. xxii. 'It is in this romance of *Syr Beuys*, that the knight passes over a bridge, the arches of which are hung round with small bells. Signat. E iv. This is an oriental idea. In the *ALCORAN* it is said, that one of the felicities in Mahomet's paradise, will be to listen to the ravishing music of an infinite number of bells, hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God. Sale's *KORAN*, Prelim. Disc. p. 100. In the enchanted horn, as we shall see hereafter, in *le Lai du Corn*, the rim of the horn is hung round with a hundred bells of a most musical sound.

Sidrache was translated into English verse by one Hugh Campden; and printed, probably not long after it was translated, at London, by Thomas Godfrey, at the cost of Dan Robert Saltwood, monk of saint Austin's in Canterbury, 1510. This piece therefore belongs to a lower period. I have seen only one MSS. copy of it. Laud, G. 57. fol. membran.

Chaucer mentions, in *Sir Topaz*, among others, the romantic poems of *Sir Blandamour*, *Sir Libeaux*, and *Sir Ippotis*. Of the former I find nothing more than the name occurring in *Sir Libeaux*. To avoid prolix repetitions from other works in the hands of all, I refer the reader to Percy's *Essay on ancient metrical Romances*, who had analysed the plan of *Sir Libeaux*, or *Sir Libius Disconius*, at large, p. 17. See also p. 24. *ibid*.

As to *Sir Ippotis*, an ancient poem with that title occurs in MSS. MSS. Cotton, Calig. A. 2. f. 77. and MSS. Vernon, f. 296. But as Chaucer is speaking of romances of Chivalry, which he means to ridicule, and this is a religious legend, it may be doubted whether this is the piece alluded to by Chaucer. However I will here exhibit a specimen of it from the exordium. MSS. Vernon f. 296.

<i>Her bi ginnith a tretys</i>	<i>That men clepeth YPOTIS.</i>
Alle that wolthe of wisdom lere,	Lukeneth now, and ze may here;
Of a tale of holi writ	Seynt John the Evangelist witnesseth it,
How hit bifelle in grete Rome,	The cheef citee of cristendome,
A childe was sent of mihtes most,	Thorow vertue of the holi gost:
The emperour of Rome than	His name was hoten sire Adrian:
And when the child of grete honour	Was come before the emperour,
Upon his knees he him sette	The emperour full faire he grette:
The emperour with milde chere,	Askede him whethence he come were, &c.

We shall have occasion, in the progress of our poetry, to bring other specimens of these compositions. See Obs. on Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, ii. 42. 43.

I must not forget here, that Sir Gawaine, one of Arthur's champions, is celebrated in a separate romance. Among Tanner's MSS., we have the *Weddyng of Sir Garwayne*, Numb. 455. Bibl. Bodl. It begins, 'Be ye blythe and listeneth to the lyf of a lorde riche. Dr. Percy has printed the *Marriage of Sir Gawayne*, which he believes to have furnished Chaucer with his *Wife of Bath*. Ball. i. 11. It begins, 'King Arthur lives in merry Carlisle.' I think I have somewhere seen a romance in verse entitled, *The Turke and Gawaine*.

classics. The antiquaries of former times overlooked or rejected these valuable remains, which they despised as false and frivolous; and employed their industry in reviving obscure fragments of uninstructional morality or uninteresting history. But in the present age we are beginning to make ample amends: in which the curiosity of the antiquarian is connected with taste and genius, and his researches tend to display the progress of human manners, and to illustrate the history of society.

As a further illustration of the general subject, and many particulars of this section and the three last, I will add a new proof of the reverence in which such stories were held, and of the familiarity with which they must have been known by our ancestors. These fables were not only perpetually repeated at their festivals, but were the constant objects of their eyes. The very walls of their apartments were clothed with romantic history. Tapestry was anciently the fashionable furniture of our houses, and it was chiefly filled with lively representations of this sort. The stories of the tapestry in the royal palaces of Henry the eighth are still preserved¹; which I will here give without reserve, including other subjects as they happen to occur, equally descriptive of the times. In the tapestry of the tower of London, the original and most ancient seat of our monarchs, there are

1 'The seconde part of the Inventorye of our late sovereigne lord kyng Henry VIII coneynyge his guardrobes, household-stuff, &c. &c.' MSS. Harl. 1419. fol. The original. Compare p. 114. *supr.* and Walpole's *Anecd. Paint.* i. p. 10. I make no apology for adding here an account of the furniture of a CLOSET at the old royal palace of Greenwich, in the reign of Henry the eighth; as it throws light on our general subject, by giving a lively picture of the fashions, arts, amusements, and modes of life, which then prevailed. From the same manuscript in the British Museum. 'A clocke. A glasse of steele. Four battle axes of 'wood. Two quivers with arrows. A painted table, [i. e. a picture.] A payre of ballance [balances], with waights. A case of tynne with a plot. In the window [a large bow-window], 'a round mapp. A standinge glasse of steele in ship.—A brance of flowres wrought upon wyre. 'Two payre of playing tables of bone. A payre of chesmen in a case of black lether. Two 'birds of Araby. A gonne [gun] upon a stocke wheeled. Five paxes [crucifixes] of glasse and 'woode. A tablet of our ladie and saint Anne. A standinge glasse with imagery made of bone. 'Three payre of hawkes gloves, with two lined with velvett. Three combe-cases of bone 'furnished. A night-cappe of blacke velvett embrowdered. Sampson made in Alabaster. A 'peece of unicorn's horne. Littel boxes in a case of woode. Four littel coffres for jewels. 'A horne of ivorie. A standinge diall in a case of copper. A horne-glasse. Eight cases of 'trenchers. Forty four doges collars, of sondrye makinge. Seven Lyons of silke. A purse of 'crymson satten for a embrowdered with golde. A round painted table with the 'ymage of a kinge. A foldinge table of images. One payre of bedes [beads] of jasper garnished with lether. One hundred and thirty eight hawkes hoodes. A globe of paper. A 'mappe made lyke a scryne. Two green boxes with wrought corall in them. Two 'boxes covered with blacke velvett. A reede tipt at both ends with golde, and bolts for a 'turyony bowe. [Perhaps Tyrone in Ireland.] A chaire of joyned worke. An elle of synna- 'monde [cinnamon] stickte tipt with sylver. Three ridinge rodde for ladies, and a yard [rod] 'of blake tipt with horne. Six walkyng staves, one covered with silk and golde. A blake 'satten-bag with chesmen. A table with a cloth [a picture] of saint George embrowdered. A 'case of fyne carved work. A box with a bird of Araby. Two long cases of black lether 'with pedegrees. A case of Irish arrows. A table, with wordes, of Jhesus. A target. 'Twenty-nine bowes.' MSS. Harl. 1419. fol. 58. In the GALLERY at Greenwich, mention is made of a 'Mappe of England.' *Ibid.* fol. 58. And in Westminster-palace 'a Mappe of Hant shire.' fol. 133. A proof that the topography of England was now studied. Among various HEADS of Furniture, or stores, at the castle of Windsor, such as HORNS, GYRDELLES, HAWKES HOODS, WEAPONS, BUCKLERS, DOGS COLLARS, and AIGLETTES, WALKING-STAVES are specified. Under this last HEAD we have, 'A cane garnished with golde havinge a per- 'fume in the toppe, undre that a diall, with a paire of twitchers, and a paire of compasses of 'golde, and a foote reule of golde, a knife and the file, th' afte [the handle of the knife] of 'golde with a whetstone tipped with golde, &c.' fol. 407.

depicted Godfrey of Bulloign, the three kings of Cologn, the emperor Constantine, St. George, king Erkenwald¹, the history of Hercules, Fame and Honour, the Triumph of Divinity, Esther, Ahasuerus, Jupiter and Juno, St. George, the eight Kings, the ten Kings of France, Birth of our Lord, Duke Joshua, the riche history of king David, the seven Deadly Sins, the riche history of the Passion, the Stem of Jesse,² our Lady and Son, king Solomon, the Woman of Canony, Meleager, and the dance of Maccabre³ At Durham-place we find the Citie of Ladies⁴, the tapestrie of Thebes and of Troye, the City of Peace, the Prodigal Son⁵, Esther, and other pieces of scripture. At Windsor castle the siege of Jerusalem, Ahasuerus, Charlemagne, the siege of Troy, and *hawking and hunting*⁶. At Nottingham castle, Amys and Amelion⁷. At Woodstock manor, the tapestrie of Charlemagne⁸. At the More, a palace in Herefordshire, king Arthur, Hercules, Astyages and Cyrus. At Richmond, the arras of Sir Bevis, and Virtue and Vice fighting⁹. Many of these subjects are repeated at Westminster, Greenwich, Oatlands, Beddington in Surrey, and other royal seats, some of which are now unknown as such¹⁰. Among the rest we have also Hannibal, Holofernes, Romulus and Remus, Æneas, and Susannah¹¹. I have mentioned romances written on many of these

¹ So in the record. But he was the third bishop of St. Paul's, London, son of king Offa, and a great benefactor to St. Paul's church, in which he had a most superb shrine. He was canonised. Dugdale, among many other curious particulars relating to his shrine, says, that in the year 1339, it was decorated anew, when three goldsmiths, two at the wages of five shillings by the week, and one at eight, worked upon it for a whole year. History St. Paul's, p. 21. See also p. 233.

² This was a favorite subject for a large gothic window. This subject also composed a branch of candlesticks, thence called a JESSE, not unusual in the ancient churches. In the year 1097, Hugo de Flori, abbot of S. Aust. Canterb. bought for the choir of his church a great branch candlestick. 'Candelabrum magnum in choro æneum quod Jesse vocatur in partibus emit transmarinis.' Thorn, Dec. Script. col. 1796. About the year 1330, Adam de Sodbury, abbot of Glastonbury, gave to his convent 'Unum dorsale laneum de JESSE.' Hearn. Joan. Glaston. p. 265. That is, a piece of tapestry embroidered with the stem of Jesse, to be hung round the choir, or other parts of the church on high festivals. He also gave a tapestry of this subject for the abbot's hall. Ibid. And I cannot help adding, what indeed is not immediately connected with the subject of this note, that he gave his monastery, among other costly presents, a great clock, 'processionibus et spectaculis insignitum,' an organ of prodigious size, and eleven bells, six for the tower of the church, and five for the clock tower. He also new vaulted the nave of the church, and adorned the new roof with beautiful paintings. Ibid.

³ f. 6. In many churches of France there was an ancient show or mimicry, in which all ranks of life were personated by the ecclesiastics, who all danced together, and disappeared one after another. It was called DANCE MACCABRE, and seems to have been often performed in St. Innocent's at Paris, where was a famous painting on this subject, which gave rise to Lydgate's poem under the same title. See Carpent. Suppl. Du Cange, Lat. Gl. ii, p. 1103. More will be said of it when we come to Lydgate.

⁴ A famous French allegorical romance.

⁵ A picture on this favorite subject is mentioned in Shakespeare. And in Randolph's *Muses Looking-Glass*. 'In painted cloth the story of the PRODIGAL.' Dodst. *Old Pl.* vi. 260.

⁶ f. 298. ⁷ f. 318. ⁸ f. 364. ⁹ f. 364.

¹⁰ Some of the tapestry at Hampton court, described in this inventory, is to be seen still in a fine old room, now remaining in its original state, called the Exchequer.

¹¹ Montfaucon, among the tapestry of Charles V., king of France, in the year 1370, mentions, *Le tapis de la vie du saint Theseus*. Here the officer who made the entry calls Theseus a saint, *The seven Deadly Sins, Le saint Graal, Le graunt tapis de Neuf Preux, Reyne d'Ireland, and Godfrey of Bulloign*. Monum. Fr. iii. 64. The *neuf preux* are the Nine Worthies. Among the stores of Henry VIII, taken as above, we have 'two old stayned clothes' for the ix worthies of the greате chamber, at Newhall in Essex, f. 362. These were pictures. Again, at the palace of Westminster, in the little study called the *Newe Librarye*, which I believe was in Holbein's elegant Gothic gatehouse lately demolished, there is, 'Item, xii pictures of men on horsebacke of enamelled stuffe of the Nyne Worthies, and others upon square tables,' f. 188. MSS. Harl. 1419. ut supr.

subjects, and shall mention others. In the romance of SYR GUY, that hero's combat with the dragon in Northumberland is said to be represented in tapestry in Warwick castle.

In Warwike the truth shall ye see
In arras wrought ful craftely¹.

This piece of tapestry appears to have been in Warwick castle before the year 1398. It was then so distinguished and valued a piece of furniture, that a special grant was made of it by king Richard II. in that year, conveying 'that suit of arras hangings in Warwick castle, which contained the story of the famous Guy earl of Warwick, together with the castle of Warwick, and other possessions, to Thomas Holland, earl of Kent².' And in the restoration of forfeited property to this lord after his imprisonment, these hangings are particularly specified in the patent of king Henry IV., dated 1399. When Margaret, daughter of king Henry VII., was married to James king of Scotland, in the year 1503, Holyrood House, at Edinburgh, was splendidly decorated on that occasion; and we are told in an ancient record, that the 'hanginge of the queenes grett chammer represented the ystory of 'Troye tounne.' Again, 'the king's grett chammer had one table, wer 'was satt, hys chammerlayn, the grett sqyer, and many others, well 'served; the which chammer was hauged about with the story of 'Hercules, together with other ystorsys³.' And at the same solemnity, 'in the hall wher the qwne's company wer satt in lyke as in the other, 'an wich was hauged of the history of Hercules, &c⁴.' A stately chamber in the castle of Hesdin in Artois, was furnished by a duke of Burgundy with the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece, about the year 1468⁵. The affecting story of Coucy's Heart, which gave rise to an old metrical English romance entitled, the KNIGHT OF COURTESY, and the LADY OF FAGUEL, was woven in tapestry in Coucy castle in France⁶. I have seen an ancient suite of arras, containing Ariosto's Orlando and Angelica, where, at every groupe, the story was all along illustrated with short rhymes in romance or old French. Spenser sometimes dresses the superb bowers of his fairy castles with this sort of historical drapery. In Hawes's poem called the PASTIME OF PLEASURE, written in the reign of Henry VII., of which due notice will be taken in its proper place, the hero of the piece sees all his future adventures displayed at large in the sumptuous tapestry of the hall of a castle. I have before mentioned the most valuable and perhaps

¹ Signat. Ca. 1. Some perhaps may think this circumstance an innovation or addition of latter minstrels. A practice not uncommon.

² Dugd. Bar. i. p. 237. ³ Leland. Coll. vol. iii. p. 295. 296. Opuscul. edit. 1770.

⁴ Ibid. ⁵ See Obs. Fair. Qu. i. p. 177.

⁶ Howel's Letters, xx. §. vi. B. 1. This is a true story, about the year 1180. Fauchett relates it at large from an old authentic French chronicle; and then adds, 'Ainsi finerint les 'amours du Chastelain du Couci et de la dame de Faicl.' Our Castellan, whose name is Regnard de Couci, was famous for his *chansons* and chivalry, but more so for his unfortunate love, which became proverbial in the old French romances. See Fauch. Rec. p. 124. 128.

most ancient work of this sort now existing, the entire series of duke William's descent on England, preserved in the church of Bayeux in Normandy, and intended as an ornament of the choir on high festivals. Bartholinus relates, that it was an art much cultivated among the ancient Islanders, to weave the histories of their giants and champions in tapestry¹. The same thing is recorded of the old Persians; and this furniture is still in high request among many oriental nations, particularly in Japan and China². It is well known, that to frame pictures of heroic adventures in needle-work, was a favourite practice of classical antiquity.

SECTION VI.

ALTHOUGH much poetry began to be written about the reign of Edward II., yet I have found only one English poet of that reign whose name has descended to posterity³. This is Adam Davy or Davie. He may be placed about the year 1312. I can collect no circumstances of his life, but that he was marshall of Stratford-le-bow near London⁴. He has left several poems never printed, which are almost as forgotten as his name. Only one MSS. of these pieces now remains, which seems to be cœval with its author⁵. They are VISIONS, THE BATTELL OF JERUSALEM, THE LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS, SCRIPTURE HISTORIES, OF FIFTEEN TOKNES BEFORE THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT, LAMENTATIONS OF SOULS, and THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER⁶.

In the VISIONS, which are of the religious kind, Adam Davie draws this picture of Edward II. standing before the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbey at his coronation. The lines have a strength arising from simplicity.

To our Lorde Jeshu Crist in heven
Iche to day shawe myne sweven⁷.

That iche motte⁸ in one nycht, Of a knycht of mychel mycht:

¹ Antiquit. Dan. Lib. i. 9. p. 51.

² In the royal palace of Jeddo, which overflows with a profusion of the most exquisite and superb eastern embellishments, the tapestry of the emperor's audience-hall is of the finest silk, wrought by the most skilful artificers of that country, and adorned with pearls, gold and silver. Mod. Univ. Hist. B. xiii. c. ii. vol. ix. p. 83. (Not. G.) edit. 1759.

³ Robert de Brunne, above-mentioned, lived, and perhaps wrote some of his pieces, in this reign; but he more properly belongs to the last.

⁴ This will appear from citations which follow.

⁵ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud I. 74. fol. membran. It has been much damaged, and on that account is often illegible.

⁶ In the MSS. there is also a piece in prose, intitled, *The Pylgrymages of the holi land. f. 65.—66.* It begins, 'Owerr soever a cros standyth ther is a for ivenes of payne.' I think it is a description of the holy places, and it appears at least to be of the hand-writing of the rest.

⁷ Dream.

⁸ Thought, dreamed. In the first sense, we have *me mette* in Chaucer, Non. Pr. T. v. 1013. Urr. And below.

His name is ¹ yhote fyr Edward the kyng,
 Prince of Wales Engelonde the fair thyng;
 Me mott that he was armid wele, Bothe with yrne and with stele,
 And on his helme that was of stel, A coroune of gold bicom him wel.
 Bifore the shryne of Seint Edward he stood,
 Myd glad chere and myld of mood ².

Most of these Visions are compliments to the king. Our poet then proceeds thus :

Another suevene me mette on a twefnit ³
 Bifore the fest of Alhalewen of that ilke knigt,
 His name is nempned ⁴ hure bifore,
 Blissed be the time that he was bore, &c.
 Of Syr Edward oure derworth ⁵ kyng
 Iche mette of him anothere faire metyng, &c.
 Me thought he wod upon an asse,
 And that ich take God to wnesse;
 A wondur he was in a mantell gray,

Toward Rome he nom ⁶ his way, Upon his hevede sate a gray hure,
 It semed him wel a mesure; He wood withouten hose and sho,
 His wonen was not so to do; His shankes semeden al bloodrede,
 Myne herte wop ⁷ for grete drede; As a pylgrym he rood to Rome,
 And thider he com wel swithe sone. The thrid suevene me mette a nigt
 Rigt of that derworth knight: On Wednysday a nigt it was

Next the dai of seint Lucie bifore Christenmasse, &c.
 Me thought that ich was at Rome, And thider iche come swithe sone,
 The pope and syr Edward our kng,
 Bothe ⁸ hy hadde a new dublyng, &c.

Thus Crist ful of grace Graunte our kyng in every place
 Maistrie of his witherwines And of al wicked Sarasynes.
 Me met a suevene one worthig ⁹ a nigh
 Of that ilche derworthi knighth,
 God iche it shewe and to wnesse take

And so shilde me fro, &c. Into a chapel I cum of vre lefdy ¹⁰,
 Jhe Crist her leve ¹¹ son stod by, On rod ¹² he was an loveliche mon,
 Al thilke that on rode was don He unneled ¹³ his honden two, &c.

Adam the marchial of Stratford atte Bowe

Wel swithe wide his name is iknowe

He himself mette this metyng,

To wnesse he taketh Jhu hevene kynge,

On Wedenyssday ¹⁴ in clene leinte ¹⁵

A voyce me bede I schulde nought feinte,

Of the suevenes that her ben write

I shulde swithe don ¹⁶ my lord kyng to wite.

The Thursday next the beryng ¹⁷ of our lefdy

Me thought an aungel com syr Edward by, &c.

¹ Named.

² fol. 27.

³ Twelfth-night.

⁴ Named.

⁵ Dear-worthy.

⁶ Took.

⁷ Wept.

⁸ They.

⁹ Worpijn. Orig.

¹⁰ Lady.

¹¹ Dear.

¹² Cross.

¹³ Unnailed.

¹⁵ Lent.

¹⁴ Wodenis day. Woden's day. *Wednesday.*

¹⁶ Make haste. [Swithe don to wite, quickly let him know.—Ritson.

¹⁷ Christmas-day

Iche tell you forsoth withoutten les¹,
 Als God of hevене maide Marie to moder ches²,
 The aungell com to me *Adam Davie* and seide
 But thou *Adam* shewethis thee worthe welyvelmede,&c.
 Whoso wil speke myd me *Adam* the *marchal*
 In Stretforde bowe he is yknown and over al,
 Iche ne schewe nought this for to have mede
 Bot for God almighties drede.

There is a very old prose romance, both in French and Italian, on the subject of the *Destruction of Jerusalem*³. It is translated from a Latin work, in five books, very popular in the middle ages, entitled, HEGESIPPI *de Bello Judaico et Excidio Urbis Hierosolymitanæ Libri quinque*. This is a licentious paraphrase of a part of Josephus's Jewish history, made about the fourth century: and the name Hege-sippus is most probably corrupted from Josephus, perhaps also called Josippus. The paraphrast is supposed to be Ambrose of Milan, who flourished in the reign of Theodosius⁴. On the subject of Vespasian's siege of Jerusalem, as related in this book, our poet Adam Davie has left a poem entitled the BATTELL OF JERUSALEM⁵. It begins thus.

<p>Listeneth all that beth alyve, I wol you telle of a wondur cas, Of the Jewes felle and kene, Gospelles I drawe to witnesse</p>	<p>Both cristen men and wyve: How Jhesu Crist bihated was, That was on him sithe ysene, Of this matter more or lesse, &c.</p>
--	--

In the course of the story, Pilate challenges our Lord to single combat. This subject will occur again.

Davie's *LEGEND OF SAINT ALEXIUS THE CONFESSOR, SON OF EUPHEMIUS*, is translated from Latin, and begins thus :

All that willen here in ryme, Howe gode men in olde tyme,
 Loveden God almyghth ;
 That weren riche, of grete valoure,
 Kynges sones and emperoure
 Of bodies strong and lighth ;
 Zee habbeth yherde ofte in geste, Of holi men maken feste
 Both day and nighth,

¹ Lies.

² 'As sure as God chose the Virgin Mary to be Christ's Mother.'

³ In an ancient inventory of books, all French romances, made in England in the reign of Edward III., I find the romance of TITUS and VESPASIAN, Madox, Formul. Anglican. p. 12. See also Scipio Maffei's Traduttori Italiani, p. 48. Crescimbeni (Vulg. Poes. vol. i. l. 5. p. 317) does not seem to have known of this romance in Italian. Du Cange mentions *Le Roman de la Prise de Jerusalem par Titus* in verse. Gloss. Lat. i. IND. AUCT. p. xciv. A metrical romance on this subject is in the royal MSS. 16 E. viii. 2. Brit. Mus. There is an old French play on this subject, acted in 1437. It was printed in 1491. fol. M. Beauchamps, Rech. Fr. Theat. p. 124.

⁴ He mentions Constantinople and New Rome; and the provinces of Scotia and Saxonia. From this work the Maccabees seem to have got into romance. It was first printed at Paris. fol. 1511. Among the Bodleian MSS. there is a most beautiful copy of this book, believed to be written in the Saxon times.

The latter part of this poem appears detached, in a former part of our MSS., with the title THE VENGEAUNCE OF GODDES DEATH, viz. f. 22. b. This latter part begins with these lines.

And at the fourty dayes ende, Whider I wolde he bade me wende,
 Upon the mount of olyvete, &c.

For to have the joye in hevене
 (With aungells song, and merry stevene,)
 The which is brode and brighth:
 To you all heige and lowe The righ sothe to biknowe
 Zour soules for to save, &c.¹

Our author's SCRIPTURE HISTORIES want the beginning. Here they begin with Joseph, and end with Daniel.

Ffor thritti pens ² thei sold that childe
 The seller highth Judas,
³ Itho Ruben com him and myssed him
 For ynow he was⁴.

His FIFTEEN TOKNES ⁵ BEFORE THE DAY OF JUDGMENT, are taken from the prophet Jeremiah.

The first signe thar ageins, as our lord hymselfe sede,
 Hungere schal on erthe be, trecherie, and falshede,
 Batteles, and littell love, sekenesse and haterede,
 And the erthe schal quaken that vche man schal ydrede:
 The mone schal turne to blood, the sunne to derkhede⁶, &c.

Another of Davie's poems may be called the LAMENTATION of SOULS. But the subject is properly a congratulation of Christ's advent, and the lamentation of the souls of the fathers remaining in limbo, for his delay.

Off joye and blisse is my song care to bileve⁷,
 And to here hym among that altour soroug shal reve,
 Ycome he is that swete dewe, that swete hony drope,
 The kyng of alle kynges to whom is our hope:
 Becom he is our brother, whar was he so long?
 He it is and no other, that boughth us so strong:
 Our brother we mowe⁸ hym clepe wel so seith hymself ilome.⁹

My readers will be perhaps surprised to find our language improve so slowly, and will probably think, that Adam Davie writes in a less intelligible phrase than many more ancient bards already cited. His obscurity however arises in great measure from obsolete spelling, a mark of antiquity which I have here observed in exact conformity to a MSS. of the age of Edward II.; and which in the poetry of his predecessors, especially the minstrell-pieces, has been often effaced by multiplication of copies, and other causes. In the mean time it should be remarked, that the capricious peculiarities, and even ignorance of transcribers, often occasion an obscurity, which is not to be imputed either to the author or his age¹⁰.

¹ MS. ut supr. f. 22.—72. b.

³ Ipo. Orig.

⁶ MS. ut supr. f. 71. b.

² Thirty-pence.

⁴ MS. ut supr. f. 66.—72. b.

⁷ Leave.

⁸ May:

⁵ Tokens.

⁹ Sometimes.

¹⁰ Chaucer in *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* mentions 'the grete divrsite in English, and in *writing of our tongue*.' He therefore prays God, that no person would *miswrite*, or *misse* *metre* his poem, lib. ult. v. 1792. seq.

But Davie's capital poem is the *LIFE OF ALEXANDER*, which deserves to be published entire on many accounts. It seems to be founded chiefly on Simeon Seth's romance above-mentioned; but many passages are also copied from the French *ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE*, a poem in our author's age perhaps equally popular both in England and France. It is a work of considerable length¹. I will first give some extracts from the Prologue.

Divers in this myddel erde	To lewed men and ² lered, &c.
Natheles wel fele and fulle	Bethe ifound in hart and skulle,
That hadden lever a rybaudye,	Then here of god eitherseint Marye;
Either to drynke a copful ale,	Than to heren any gode tale :
Swiche ich wolde weren out bishet	For certeynlich it were nett
For hy ne habbeth wilbe ich woot wel	
Bot in the got and the barrel, &c. ³	

Adam Davie thus describes a splendid procession made by Olympias.

In thei tyme faire and jalyf ⁴ .	Olympias that fayre wyfe,
Wolden make a riche fest	Of knightes and lefdyes ⁵ honest
Of burges and of jugelors	And of men of vch mesters ⁶ ,
For mon seth by north and south ⁷	Wymen
Mychal ⁸ she desireth to shewe hire body,	
Her fayre hare, her face rody ⁹ ,	
To have lees ¹⁰ and al praising,	And al is folye by heven king.
She has marshales and knyttes to ride and ryttes,
And levadyes and demosile	Which ham. . . . thousands fele,
In fayre attyre in dyvers ¹¹	Many thar rood ¹² in rich wise.
So dude the dame Olympias	Forto shawe hire gentyll face.
A mule also, whyte so ¹³ mylke,	With sadel of gold, sambuc of sylke,
Was ybrought to the quene	And mony bell of sylver shene,
Yfastened on orfreys ¹⁴ of mounde	That hangen nere downe to grounde:
Fourth she ferd ¹⁵ myd her route,	A thousand lefydes of rych soute ¹⁶ .
A sperwek ¹⁷ that was honest ¹⁸ .	So sat on the lefdye's fyst :
Ffoure trompestoforme ¹⁹ hire blew;	Many men that day hire knewe.
A hundred thousand, and ekemoo,	Alle alonton ²⁰ hire untoo.
All the towne bihoned ²¹ was	Agens ²² the lefdy Olympias ²³ :

¹ MS. ut sup. f. 28.—65.

³ The work begins thus. f. 28.

² Leg. *lerd*. Learned.

Whilom clarkes wel ylerede
And cleped him in her maistrie,
At Asie also mychel ys

On thre digten this myddel erde,
Europe, Affryk, and Asie :
As Europe, aad Effryke, I wis, &c.

And ends with this distich. f. 65.

Thus ended Alisander the kyng :

God graunte us his blissyng. Amen.

⁴ Jolly. ⁵ Ladies. ⁶ Of each, or every, profession, trade, sort. ⁷ 'All mankind are agreed.'

⁸ Much. ⁹ Ruddy. ¹⁰ Praise. ¹¹ F. Guise. ¹² Rode. ¹³ As.

¹⁴ Embroidered work, cloth of gold. *Aurifrigium*, Lat. ¹⁵ Fared. Went. ¹⁶ Sort.

¹⁷ Sparrow-hawk. A hawk. ¹⁸ Well-bred. ¹⁹ Before. ²⁰ Went. *Aller*, Fr.

²² 'Against her coming.'

²³ See the description of the tournament in Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, where the city is hanged with cloth of gold. v. 2570. Urr.

²¹ 'Hung with tapestry.' We find this ceremony practised at the entrance of lady Elizabeth

Orgues, chymbes, vche manerglee¹, Was drynan ayen that levady fre,
 Wythoutin the toums² murey Was mered vche maner pley³,
 Thar was knyttes tornaying, Thar was maidens karoling,
 Thar was champions skirmynge⁴, also wrestlynge.
 Of lyons chace, and bare bayting, A bay of bore⁵, of bole flaying⁶.
 Al the city was byhonge
 With ryche samytes⁷ and pelles⁸ longe.
 Dame Olympias, myd this prees⁹, Sangle roed¹⁰ al mantelless.—
 Hire yalewe har¹¹ was fayre attired Mid riche strengre of gold wyred,
 It helyd¹² hire abouten al To hire gentil myddle smal.
 Bryght and shine was hir face¹³ Everie fairhede¹⁴ in hir was¹⁵.

Much in the same strain the marriage of Cleopatras is described.

There was many a blithe grome :
 Of olive and of ruge¹⁶ floures Weren ystrewed halle aud boures :
 Wyth samytes and baudekyns Weren curtayned the gardyns.
 All the innes of the ton Hadden litel foyson¹⁷,
 That day that comin Cleopatras, So michel people with hir was.
 She rode on a mule white so mylke,
 Her harneys were gold-beaten sylke :
 The prince hir lad of Sandas, And of Sydoyne Sir Jonachas.
 Ten thousand barons hir come myde,
 And to chirche with hir ryde.
 Yspoused she is and set on deys :
 Nowe gynneth gestes of grete nobleys :
 At the fest was harpyng And pipyng and tabouryng¹⁸.

queen of Henry the seventh, into the city of London.—‘Al the strets ther whiche she should passe by wer clenly dressed and besene with cloth, of tapestrye and arras, and some streetes, as Chepe, hanged with riche clothes of golde, velvettes, and silkes.’ This was in the year 1481. Leland. Coll. in Opuscul. p. 220. edit. 1770.

¹ ‘Organs, chimes, all manner of music.

³ ‘All sorts of sports.’

⁴ Skirmishing.

² The town wall.

⁵ ‘Baying, or bayting of the boar.’

⁶ *Slaying bulls*, bull-feasts. Chaucer says that the chamber of Venus was painted with white *botis* grete.’ Compl. of Mars and Ven. v. 86.

⁷ Satin.

⁸ Skins.

⁹ Croud. Company.

¹⁰ Rode single.

¹¹ Yellow hair.

¹² ‘Covered her all over.’

¹³ fol. 55. a.

¹⁴ Beauty.

¹⁵ John Gower, who lived 100 years after our author, has described the same procession. Confess. Amant. lib. vi. fol. 137. a. b. edit. Berthel. 1554.

But in that citee then was
 Was hote, and with solemnitee
 As it befell, was than hold.
 And prised of the people about,
 Al afir meet al opinly,
 And that was in the month of Maie :
 Was sette upon a mule white
 The joye that the citee made.
 The noble towne was al behonged ;
 To see this lustie ladie ryde.
 When as she passed by the streate
 And many a maide carolende.
 This quene unto the plaieene rode
 To se divers games plaie,
 And so couth every other man
 To please with this noble quene.

The quene, whiche Olimpias
 The feste of hir nativitee,
 And for hir lust to be behold,
 She shop hir for to ridenout,
 Anon al men were redie ;
 This lusty quene in gode arae
 To sene it was a grete delite
 With fresh things and with glade
 And everie wight was son alonged
 There was great mirth on al syde,
 There was ful many a tymbre beate.
 And thus throughout the town plaiende
 Whar that she hoved and abode
 The lustie folke joust and tornaye.
 Which play with, his play began,

Gower continues this story, from a romance mentioned above, to fol. 140.

We have frequent opportunities of observing, how the poets of these times engraft the manners of chivalry on ancient classical history. In the following lines, Alexander's education is like that of Sir Tristram. He is taught tilting, hunting, and hawking.

Now can Alexander of skirmyng, And of stedes derayning,
Upon stedes of justyng, And witte swordes turneyng,
Of assayling and defendyng : In green wood and of huntyng :
And of ryver of haukyng¹ : Of battaile and of alle thyng.

In another place Alexander is mounted on a steed of Narbone ; and amid the solemnities of a great feast, rides through the hall to the high table. This was no uncommon practice in the ages of chivalry².

On a stede of Narabone,
He dassheth forth upon thi londe, The ryche coroune on hys honde,
Of Nicholas that he wan :
Beside hym rydeth mony a gentil man,
To the paleys he comethe ryde,
And fyndeth this feste and all this pryde ;
Fforth good Alisaundre sauns stable Righth unto the hith table.

His horse Bucephalus, who even in classical fiction is a horse of romance, is thus described.

An horne in the forehead armyd ward
That wolde perce a shelde hard.

To which these lines may be added,

Alisaunder arisen is And in his deys sitteth ywys :
His dukes and barons sauns doute
Stondeth and sitteth him aboute, &c.

The two following extracts are in a softer strain, and not inelegant for the rude simplicity of the times.

Mery is the blast of the stynoure³,
Mery is the touchyng of the harpoure⁴ :

¹ Chaucer, R. of Sir Thop. v. 3245. Urry's edit. p. 145.

He couth hunt al the wild dere,

——— Shall ye ryde

And ride an *hawkyng by the ryvere.*

On hawkyng by the river syde.

Chaucer, *Frankleins Tale*, v. 1752. p. 111. Urr. edit.

These fauconers upon a faire riveré

That with the hawkis han the heron slaine.

² See Observations on the Fairy Queen, i. § v. p. 146.

³ I cannot explain this word. It is a wind-instrument.

⁴ This poem has likewise, in the same vein, the following well-known old rhyme, which paints the manners, and is perhaps the true reading. fol. 64.

Merry swithe it is halle

When the *berdes waveth alle.*

And in another place we have,

Merry it is in halle to here the harpe ;

The minstrelles syng, the jogelours carpe.

fol. *sine num.* ad fin.

Here, by the way, it appears, that the minstrels and juglers were distinct characters. So

Sweete is the smellynge of the flower,
 Sweete it is in maydens bower :
 Appel sweete beneth faire coloure,

Again,

In tyme of Maye the nightingale In wood maketh mery gale,
 So don the foules grete and smale, Sum in hylles and sum in dale.

Much the same vernal delights, cloathed in a similar style, with the addition of knights turneyng and maidens dancing, invite king Philip on a progress ; who is entertained on the road with hearing tales of ancient heroes.

Mery tyme yt is in Maye The foules syngeth her lay,
 The knightes loveth to tournay ; Maydensdodauncen and they play.
 The kyng ferth rydeth his journey, Now hereth gests of grete noblay⁷.

Our author thus describes a battle.

Alisaundre tofore is ryde,
 And many gentill a knighthym myde ;
 As for to gader his meigne free, He abideth under a tree :
 Ffourty thousand of chyvalerie He taketh in his compaignye,
 He dasseth hym than fast forthward,
 And the other cometh afterward,
 He seeth his knigtttes in meschief, He taketh it gretlich a greef,
 He takes Bultyphal¹ by thi side,
 So as a swalewe he gynneth forth glide,
 A duke of Perce sone he mett And with his launce he hym grett,
 He perceth his breney, clevech his shelde,
 The herte tokeneth the yrnè ;
 The duke fel downe to the grounde, And starf quickly in that stounde :
 Alisaunder aloud than seide, Other tol never ich ne paieide,
 Zut zee schullen of myne paie, Or ich gon mor affaie.
 Another launce in honde he hent Again the prince of Tyre he went
 He hym thorow the brest and thare²
 And out of sadel and crouthe hym bare,
 And I sigge for soothe thyng He braak his neck in the fallyng.
 with mychell wonder, Antiochus hadde hym under.
 And with swerd wolde his heved From his body hadde yreved :
 He seig Alisaundre the gode gome, Towardes hym swithe come,
 He lete his pray, and flew on hors, Ffor to save his owen cors :
 Antiochus on stede lep, Of none woundes ne tok he kep,
 And eke he had foure forde All ymade with speres ord³.
 Tholomeus and alle his felawen⁴ Of this socour so weren welfawen
 Alysaunder made a cry hardy ‘Ore tost aby aby.’

Robert de Brunne, in describing the coronation of king Arthur, apud Anstis, Ord. Gart.
 i. p. 304.

Jogeleurs werther inouh That wer queitise for the drouh,
 Mynstrels many with dyvers glew, &c.

And Chaucer mentions ‘*mynstrels* and *eke joglours*.’ Rom. R. v. 764. But they are often
 confounded or made the same.

¹ Bucephalus.

² Sic.

³ Point.

⁴ Fellows.

Then the knigttes of Achaye Justed with them of Arabye,
 Thoo¹ of Rome with hem of Mede Many londe
 Egipte justed with hem of Tyre, Simple knigtts with rich syre :
 Ther nas foregift ne forberying Bitwene vavasoure² ne kyng
 To fore men migten and by hynde
 Cuntecke seke and cuntecke³ fynde.
 With Perciens fougten the Gregeys⁴ ;
 Ther was cry and gret honteys⁵.
 They kidden⁶ that they weren mice They broken speres alto slice.
 Ther migh knigh fynde his pere, Ther les⁷ many his destrere⁸ :
 Ther was quyk in littell thrawe⁹, Many gentill knighth yslawe :
 Many arme, many heved¹⁰ Some from the body reved :
 Many gentill lavedy¹¹ Ther les quyk her amy¹².
 Ther was many maym yled¹³ Many fair pensel bibles¹⁴ :
 Ther was swerdes liklakyng¹⁵, There was speres bathing¹⁶
 Both kynges ther saunz doute Beeth in dassht with al her route.
 Speke The other his harmes for to wreke.
 Many londes neir and ferre Lesten her lord in that werre.
 . . . quaked of her rydyng, The wedar¹⁷ thicked of her cryeyng :
 The blode of hem that weren yslawe
 Ran by floods to the lowe, &c.

I have already mentioned Alexander's miraculous horn.

He blewe in horne quyk sans doute,
 His folk hym swithes¹⁸ aboute :
 And hem he said with voice clere,
 Iche bidde frendes that ge ine here
 Alisaunder is comen in this londe
 With strong knittes with migty honde, &c.

Alexander's adventures in the deserts among the Gymnosophists, and in Inde, are not omitted. The authors whom he quotes for his vouchers, shew the reading and ideas of the times.

Tho Alisaunder went thoroug desert,
 Many wonders he seig apert¹⁹,
 Whiche he dude wel descryve, By godes clerkes in her lyve ;
 By Aristotle his maistr that was, Beeter clerk sithen non nas :
 He was with him, and sew and wroot,
 All thise wondre god is woot ;
 Salomon that al the world thoreug yede
 In soothe witesse held hym myde.
 Ysidre²⁰ also that was so wys In his boke telleth this :
 Maister Eustroge bereth hym witesse,
 Of the wondres more and less.

¹ They. ² Lost. ³ Servant. Subject. ⁴ Horse. Lat *Dextrarius*. ⁵ Strife.

⁶ Short time. ⁷ Greeks. ⁸ Head. ⁹ Shame. ¹⁰ Lady.

¹¹ Thought, [shewed] ¹² Paramour. ¹³ 'Led along, maimed, wounded.'

¹⁴ 'Many a rich banner, or flag, sprinkled with blood.'

¹⁵ MSS. *paping*. I do not understand the word. ¹⁶ Clashing.

¹⁷ Weather. Sky.

¹⁸ Came, followed. ¹⁹ Saw openly.

²⁰ *Isidore*. He means, I suppose, Isidorus Hispalensis, a Latin writer of the seventh century.

Seynt Jerome gu schullen ywyte Them hath also in book ywryte :
 And Magestene, the gode clerk Hath made thereof mychel werk,
 . . . that was of gode memorie
 It sheweth al in his boke of storie :
 And also Pompie¹, of Rome lorde.
 . . . , written everie worde.
 Bie heldeth me thareof no fynder²
 Her bokes ben my shewer :
 And the Lyf of Alysaunder Of whom fleig so riche sklaunder.
 Gif gee willeth give listnyng,
 Nowe gee shullen here gode thyng.
 In somers tyde the daye is long, Foules syngeth and maketh song :
 Kyng Alysaunder ywent is,
 With dukes, erles, folks of pris,
 With many knights, and douty men,
 Towards the city of Fa aen ;
 After kyng Porus, that flowen³ was
 Into the citee of Bandas,
 He woulde wende thorough desert This wonders to sene apert,
 Gromyes he nome⁴ of the londe, Ffyve thousand, I understonde,
 That hem shulden lede ryht⁵
 Thoroug deserts, by day and nyth.
 The Sy . . res loveden the kyng nough.
 And wolden have him bicaugh.
 Thii ledden hym therefore, als I fynde,
 In the straungest peril of Ynde :
 As so iche fynd in thi book Thii weren asshreynt in her crook.
 Now rideth Alysaunder with his oost,
 With mychel pryde and mychel boost :
 As ar hii comen to a castel . . ton, I schullen speken another lesson.
 Lordynges, also I fynde At Mede so bigynneth Ynde,
 Fforsothe ich woot it stretcheth ferrest
 Of all the londes in the Est
 And oth⁶ the southhalf sikerlyk To the see of Affryk,
 And the north half to a mountayne
 That is ycleped Caucasayne⁷ :
 Fforsothe zee shullen undirstonde Twyes is somer in that londe,
 And nevermore wynter, ne chele⁸, That lond is ful of all wele.
 Twyes hii gaderen fruyt there
 And wyne and corne in one yere.
 In the londe also I fynd of Ynde Bene cities fyve-thousynd,
 Withouten ydles, and castelis,
 And borugh tounnes swithe feles⁹.
 In the londe of Ynde thou might lere
 Vyve thousand folk of selcouth¹⁰ manere
 That ther non is other ylyche
 Bie holde thou it nought ferlyche,

¹ He means Justin's Trogus Pompeius the historian, whom he confounds with Pompey the Great. ² 'Don't look on me as the inventor.' ³ Fled. ⁴ Took.

⁵ Strait.

⁶ MSS. cþpe.

⁷ Caucasus.

⁸ Chill. Cold.

⁹ Very many.

¹⁰ Uncommon.

And bi that thou understande the gestes,
Both of men and of bestes, &c.

Edward II. is said to have carried with him to the siege of Stirling Castle, in Scotland, a poet named Robert Baston. He was a carmelite friar of Scarborough; and the king intended that Baston, being an eye witness of the expedition, should celebrate his conquest of Scotland in verse. Hollingshead, an historian not often remarkable for penetration, mentions this circumstance as a singular proof of Edward's presumption and confidence in his undertaking against Scotland: but a poet seems to have been a stated officer in the royal retinue when the king went to war¹. Baston, however, appears to have been chiefly a Latin poet, and therefore does not properly fall into our series. At least his poem on the siege of Striveling castle is written in monkish Latin hexameters²: and our royal bard being taken prisoner in the expedition, was compelled by the Scotch to write a panegyric, for his ransom, on Robert Brus, which is composed in the same style and language³. Bale mentions his *Poemata, et Rhythmia Tragædiæ et Comædiæ vulgares*⁴. Some of these indeed appear to have been written in English: but no English pieces of this author now remain. In the meantime, the bare existence of dramatic compositions in England at this period, even if written in the Latin tongue, deserve notice in investigating the progress of our poetry. For the same reason I must not pass over a Latin piece, called a comedy, written in this reign, perhaps by Peter Babyon; who by Bale is styled an admirable rhetorician and poet, and flourished about the year 1317. This comedy is thus entitled in the Bodleian manuscript, *De Babione et Croceo domino Babionis et Viola filiastra Babionis quam Croceus duxit invito Babione, et Percula uxore Babionis et Fodio suo, &c.*⁵ It is written in long and short Latin verses, without any appearances of dialogue. In what manner, if ever, this piece was represented theatrically, cannot easily be discovered or ascertained. Unless we suppose it to have been recited by one or more of the characters concerned, at some public entertainment. The story is in Gower's *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*. Whether Gower had it from this performance I will not enquire. It appears at least that he took it from some previous book

¹ Hubert Leland. Script. Brit. p. 338. Hollingsh. Hist. ii. p. 217. 220. Tanner mentions, as a poet of England, one Gulielmus Peregrinus, who accompanied Richard I. into the holy land, and sung his achievements there in a Latin poem, entitled *ODOEPORICON RICARDI REGIS*, lib. i. It is dedicated to Herbert archbishop of Canterbury, and Stephen Turnham, a captain in the expedition. He flourished about A.D. 1200. Tan. Bibl. p. 591. Voss. Hist. Lat. p. 441. He is called 'poeta per eam ætatem excellens.' Bal. iii. 45. Pits. 266.

² It is extant in Fordun's *Scoti-chron.* c. xxiii. l. 12.

³ Leland. ut supr. And MSS. Harl. 1819. Brit. Mus. Also Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. p. 101.

⁴ Apud Tanner, p. 79.

⁵ Arch. B. 52.

I find writte of Babio,
 Which had a love at his menage Ther was no fairer of hir age,
 And hight Viola by name, &c.
 And had affaited to his hande His servant, the which Spodius
 Was hote, &c. A fresh, a free and friendly man, &c.
 Which Croceus by name hight, &c¹.

In the mean time it seems most probable, that this piece has been attributed to Peter Babyon, on account of the likeness of the name BABIO, especially as he is a ridiculous character. On the whole, there is nothing dramatic in the structure of this nominal comedy; and it has certainly no claim to that title, only as it contains a familiar and comic story carried on with much scurrilous satire intended to raise mirth. But it was not uncommon to call any short poem, not serious or tragic, a comedy. In the Bodleian MSS., which comprehends Babyon's poem just mentioned, there follows COMEDIA DE GETA: this is in Latin long and short verses², and has no marks of dialogue. In the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge, is a piece entitled COMEDIA ad monasterium de Hulme ordinis S. Benedicti Dioces. Norwic. directa ad Reformationem sequentem, cujus data est primo die Septembris sub anno Christi 1477, et a morte Joannis Fastolfe militis eorum benefactoris³ precipui 17, in cujus monasterii ecclesia humatur⁴. This is nothing more than a satyrical ballad in Latin; yet some allegorical personages are introduced, which however are in no respect accommodated to scenical representation. About the reign of Edward IV., one Edward Watson, a scholar in grammar at Oxford, is permitted to proceed to a degree in that faculty, on condition that within two years he would write one hundred verses in praise of the university, and also compose a COMEDY⁵. The nature and subject of Dante's COMEDIES, as they are styled, is well known. The comedies ascribed to Chaucer are probably his Canterbury tales. We learn from Chaucer's own words, that tragic tales were called TRAGEDIES. In the Prologue to the MONKES TALE.

TRAGEDY is to tell a certaine story,
 As old bokis makin ofte memory,
 Of hem that stode in grete prosperite,
 And be fallen out of her high degree, &c⁶.

Some of these, the Monke adds, were written in prose, others in metre. Afterwards follow many tragical narratives: of which he says,

¹ Lib. v. f. 109. b. Edit. Berth: 1554.

² Carmina composuit, voluitque placere poeta.

³ In the episcopal palace of Norwich is a curious piece of old wainscot brought from the monastery of Hulme at the time of its dissolution. Among other antique ornaments are the arms of Sir John Falstaff, their principal benefactor. This magnificent knight was also a benefactor to Magdalene College in Oxford. He bequeathed estates to that society, part of which were appropriated to buy liveries for some of the senior scholars. But this benefaction, in time, yielding no more than a penny a week to the scholars who received the liveries, they were called, by way of contempt, *Falstaff's buckram-men*.

⁴ Miscell. M. p. 274.

⁵ Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. 4. col. 2.

⁶ v. 85. Also, ibid. v. 103. 786. 875.

TRAGEDIES first wol I tell
Of which I have an *hunderd* in my cell.

Lidgate further confirms what is here said with regard to comedy as well as tragedy :

My maister Chaucer with fresh COMEDIES,
Is dead, alas ! chief poet of Britaine :
That whilom made ful piteous TRAGEDIES¹.

The stories in the MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES are called TRAGEDIES, so late as the sixteenth century². Bale calls his play, or MYSTERY, of GOD'S PROMISES, a TRAGEDY, which appeared about the year 1538.

I must however, observe here, that dramatic entertainments, representing the lives of saints and the most eminent scriptural stories, were known in England for more than two centuries before the reign of Edward II. These spectacles they commonly styled MIRACLES. I have already mentioned the play of St. Catharine, acted at Dunstaple about the year 1110. William Fitz-Stephen, a writer of the twelfth century, in his DESCRIPTION OF LONDON, relates that, 'London, for its theatrical exhibitions, has holy plays, or the representation of 'miracles wrought by confessors, and of the sufferings of martyrs³.' These pieces must have been in high vogue at our present period ; for Matthew Paris, who wrote about the year 1240, says that they were such as 'MIRACULA VULGARITER APPELLAMUS⁴.' And we learn from Chaucer, that in his times PLAYS of MIRACLES were the common resort of idle gossips in Lent.

Therefore made I my visitations,
To prechings eke and to pilgrimagis,
To PLAYS of MIRACLES, and mariagis, &c⁵.

This is the genial WIFE OF BATH, who amuses herself with these fashionable diversions, while her husband is absent in London, during the holy season of Lent. And in PIERCE PLOWMAN'S CREDE, a piece

¹ Prol. F. Pr. v. i. Also Chaucer's Troil. and Br. v. 1785. 1787.

² The elegant Fontenelle mentions one Parasols a Limosin, who wrote *Cinque belles TRAGEDIES des gestes de Jeanne reine de Naples*, about the year 1383. Here he thinks he has discovered, so early as the fourteenth century, 'une Poete tragique.' I have never seen these five Tragedies, nor perhaps had Fontenelle. But I will venture to pronounce, that they are nothing more than five tragical narratives : Queen Jane murdered her four husbands, and was afterwards herself put to death. Fontenelle's Hist. de Theatr. Fr. Oeuv. tom. trois. p. 20. edit. Paris, 1742. 12mo. Nor can I believe that the *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, as they are called, of Anselm Fayditt, and other early troubadours, had anything dramatic. It is worthy of notice, that pope Clement the seventh rewarded Parasols for his five *tragedies* with two canonries. Compare Recherches sur les Theatr. de France, par M. de Beauchamps, Paris, 1735. 4to. p. 65.

³ 'Lundonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, representationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, seu representationes passionum 'quibus claruit constantia martyrum.' Ad calc. STOWE'S SURVEY OF LONDON, p. 480. edit. 1599. The reader will observe, that I have construed *sanctiores* in a positive sense. Fitz-Stephen mentions at the end of his tract, 'Imperatricem Matildem, Henricum regem tertium, 'et beatum Thomam. &c.' p. 483. Henry III. did not accede till the year 1216. Perhaps he implied *futurum* regem tertium.

⁴ Vit. Abbat. ad calc. Hist. p. 56. edit. 1639.

⁵ Prol. Wif. B. v. 555. p. 80. Urr.

perhaps prior to Chaucer, a friar Minorite mentions these MIRACLES as not less frequented than markets or taverns.

We haunten no tavernes, ne hobelen abouten,
Att markets and MIRACLES we medeley us never¹.

Among the plays usually represented by the guild of Corpus Christi at Cambridge, on that festival, LUDUS FILIORUM. ISRAELIS was acted in the year 1355². Our drama seems hitherto to have been almost entirely confined to religious subjects, and these plays were nothing more than an appendage to the specious and mechanical devotion of the times. I do not find expressly, that any play on a profane subject, either tragic or comic, had as yet been exhibited in England. Our very early ancestors scarce knew any other history than that of their religion. Even on such an occasion as the triumphant entry of a king or queen into the city of London, or other places, the pageants were almost entirely scriptural³. Yet I must observe, that an article in one of the pipe-rolls, perhaps of the reign of king John, and consequently about the year 1200, seems to place the rudiments of histrionic exhibition, I mean of general subjects, at a much higher period among us than is commonly imagined. It is in these words. 'Nicola uxor Gerardi de Canvill, reddit computum de centum marcis pro maritanda Matildi filia sua cuicunque voluerit, exceptis MIMICIS regis⁴.'—'Nicola, wife of Gerard of Canville, accounts to the king for 'one hundred marks for the privilege of marrying his daughter Maud 'to whatever person she pleases, the king's MIMICS excepted.' Whether or no MIMICI REGIS are here a sort of players kept in the king's household for diverting the court at stated seasons, at least with performances of mimicry and masquerade, or whether they may not strictly imply MINSTRELLS, I cannot indeed determine. Yet we may remark, that MIMICUS is never used for MIMUS, that certain theatrical entertainments called mascarades, as we shall see below, were very ancient among the French, and that these MIMICI appear, by the context of this article, to have been persons of no very respectable cha-

¹ Signat. A. iii. b. edit. 1561.

² Master's Hist. C. C. C. p. 5. vol. i. What was the antiquity of the *Guany-Miracle*, or *Miracle-Play* in Cornwall, has not been determined. In the Bodleian library are three Cornish interludes, written on parchment. B. 40. Art. In the same library there is also another, written on paper in the year 1611. Arch. B. 31. Of this last there is a translation in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. 1867. 2. It is entitled, the CREATION OF THE WORLD. It is called a Cornish play or opera, and said to be written by Mr. William Jordan. The translation into English was made by John Keigwin of Moushole in Cornwall, at the request of Trelawney, bishop of Exeter, 1691. Of this William Jordan I can give no account. In the British Museum there is an ancient Cornish poem on the death and resurrection of Christ. It is on vellum, and has some rude pictures. The beginning and end are lost. The writing is supposed to be of the fifteenth century. MSS. Harl. 1782, 4to. See the learned Lwhyd's *Archæol. Brit.* p. 265. And Borlase's *Cornwall, Nat. Hist.* p. 295. edit. 1758.

³ When our Henry VI. entered Paris in 1431, in the quality of king of France, he was met at the gate of St. Denis by a Dumb Shew, representing the birth of the Virgin Mary, and her marriage, the adoration of the three kings, and the parable of the sower. This pageant indeed was given by the French: but the readers of Hollingshead will recollect many instances immediately to our purpose. Monstrelet. apud Fonten. Hist. Theatr. ut supr. p. 37.

⁴ Rot. incert. ut videtur Reg. Johann. Apud. MSS. James, Bibl. Bodl. vii. p. 104.

racter¹. I likewise find in the wardrobe-rolls of Edward III., in the year 1348, an account of the dresses, *ad faciendum LUDOS domini regis ad festum Natalis Domini celebratos apud Guldelford*, for furnishing the plays or sports of the king, held in the castle of Guildford at the feast of Christmas². In these LUDI, says my record, were expended eighty tunics of buckram of various colours, 42 visours of various similitudes, that is, 14 of the faces of women, 14 of the faces of men with beards, 14 of heads of angels, made with silver; twenty-eight crests³, 14 mantles embroidered with heads of dragons: 14 white tunics wrought with heads and wings of peacocks, 14 heads of swans with wings, 14 tunics painted with eyes of peacocks, 14 tunics of English linen painted, and as many tunics embroidered with stars of gold and silver⁴. In the rolls of the wardrobe of king Richard II, in the year 1391, there is also an entry which seems to point out a sport of much the same nature. 'Pro xxi *cuifs* de tela linea pro hominibus 'de lege contrafactis pro LUDO regis tempore natalis domini anno xii⁵.' That is, for twenty-one linen coifs for counterfeiting men of the law in 'the king's play at Christmas.' It will be sufficient to add here on the last record, that the serjeants at law at their creation, anciently wore a cap of linen, lawn, or silk, tied under the chin: this was to distinguish them from the clergy who had the tonsure. Whether in both these instances we are to understand a dumb shew, or a dramatic interlude with speeches, I leave to the examination of those who are professedly making enquiries into the history of our stage from its rudest origin. But that plays on general subjects were no uncommon mode of entertainment in the royal palaces of England, at least at the commencement of the fifteenth century, may be collected from an old memoir of shews and ceremonies exhibited at Christmas, in the reign of Henry VII, in the palace of Westminster. It is in the year 1489. 'This 'cristmas I saw no disguysings, and but *right few* PLAYS. But ther 'was an abbot of Misrule, that made much sport, and did right well his

¹ John of Salisbury, who wrote about 1160, says, 'Histriones et mimi non possunt recipere 'sacram communionem.' POLICRAT. i. 8.

² Comp. J. Cooke, Provisoris Magnæ Garderob. ab ann. 21. Edw. i. ad ann. 23. Membr. ix.

³ I do not perfectly understand the Latin original in the place, viz. 'xiii *Crestes* cum tibiis 'reversatis et calceatis, xiii *Crestes* cum montibus et cuniculis.' Among the stuffs are 'viii 'pelles de Roan.' In the same wardrobe rolls, a little above, I find this entry, which relates to the same festival. 'Et ad faciendum vi. pennecellos pro tubis et clarionibus contra festum 'natalis domini, de syndone, vapulatos de armis regis quartellatis.' Membr. ix.

⁴ Some perhaps may think, that these were dresses for a MASQUE at court. If so, Hollingshead is mistaken in saying, that in the year 1512, 'on the daie of Epiphanie at night, the king 'with eleven others were disguised after the manner of Italie called a maske, a thing not seen 'before in England. They were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with 'goid, with visors and caps of gold, &c.' Hist. vol. iii. p. 812. a. 40. Besides, these maskings most probably came to the English, if from Italy, through the medium of France. Hollingshead also contradicts himself: for in another place he seems to allow their existence under our Henry IV., A.D. 1400. 'The conspirators meant upon the sudden to have set upon the king 'in the castell of Windsor, under colour of a maske or mummerie, &c.' ibid. p. 515. b. 50. Strype says there were PAGEAUNTS exhibited in London when queen Eleanor rode through the city to her coronation in 1236. And for the victory over the Scots by Edward I. in 1298, Anecd. Brit. Topograph. p. 725. Lond. edit. 1768.

⁵ Comp. Magn. Garderob. an. 14 Ric. ii. f. 193. b.

'office.' And again, 'At nyght the kynge the queene, and my ladye the kynges moder, cam into the Whitehall,' and ther hard a PLAY¹⁷.

As to the religious dramas, it was customary to perform this species of play on holy festivals in or about the churches. In the register of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, under the year 1384, an episcopal injunction is recited, against the exhibition of SPECTACULA in the cemetery of his cathedral¹². Whether or no these were dramatic SPECTACLES, I do not pretend to decide. In several of our old scriptural plays, we see some of the scenes directed to be represented *cum cantu et organis*, a common rubric in the missal. That is, because they were performed in a church where the choir assisted. There is a curious passage in Lambarde's Topographical Dictionary written about the year 1570, much to our purpose, which I am therefore tempted to transcribe³. 'In the dayes of ceremonial religion, they used at Wytney (in Oxfordshire) to set fourthe yearly in maner of a shew, or interlude, the resurrection of our Lord, &c. For the which purposes, and the more lyvely heareby to exhibite to the eye the holeaction of the resurrection, the priestes garnished out certain smalle puppettes, representing the persons of Christe, the watchmen, Marie, and others; amongst the which, one bare the parte of a wakinge watchman, who espiinge Christe to arise, made a continual noyce, like to the sound that is caused by the metynge of two styckes, and was thereof commonly called *Jack Snacker of Wytney*. The like toye I myself, beinge then a childe, once sawe in Poule's church at London at a feast of Whitsuntyde; where the comynge downe of the Holy Ghost was set forthe by a white pigion, that was let to fly out of a hole that yet is to be sene in the mydst of the rooffe of the greate ile, and by a longe censer which descendinge out of the same place almost to the verie grounde, was swinged up and downe at suche a lengthe, that it reached with thone swepe almost to the west-gate of the church, and with the other to the quyre staires of the same; breathinge out over the whole church and companie a most pleasant perfume of suche swete thinges as burned therein. With the like doome shewes also, they used everie where to furnish sondrye parts of their church service, as by their spectacles of the nativitie, passion, and ascension, &c.'

This practice of acting plays in churches, was at last grown to such

¹ Leland. Coll. iii. Append. p. 256. edit. 1770.

² Registr. lib. iii. f. 88. 'Canere Cantilenas, ludibriorum *spectacula* facere, faltationes et alios ludos inhonestos frequentare, choreas, &c.' So in Statut. Eccles. Nannett. A.D. 1405. No. 'mimi vel joculariores, ad *monstra larvarum* in ecclesia et cemeterio,' are permitted. Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. iv. p. 993. And again. 'Joculatores, histriones, saltatrices, in ecclesia, cemeterio, vel porticu.—nec aliqua chorea;' Statut. Synod. Eccles. Leod. A.D. 1287. apud. Marten. ut sup. p. 846. Fontenelle says, that anciently among the French, comedies were acted after divine service, in the church-yard. 'Au sortir du sermon ces bonnes gens alloient a la *Comedie*, c'est a dire, qu'ils changeoint de Sermon.' Hist. Theatr. ut sup. p. 24. But these were scriptural comedies, and they were constantly preceded by a BENEDICTE, by way of prologue. The French stage will occur again below.

³ Pag. 459. edit. 1730. 4to.

an enormity, and attended with such inconvenient consequences, that in the reign of Henry VIII. Bonner, bishop of London, issued a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, dated 1542, prohibiting 'all manner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels, &c.¹' This fashion seems to have remained even after the Reformation, and when perhaps profane stories had taken place of religious² ones. Archbishop Grindal, in the year 1563, remonstrated against the danger of interludes: complaining that players 'did especially on holy days, set up bills inviting 'to their play³.' From this ecclesiastical source of the modern drama, plays continued to be acted on sundays so late as the reign of Elizabeth, and even till that of Charles I., by the choristers or singing-boys of St. Paul's cathedral in London, and of the royal chapel.

It is certain, that these MIRACLE-PLAYS were the first of our dramatic exhibitions. But as these pieces frequently required the introduction of allegorical characters, such as Charity, Sin, Death, Hope, Faith, or the like, and as the common poetry of the times, especially among the French, began to deal much in allegory, at length plays were formed entirely consisting of such personifications. These were called MORALITIES. The miracle-plays, or MYSTERIES, were totally destitute of invention or plan; they tamely represented stories according to the letter of scripture, or the respective legend. But the MORALITIES indicate dawnings of the dramatic art: they contain some rudiments of a plot, and even attempt to delineate characters, and to paint manners. From hence the gradual transition to real historical personages was natural and obvious. It may be also observed, that many licentious pleasantries were sometimes introduced in these religious representations. This might imperceptibly lead the way to subjects entirely profane, and to comedy, and perhaps earlier than is imagined. In a⁴ Mystery of the MASSACRE OF THE HOLY INNOCENTS, part of the subject of a sacred drama given by the English fathers at the famous council of Constance, in the year 1417⁵, a low buffoon of Herod's court is introduced, desiring of his lord to be dubbed a knight, that he might be properly qualified to *to go on the adventure* of killing the mothers of the children of Bethlehem. This tragical business is treated with the most ridiculous levity. The good women of Bethlehem attack our knight-errant with their spinning-wheels, break his head with their distaffs, abuse him as a coward and a disgrace to chivalry, and send him home to Herod as a recreant champion with much ignominy. It is in an enlightened age only that subjects

¹ Burnet. Hist. Ref. i. Coll. Rec. pag.¹ 225.

² From a puritanical pamphlet entitled THE THIRD BLAST OF RETRAIT FROM PLAIES, &c. 1580. 12mo. p. 77. Where the author says, the players are 'permitted to publish their metrie in everie temple of God, and that, throughout England, &c.' This abuse of acting plays in churches is mentioned in the canon of James I, which forbids also the profanation of churches by court-leets, &c. The canons were given in the year 1603.

³ Styrpe's Grindall, p. 82.

⁴ MSS. Digb. 134, Bibl. Bodl.

⁵ L'Enfant. ii. 440.

scripture history would be supported with proper dignity. But then an enlightened age would not have chosen such subjects for theatrical exhibition. It is certain that our ancestors intended no sort of impiety by these monstrous and unnatural mixtures. Neither the writers nor the spectators saw the impropriety, nor paid a separate attention to the comic and the serious part of these motley scenes; at least they were persuaded, that the solemnity of the subject covered or excused all incongruities. They had no just idea of decorum, consequently but little sense of the ridiculous: what appears to us to be the highest burlesque, on them would have made no sort of impression. We must not wonder at this, in an age when courage, devotion, and ignorance, compose the character of European manners; when the knight going to a tournament, first invoked his God, then his minstrels, and afterwards proceeded with a safe conscience and great resolution to engage his antagonist. In these Mysteries I have sometimes seen gross and open obscenities. In a play of *the Old and New Testament*¹, Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the stage naked, and conversing about their nakedness; this very pertinently introduces the next scene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure: they had the authority of scripture for such a representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis. It would have been absolute heresy to have departed from the sacred text in personating the primitive appearance of our first parents, whom the spectators so nearly resembled in simplicity: and if this had not been the case, the dramatists were ignorant what to reject and what to retain.

In the meantime, profane dramas seem to have been known in France at a much earlier period². Du Cange gives the following pic-

¹ MSS. Harl. 2013, &c. Exhibited at Chester in the year 1327, at the expence of the different trading companies of that city. *The Fall of Lucifer*, by the Tanners. *The Creation* by the Drapers. *The Deluge*, by the Dyers. *Abraham, Melchisedeck, and Lot*, by the Barbers. *Moses, Balak, and Balaam*, by the Cappers. *The Salutation and Nativity*, by the Wrightes. *The Shepherds feeding their flocks by night*, by the Painters and Glaziers. *The three Kings*, by the Vintners. *The Oblation of the three Kings*, by the Mercers. *The killing of the Innocents*, by the Goldsmiths. *The Purification*, by the Blacksmiths. *The Temptation*, by the Butchers. *The last Supper*, by the Bakers. *The blind Men and Lazarus*, by the Glovers. *Jesus and the Lepers*, by the Corversarys. *Christ's Passion*, by the Bowyers, Fletchers, and Ironmongers. *Descent into Hell*, by the Cooks and Innkeepers. *The Resurrection*, by the Skinners. *The Ascension*, by the Taylors. *The election of S. Matthias, Sending of the holy ghost, &c.*, by the Fishmongers. *Antechrist*, by the Clothiers. *Day of Judgment*, by the Websters. The reader will perhaps smile at some of these COMBINATIONS. This is the substance and order of the former part of the play. God enters creating the world: he breathes life into Adam, leads him into Paradise, and opens his side while sleeping. Adam and Eve appear naked, and *not ashamed*, and the old serpent enters lamenting his fall. He converses with Eve. She eats of the forbidden fruit, and gives part to Adam. They propose, according to the stage-direction. to make themselves *subligacula a foliis quibus tegamur Pudenda*. Cover their nakedness with leaves, and converse with God. God's curse. The serpent *exit* hissing. They are driven from Paradise by four angels and the cherubim with a flaming sword. Adam appears digging the ground, and Eve spinning. Their children Cain and Abel enters: The former kills his brother. Adam's lamentation. Cain is banished, &c., p. 77.

² John of Salisbury, a writer of the eleventh century, speaking of the common diversions of

ture of the king of France dining in public, before the year 1300. During this ceremony, a sort of farces or drolls seems to have been exhibited. All the great officers of the crown and the household, says he, were present. The company was entertained with the instrumental music of the minstrels, who played on the kettle-drum, the flagellet', the cornet, the Latin cittern, the Bohemian flute, the trumpet, the Moorish cittern, and the fiddle. Besides there were 'des FARCEURS, 'des jongleurs, et des plaisantins, qui divertisseoient les compagnies 'par leur facetiss et par leur COMEDIES, pour l'entretien.' He adds, that many noble families in France were entirely ruined by the prodigious expenses lavished on those performers². The annals of France very early mention buffoons among the minstrels at these solemnities; and more particularly that Louis le Debonnaire, who reigned about the year 830, never laughed aloud, not even when at the most magnificent festivals, players, buffoons, minstrels, singers, and harpers, attended his table³. In some constitutions given to a cathedral church in France, in the year 1280, the following clause occurs. 'Nullus SPECTACULIS aliquibus quæ aut in *Nuptiis* aut in *Scenis* exhibentur, intersit⁴.' Where, by the way, the word *Scenis* seems to imply somewhat of a professed stage, although the establishment of the first French theatre is dated not before the year 1398. The play of ROBIN and MARIAN is said to have been performed by the school-boys of Angiers according to annual custom, in the year 1392⁵. A royal carousal given by Charles V. of France to the emperor Charles IV., in the year 1378, was closed with the theatrical representation of the *Conquest of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bulloign*, which was exhibited in the hall of the

his time, says, 'Nostra ætas prolapsa ad fabulas et quævis inania, non modo aures et cor prostituit vanitati, &c.' POLICRAT. i. 8. An ingenious French writer, Mons. Duclos, thinks that PLAYS are here implied. By the word *Fabula*, says he, something more is signified than dances, gesticulation, and simple dialogue. *Fable* properly means composition, and an arrangement of things which constitute an action. Mem. Acad. Inscr. xvii. p. 224. 4to. But perhaps *fabula* has too vague and general a sense, especially in its present combination with *quævis inania*, to bear so precise and critical an interpretation. I will add, that if this reasoning be true, the words will be equally applicable to the English stage.—At Constantinople it seems that the stage flourished much under Justinian and Theodora, about the year 450. For in the Basilical codes we have the oath of an actress, *μη ἀναχωρήσιν τῆς πορνείας*. Tom. vii. p. 682. edit. Fabrot. Græco-Lat. The ancient Greek fathers, particularly saint Chrysostom, are full of declamation against the drama: and complain, that the people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a preacher of the gospel.

¹ I believe, a sort of pipe. This is the French word, viz. Demy-canon. See Carpent. Du. Cange, Gl. Lat. i. p. 760.

² Dissertat. Joinv. p. 161.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Montfaucon. Catal. MSS. p. 1158. See also Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. tom. iv. p. 506. Statut. Synod. A.D. 1468. 'Larvaria ad Nuptias, &c.' Stowe, in his SURVEY OF LONDON, mentions the practice of acting plays at weddings.

⁵ The boys were *deguisez*, says the old French record; and they had among them *un Fillette desguisee*. Carpent. ubi. supr. V. ROBINET. PENTECOSTE. Our old character of MAYD MARIAN may be hence illustrated. It seems to have been an early fashion in France for school-boys to present these shews or plays. In an ancient MSS., under the year 1477, there is mentioned 'Certaine MORALITE, ou FARCE, que les escolliers de Pontoise avoit fait, 'ainsi qu'il est de coutume.' Carpent. ubi. supr. V. MORALITAS. THE MYSTERY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT is said to have been represented in 1424, by the boys of Paris placed like statues against a wall, without speech or motion, at the entry of the duke of Bedford, regent of France, See J. de Paris, p. 101. And Sauval. Ant. de Paris, ii. 101.

royal palace¹. This indeed was a subject of a religious tendency; but not long afterwards, in the year 1395, perhaps before, the interesting story of PATIENT GRISILDE appears to have been acted at Paris. This piece still remains, and is entitled, *Le MYSTERE de Grisildis marquise de Saluce*². For all dramatic pieces were indiscriminately called MYSTERIES, whether a martyr or a heathen god, whether St. Catharine or Hercules was the subject.

In France the religious MYSTERIES, often called PITEAUX, or PITOUX, were certainly very fashionable, and of high antiquity: yet from any written evidence, I do not find them more ancient than those of the English. In the year 1384, the inhabitants of the village of Aunay, on the Sunday after the feast of St. John, played the MIRACLE of Theophilus, 'ou quel Jeu avoit un personnage de un qui devoit 'getter d'un canon³.' In the year 1398, some citizens of Paris met at St. Maur to play the PASSION of CHRIST. The magistrates of Paris, alarmed at this novelty, published an ordonnance, prohibiting them to represent, 'aucuns jeux de personnages soit de vie de saints ou autre-ment,' without the royal license, which was soon afterwards obtained⁴. In the year 1386, at Anjou, ten pounds were paid towards supporting the charges of acting the PASSION OF CHRIST, which was represented by masks, and, as I suppose, by persons hired for the purpose⁵. The chaplains of Abbeville, in the year 1455, gave four pounds and ten shillings to the PLAYERS of the PASSION⁶. But the French MYSTERIES were chiefly performed by the religious communities, and some of their FETES almost entirely consisted of a dramatic or personated shew. At the FEAST of ASSES, instituted in honour of Baalam's Ass, the clergy walked on Christmay day in procession, habited to represent the prophets and others. Moses appeared in an alb and cope, with a long beard and a rod. David had a green vestment. Baalam with an immense pair of spurs, rode on a wooden ass which inclosed a speaker. There were also six Jews and six Gentiles. Among other characters the poet Virgil was introduced as a gentile prophet and a translator of the Sibylline oracles. They thus moved in procession, chanting verses, and conversing in character on the nativity and kingdom of Christ, through the body of the church, till they came into the choir.

¹ Felib. tom. ii. p. 68r.

² It has been printed, more than once, in the black letter. Beauchamps, p. 110.

³ Carpentier, Suppl. Du Cange Lat. Gl. V. LUDUS.

⁴ Beauchamps, ut supr. p. 90. This was the first theatre of the French: the actors were incorporated by the king, under the title of the *Fraternity of the passion of our Saviour*. Beauch. ibid. See above, Sect. ii. p. 91. n. The *Few de personnages* was a very common play of the young boys in the larger towns, &c. Carpentier, ut supr. V. PERSONAGIUM. And LUDUS PERSONAG. At Cambray mention is made of the shew of a boy *larvatus cum maza in collo* with drums, &c. Carpent. ib. V. KALENDÆ JANUAR.

⁵ 'Decem libr. ex parte nationis, ad onera supportanda hujus Misterii.' Carpent. ut supr. V. PERSONAGIUM.

⁶ Carpent. ut supr. V. LUDUS. Who adds, from an ancient Computus, that three shillings were paid by the ministers of a church in the year 1537, for parchment, for writing LUDUS RESURRECTIONIS DOMINI.

Virgil speaks some Latin hexameters, during the ceremony, not out of his fourth eclogue, but wretched monkish lines in rhyme. This feast was, I believe, early suppressed. In the year 1445, Charles VII. of France ordered the masters in Theology at Paris to forbid the ministers of the collegiate¹ churches to celebrate at Christmas the FEAST of FOOLS in their churches, where the clergy danced in masques and antic dresses, and exhibited *plusieurs mocqueries spectacles publics, de leur corps deguisements, farces, rigmeries*, with various enormities shocking to decency. In France as well as England it was customary to celebrate the feast of the boy-bishop. In all the collegiate churches of both nations, about the feast of Saint Nicholas, or the Holy Innocents, one of the children of the choir completely apparelled in the episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crosier, bore the title and state of a bishop, and exacted canonical obedience from his fellows, who were dressed like priests. They took possession of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices², the mass excepted, which might have been celebrated by the bishop and his prebendaries³. In the statutes of the archiepiscopal cathedral of Tullies, given in the year 1497, it is said, that during the celebration of the festival of the boy-bishop, 'MORALITIES were presented, and shews of MIRACLES, with 'farces and other sports, but compatible with decorum.—After dinner 'they exhibited, without their masks, but in proper dresses, such farces 'as they were masters of, in different parts of the city⁴.' It is probable that the same entertainments attended the solemnisation of this ridiculous festival in England⁵: and from this supposition some critics may be inclined to deduce the practice of our plays being acted by the choir-boys of St. Paul's church, and the chapel royal, which con-

¹ Marten. Anecd. tom. i. col. 1804. Also Belet. de Divin. offic. cap. 72. And Gussanvill. post. Not. ad Petr. Blesens. Feilbien confounds *La Fete de Fous et la Fete de Sotise*. The latter was an entertainment of dancing called *Les Sauties*, and thence corrupted into *Soties* or *Sotise*. Mem. Acad. Inscript. xvii. 225. 226. Also Probat. Hist. Antissiodor. p. 310. Again, the *Feast of Fools* seems to be pointed at in Statut. Senonens. A.D. 1445. Instr. tom. xii. Gall. Christian. Coll. 96. 'Tempore divini servitii larvatos et monstruosos vultus deferendo, 'cum vestibus mulierum, aut lenonum, aut histrionum, choreas in ecclesia et choro ejus du-' cendo, &c.' With the most immodest spectacles. The nuns of some French convents are said to have had *Ludibria* on saint Mary Magdalen's and other festivals, when they wore the habits of seculars, and danced with them. Carpent. ubi supr. V. KALENDÆ. There was the office of *Rex Stultorum* in Beverley church, prohibited 1391. Dugd. Mond. iii. Append. 7.

² In the statutes of Eton-college, given 1441, the EPISCOPUS PUERORUM is ordered to perform divine service on saint Nicholas's day. Rubr. xxxi. In the statutes of Winchester-college, given 1380, PUERI, that is, the boy-bishop and his fellows, are permitted on Innocent's day to execute all the sacred offices in the chapel, according to the use of the church of Sarum. Rubr. xxix. This strange piece of religious mockery flourished greatly in Salisbury cathedral. In the old Statutes of that church there is a chapter DE EPISCOPO CHORISTARUM: and their *Processionale* gives a long and minute account of the whole ceremony. edit. Rothom. 1555.

³ This ceremony was abolished by a proclamation, no later than 33 Hen. viii. Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott. Tr. B. i. f. 208. In the inventory of the treasury of York cathedral, taken in 1530, we have 'Item una mitra parva cum petris pro episcopo puerorum, &c.' Dugd. Monast. iii. 169. 170. Also 313. 314. 177. 279. Also Dugd. Hist. S. Paul's, p. 205. 206. Where he is called EPISCOPUS PARVULORUM. Also Antis. Ord. Gart. ii. 309. Where, instead of *Nihilensis*, read *Nicolensis*, or NICOLATENSIS.

⁴ Statut. Eccles. Tullens. apud Carpent. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cange V. KALENDÆ.

⁵ It appears that in England, the boy-bishop with his companions went about to different

tinued, as I before observed, till Cromwell's usurpation. The English and French stages mutually throw light on each other's history. But perhaps it will be thought, that in some of these instances I have exemplified in nothing more than farcical and gesticulatory representations. Yet even these traces should be attended to. In the meantime we may observe upon the whole, that the modern drama had its foundation in our religion, and that it was raised and supported by the clergy. The truth is, the members of the ecclesiastical societies were almost the only persons who could read, and their numbers easily furnished performers: they abounded in leisure, and their very relaxations were religious.

I did not mean to touch upon the Italian stage. But as so able a judge as Riccoboni seems to allow, that Italy derived her theatre from those of France and England, by way of an additional illustration of the antiquity of the two last, I will here produce one or two MIRACLE-PLAYS, acted much earlier in Italy than any piece mentioned by that ingenious writer, or by Crescimbeni. In the year 1298, on 'the feast of Pentecost, and the two following holidays, the representation of 'the PLAY OF CHRIST, that is of his passion, resurrection, ascension, judgment, and the mission of the holy ghost, was performed by the 'clergy of Civita Vecchia *in curia domini patriarchæ Austriæ civitatis honorisice et laudabiliter*¹. And again, 'In 1304, the chapter of 'Civita Vecchia exhibited a Play of the creation of our first parents, 'the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the birth of Christ, and other passages of sacred scripture². In the meantime, those critics who contend for the high antiquity of the Italian stage, may adopt these instances as new proofs in defence of that hypothesis.

In this transient view of the origin and progress of our drama, which was incidentally suggested by the mention of Baston's supposed Comedies, I have trespassed upon future periods. But I have chiefly done this for the sake of connection, and to prepare the mind of the reader for other anecdotes of the history of our stage, which will occur in the course of our researches, and are reserved for their respective places. I could have enlarged what is here loosely thrown together, with many other remarks and illustrations; but I was unwilling to

parts of the town; at least visited the other religious houses. As in Rot. Comp. Coll. Winton. A.D. 1461.

'In Dat. episcopo Nicolatensi.' This I suppose, was one of the children of the choir of the neighbouring cathedral. In the statutes of the collegiate church of S. Mary Ottery, founded by bishop Grandison in 1337, there is this passage, 'Item statuimus, quod nullus 'canonicus, vicarius, vel secundarius, pueros christas in festo sanctorum Innocentium extra 'Parochiam de Ottery trahant, aut eis licentiam vagandi concedant.' cap. 50 MSS. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. quat. 9. In the wardrobe-rolls of Edward iii. an. 12. we have this entry, which shews that our mock-bishop and his chapter sometimes exceeded their adopted clerical commission, and exercised the arts of secular entertainment. 'EPISCOPO 'PUERORUM ecclesiæ de Andeworp cantanti coram domino rege in camera sua in festo sanctorum Innocentium, de dono ipsius dom. regis. xlii. vid.'

¹ Chron. Foroju. in Append. ad Monum. Eccl. Aquilej. pag. 30. col. 1.

² Ibid. pag. 30. col. 1. It is extraordinary, that the Miracle-plays, even in the churches, should not cease in Italy till the year 1660.

transcribe from the collections of those who have already treated this subject with great comprehension and penetration, especially from the author of the Supplement to the Translator's Preface of Jarvis's *Don Quixote*¹. I claim no other merit from this digression, than that of having collected some new anecdotes relating to the early state of the English and French stages, the original of both which is intimately connected, from books and manuscripts not easily found, nor often examined. These hints may perhaps prove of some service to those who have leisure and inclination to examine the subject with more precision.

SECTION VII.

EDWARD III. was an illustrious example and patron of chivalry. His court was the theatre of romantic elegance. I have examined the annual rolls of his wardrobe, which record various articles of costly stuffs delivered occasionally for the celebration of his tournaments; such as standards, pennons, tunics, caparisons, with other splendid furniture of the same sort: and it appears that he commanded these solemnities to be kept, with a magnificence superior to that of former ages, at Litchfield, Bury, Guildford, Eltham, Canterbury, and twice at Windsor, in little more than the space of one year². At his triumphant return from Scotland, he was met by 230 knights at Dunstable, who received their victorious monarch with a grand exhibition of these martial exercises. He established in the castle of Windsor a fraternity of 24 knights, for whom he erected a round table, with a round chamber still remaining, according to a similar institution of king Arthur³. Anstis treats the notion, that Edward in this establishment had any retrospect to king Arthur, as an idle and legendary tradition⁴. But the fame of Arthur was still kept alive, and continued to be an object of veneration long afterwards: and however idle and ridiculous

¹ See also Doctor Percy's very ingenious ESSAY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH STAGE, &c.

² Comp. J. Cooke, Provisoris Magn. Garderob. ab ann. 21 Edw. iii. ad ann. 23. supr. citat. I will give, as a specimen, this officer's accout for the tournament at Canterbury. 'Et ad faciendum diversos apparatus pro corpore regis et suorum pro hastiludio Cantuariensi, an. reg. xxii. ubi Rex. dedit octo hernesia de syndone ynde facta, et vapulata de armis dom. Stephani de Cosyngton militis, dominis principibus comiti Lancastrie, comiti Suffolcie, Johanni de Gray, Joh. de Beauchamp, Roberto Maule, Joh. Chandos, et dom. Rogero de Beauchamp. Et ad faciendum unum harnesium de bokeram albo pro rege, extencellato cum argento, viz. tunicam et scutum operata cum dictamine Regis,

'Hay Hay the wythe swan

'By Godes soule I am thy man.'

'Et croparium, pectorale, testarium, et arcenarium extencellata cum argento. Et ad parandum i. tunicam Regis, et i. clocam et capucium cum c. garteriis paratis cum boucis, barris, et pendentibus de argento. Et ad faciendum unum dublettum pro Rege de tela linea habente, circa manicas et simbram, unam borduram de panno longo viridi operatum cum nebulis et vineis de auro, et cum dictamine Regis. *It is as it is.*' Membr. xi. [A.D. 1349.]

³ Walsing, p. 117.

⁴ Ord. Gart. ii. 92.

the fables of the round table may appear at present, they were then not only universally known, but firmly believed. Nothing could be more natural to such a romantic monarch, in such an age, than the renovation of this most ancient and revered institution of chivalry. It was a prelude to the renowned order of the garter, which he soon afterwards founded at Windsor, during the ceremonies of a magnificent feast, which had been proclaimed by his heralds in Germany, France, Scotland, Burgundy, Heynault, and Brabant, and lasted fifteen days¹. We must not try the modes and notions of other ages, even if they have arrived to some degree of refinement, by those of our own. Nothing is more probable, than that this latter foundation of Edward III. took its rise from the exploded story of the garter of the countess of Salisbury². Such an origin is interwoven with the manners and ideas of the times. Their attention to the fair sex entered into everything. It is by no means unreasonable to suppose, that the fantastic collar of Esses, worn by the knights of this Order, was an allusion to her name. Froissart, an eye-witness, and well acquainted with the intrigues of the court, relates at large the king's affection for the countess; and particularly describes a grand carousal which he gave in consequence of that attachment. The first festival of this order was not only adorned by the bravest champions of christendom, but by the presence of queen Philippa, Edward's consort, accompanied with 300 ladies of noble families³. The tournaments of this stately reign were constantly crowded with ladies of the first distinction; who sometimes attended them on horseback, armed with daggers, and dressed in a succinct soldier-like habit or uniform prepared for the purpose⁴. In a tournament exhibited at London, sixty ladies on palfries appeared, each leading a knight with a gold chain. In this manner they paraded from the tower to Smithfield⁵. Even Philippa, a queen of singular elegance of manners⁶, partook so much of the

¹ Barnes, i. ch. 22. p. 292. Froissart, c. 100. Anstis, ut supr.

² Ashmole proves, that the orders of the *Annunciada*, and of the *Toison d'Or*, had the like origin. Ord. Gart. p. 180. 181. Even in the ensigns of the order of the Holy Ghost, founded so late as 1578, some love-mysteries and emblems were concealed under cyphers introduced into the blasonrie. See Le Laboureur, Contin. des Mem. de Castelnau, p. 895. 'Il y eut plus de mysteres d'amourettes que de religion, &c.' But I cannot in this place help observing, that the fantastic humour of unriddling emblematical mysteries, supposed to be concealed under all ensigns and arms, was at length carried to such an extravagance, at least in England, as to be checked by the legislature. By a statute of queen Elizabeth, a severe penalty is laid, 'on all fond phantastical prophecies upon or by the occasion of any arms, fields, beastes, badges, or the like things accustomed in arms, cognisaunces, or signetts, &c.' Statut. v. Eliz. ch. 15. A.D. 1564.

³ They soon afterwards regularly received robes, with the knights companions, for this ceremony, powdered with garters. Ashmol. Ord. Gart. 217. 594. And Anstis, ii. 123.

⁴ Knyghton, Dec. Scrip. p. 2597.

⁵ Froissart apud Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 718. edit. 1616. At an earlier period, the growing gallantry of the times appears in a public instrument. It is in the reign of Edward I. Twelve jurymen depose upon oath the state of the king's lordship at Woodstock; and among other things it is solemnly recited, that Henry II. often resided at Woodstock, 'pro amore cujusdam mulieris nomine Rosamunda.' Hearne's Avesbury, Append. p. 331.

⁶ And of distinguished beauty. Hearne says, that the statuary of those days used to make queen Philippa a model for their images of the Virgin Mary. Gloss. Rob. Brun. p. 349. He

heroic spirit which was universally diffused, that just before an engagement with the king of Scotland, she rode round the ranks of the English army encouraging the soldiers, and was with some difficulty persuaded or compelled to relinquish the field¹. The countess of Montfort is another eminent instance of female heroism in this age. When the strong town of Hennebond, near Rennes, was besieged by the French, this redoubted amazon rode in complete armour from street to street, on a large courser, animating the garison². Finding from a high tower that the whole French army was engaged in the assault, she issued, thus completely accoutred, through a convenient postern at the head of 300 chosen soldiers, and set fire to the French camp³. In the meantime riches and plenty, the effects of conquest, peace, and prosperity, were spread on every side; and new luxuries were imported in great abundance from the conquered countries. There were few families, even of a moderate condition, but had in their possession precious articles of dress or furniture; such as silks, fur, tapestry, embroidered beds, cups of gold, silver, porcelain, and crystal, bracelets, chains, and necklaces, brought from Caen, Calais, and other opulent foreign cities⁴. The increase of rich furniture appears in a foregoing reign. In an act of Parliament of Edward I.⁵, are many regulations relating to goldsmiths, not only in London, but in other towns, concerning the sterling alloy of vessels and jewels of gold and silver, &c. And it is said, 'Gravers or cutters of stones and seals shall give every one their just weight of silver and gold.' It should be remembered, that about this period Europe had opened a new commercial intercourse with the ports of India⁶. No less than eight sumptuary laws, which had the usual effect of not being observed, were enacted in one session of parliament during this reign⁷. Amid these growing elegances and superfluities, foreign manners, especially of the French, were

adds, that the holy virgin, in a representation of her assumption, was constantly figured young and beautiful; and that the artists before the Reformation generally 'had the most beautiful women of the greatest quality in their view, when they made statues and figures of her.'

Ibid. p. 550.

¹ Froissart. i. c. 138.

² Froissart says, that when the English proved victorious, the countess came out of the castle, and in the street kissed sir Walter Manny, the English general, and his captains, one after another, twice or thrice, *comme noble et valliant dame*. On another like occasion, the same historian relates, that she went out to meet the officers, whom she kissed and sumptuously entertained in her castle. i. c. 86. At many magnificent tournaments in France, the ladies determined the prize. See Mem. Anc. Cheval. i. p. 175. seq. p. 223. seq. An English squire, on the side of the French, captain of the castle of Beaufort, called himself *le Pour-suivant d'amour*, in 1369. Froissart, l. i. c. 64. In the midst of grand engagements between the French and English armies, when perhaps the interests of both nations are vitally concerned, Froissart gives many instances of officers entering into separate and personal combat to dispute the beauty of their respective mistresses. Hist. l. ii. c. 33. 43. On this occasion an ingenious French writer observes, that Homer's heroes of ancient Greece are just as extravagant, who in the heat of the fight often stop on a sudden, to give an account of the genealogy of themselves or of their horses. Mem. Anc. Cheval. ubi supr. Sir Walter Manny, in 1343. in attacking the castle of Guigard exclaims, 'let me never be beloved of my mistress, if I refuse this attack, &c.' Froissart, i. 81.

³ Froissart, i. c. 80. Du. Chesne, p. 656. Mezeray, ii. 3. p. 19. seq.

⁴ Walsing. Ypodigm. 121. Hist. 159.

⁵ Anderson, Hist. Comm. i. p. 141.

⁶ A.D. 1300. Edw. i. an. 28. cap. xx.

⁷ Ann. 37 Edw. iii. cap. viii. seq.

perpetually increasing; and the native simplicity of the English people was perceptibly corrupted and effaced. It is not quite uncertain that masques had their beginning in this reign¹. These shews, in which the greatest personages of the court often bore a part, and which arrived at their height in the reign of Henry VIII., encouraged the arts of address and decorum, and are symptoms of the rise of polished manners².

In a reign like this, we shall not be surprised to find such a poet as Chaucer, with whom a new era in English poetry begins, and on whose account many of these circumstances are mentioned, as they serve to prepare the reader for his character, on which they throw no inconsiderable light.

But before we enter on so ample a field, it will be perhaps less embarrassing, at least more consistent with our prescribed method, if we previously display the merits of two or three poets, who appeared in the former part of the reign of Edward III., with other incidental matters.

The first of these is Richard Hampole, an eremite of the order of St. Augustine. He was a doctor of divinity, and lived a solitary life near the nuns of Hampole, four miles from Doncaster in Yorkshire. The neighbourhood of this female society could not withdraw our recluse from his devotions and his studies. He flourished in the year 1349³. His Latin theological tracts, both in prose and verse, are numerous; in which Leland justly thinks he has displayed more erudition than eloquence. His principal pieces of English rhyme are a Paraphrase of part of the book of Job, of the Lord's prayer, of the seven penitential psalms, and the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE. But our hermit's poetry, which indeed from these titles promises but little entertainment, has no tincture of sentiment, imagination, or elegance. The following verses are extracted from the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE, one of the most common manuscripts in our libraries, and I prophecy that I am its last transcriber. But I must observe first, that this piece is divided into seven parts. I. Of man's nature. II. Of the world. III. Of death. IV. Of purgatory. V. Of the day of judgment. VI. Of the torments of hell. VII. Of the joys of heaven⁴.

Monkynde is to godus wille And alle his biddyngus to fulfille
Ffor of al his makyng more and les
Man most principal creature es

¹ This spirit of splendor and gallantry was continued in the reign of his successor. See the genius of that reign admirably characterised, and by the hand of a master, in bishop Lowth's LIFE OF WYKEHAM, page. 222. Hollingsh. Chron. sub. ann. 1399. p. 508. col. 1.

² Wharton, App. ad Cave, 75. Sæcul. Wicklev.

³ STIMULUS CONSCIENTIÆ *this boke ys namyd*, MSS. Ashmol. fol. No. 41. There is much transposition in this copy. In MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 87, it is called THE KEY OF KNOWING. Princ.

All that he made for man hit was done
 As ye schal here aftir lone God to monkynde had gret love
 When he ordeyned to monnes behove
 This world and heven hym to glade
 There in myddulerd mon last he made
 To his likeness in feire stature To be most worthy creature
 Beforen all creatures of kynde He yef hym wit skile and mynde
 Ffor too knowe bothe good and ille And als he yaf him a fre wille
 Fforto chese and forto holde Good or yvel whedur he wolde
 And as he ordeyned mon to dwelle To lyve in erthe in flessch and fell
 To knowe his workus and hym worshepe
 And his comaundement to kepe
 And yif he be to god buxome To endeles blis aftir to come
 And yif he wrongly here wende To peyne of helle withouten ende
 God made to his owne likenes Eche mon lyving heremore and les
 To whom he hath gyven wit and skil
 Ffor to knowe bothe good and il
 And wille to these as they vouchsave Good or evil whether thei wole have
 He that his wille to good wole bowe God wole hym with gret mede allowe
 He that wukudnes wole and wo Gret peyne shall he have also
 That mon therfore holde is for wood
 That chesuth the evel and levethe the good
 God made mon of most dignite Of all creatures most fre
 And namely to his owne liknes As bifore tolde hit es
 And most hath gyven and yit gyveth
 Than to any creature that lyveth
 And more hath het hym yit therto Hevene blis yif he wel do
 And yit when he had don amys And hadde lost that ilke blis
 God tok monkynde for his sake And for his love deth wolde take
 And with his blod boughte hem ayene
 To his blisse fro endeles peyne.

PRIMA PARS DE MISERIA HUMANÆ CONDITIONIS.

Thus gret love god to man kidde
 And mony goode dedus to hym didde
 Therefore eche mon lernd and lewed
 Schulde thynke on love that he hem schewed
 And these gode dedus holde in mynde
 That he thus dide to monkynde
 And love and thanke hym as he con
 And ellus he is unkynde mon
 Both he serve hym day and nyght And his yiftes usen hem right
 To spende his wit in godus servyse Certainly ellus he is not wise
 Bot he knowe kyndely what god es
 And what mon is that is les
 Thou febul mon is soule and body Thou strong god is and myghty
 Thou mon greveth god that doth not welle
 What mon is worthi therefore to fele
 Thou mercyfull and gracious god is
 And thou full of alle goodness

Thou right wis and thou sothfaste
 What he hath done and shal atte laste
 And eche day doth to monkynde
 This schulde eche mon have in mynde
 Ffor the rihte waye to that blis
 That leduth mon thidur that is this
 The waye of mekenes principally To love and drede god almighty
 This is the waye into wisdom Into whuche waye non may come
 Withouten knowing of god here His myghtus and his workes sere
 But ar he to that knowyng wynne
 Hymself he mot knowe withynne
 Ellus knowyng may not be To wisdom way non entre
 Some han wit to undurstonde And yit thei are ful unknowonde
 And some thing hath no knowyng
 That myght them sture to good lyving
 Tho men had nede to lerne eche day
 Of men that con more then thay
 That myhte to knowynge hem lede In mekenes to love god and drede
 Which is waye and goode wissyng That may to heven blismen brynge
 In gret pil [peril] of sowle is that mon
 That hath wit mynde and no good con
 And wole not lerne for to knawe The workus of god and his lawe
 He nyle do afturmost no lest Bot lyveth lyke an unskilfull best
 That nouthur hath skil wit nor mynde
 That mon lyveth ayeyn his kynde
 Yit excuseth not his unknowing That his wit useth not in leryng
 Namely in that him oweth to knowe To meke his herte and make it lowe
 The unknowyng schulde have wille To lerne to know good and ille
 He that ought con schulde lere more
 To knowe al that nedeful wore
 For the unknowyng by lerning May brought be to understandyng
 Of mony thyngus to knowe and se That hath bin is and shal be
 And so to mekenes sture his wille
 To love and drede god and leve al ille
 Mony ben glad trifful to here And vanitees woll gladly lere
 Bisy they bin in word and thought To lerne that soul helputh nought
 But that that nedeful were to knowe
 To here they are wondur-slowe
 Therefore con thei nothing se
 The pereles thei schulde drede and fle
 And what weye thei schulde take
 And whiche weye thei schulde forsake
 No wondur is though thei go wronge
 In derknes of unknowyng they gonge
 Without light of undurstondyng
 Of that that falluth to right knowynge
 Therefore eche christen mon and wommon
 That wit and wisdom any con
 That tou the righte weye not sen Nor flie the periles that wise flen
 Schulde buxom be and bisy To heren and leren of hem namely
 That understonden and knowen stil

Wheche weye is good and wheche is il
 He that wole right weye of lyving loke
 Shall thus bigynne seith the boke

To know first what hymself is So may he come to mekenys
 That ground of all virtues is last
 On whiche all virtues may be stedefast

He that knoweth well and con se What he is was and schal be
 A wisere man may be told Whethur he be young or old
 Then he that con al other thing And of hymself hath no knowyng

He may no good knowe ny fele
 Bot he furst knowe hym selven wele

Therefore a mon schulde furst lere To knowe hymself properly here
 Ffor yif he knewe hymself kyndely Then may he knowe god almighty
 And on endyng thinke schulde he And on the last day that schal be

Knowe schulde he what this worlde es
 Full of pompe and lecherousnes
 And lerne to knowe and thynke with alle
 What shhal aftir this lyf bifalle
 Knowyng of this schulde hym lede
 To mete with mekenes and with drede

So may he come to good lyving And atte last to good endyng

And when he of this worlde schal wende
 Be brought to blis withouten ende
 The bigynnyng of this proces
 Right knowyng of a mon hymself hit es
 Bot somme mon han gret lettynge
 That thei may have no right knowynge
 Of hemselfe that thei schulde first knawe
 That first to mekenes schulde hem draw
 Ther of some thyngus I fynde
 That monnes wit makuth ofte blynde
 And knowyng of hymself hit lettuth
 Wherefore he hymself foryetuth
 To this witnes Bernard answers
 And tho four are written in thes vers¹, &c.

In the Bodleian library I find three copies of the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE very different from that which I have just cited. In these this poem is given to Robert Grossthead bishop of Lincoln, above-mentioned². With what probability, I will not stay to enquire; but hasten to give a specimen. I will only premise, that the language and hand-writing are of considerable antiquity, and that the lines are here much longer. The poet is describing the future rewards and punishments of mankind.

The good soule schal have in his herynge
 Gret joye in hevene and gret lykyng :

¹ Compare Tanner, Bibl. p. 375. col. 1. And p. 374. col. 1. Notes. And GROSTHEAD. And MSS. Ashm. 52. pergamen 4to.

² Laud. K. 65. pergamen. And G. 21. And MSS. Digb. 14. Princ.

The migt of the fader of hevene The wit of his son with his giftes sevene.'

Ffor hi schulleth yhere the aungeles song,
 And with hem hi schulleth¹ synge ever among,
 With delitable voys and swythe clere
 And also with that hi schullen have ire²
 All other maner of ech a melodye,
 Off well lykyng noyse and menstralsye,
 And of al maner tenes³ of musike,⁴
 The whuche to mannes beorte migte like,
 Withoute eni maner of travayle,
 The whuche schal never cesse ne fayle :
 And so ⁴ schil schal that noyse bi, and so swete
 And so delitable to smale and to grete,
 That al the melodye of this worlde heer
 That ever was yhuryd ferre or neer
 Were therto⁵ bote as sorwe⁶ and care
 To the blisse that is in hevene well zare⁷.

Of the contrarie of that blisse.

Wel grete sorwe schal the synfolke bytyde⁸
 Ffor he schullen yhere in ech a syde⁹,
 Well gret noyse that the feondes¹⁰ willen make,
 As thei all the worlde scholde alto schake ;
 And alle the men lyvyng that migte hit yhere,
 Scholde here wit¹¹ loose, and no lengere alyve¹² dure.
 Thanne hi¹³ schulleth for sorwe here hondes wringe,
 And ever weilaway hi schullethe be cryinge, &c.
 The gode men schullethe have worschipes grete,
 And eche of them schal be yset in a riche sete,
 And ther as kynges be ycrownd fayre,
 And digte with riche perrie¹⁴ and so ysetun¹⁵ in a chayre,
 And with stones of vertu and precieuse of choyse,
 As David thy said to god with a mylde voyce,

Posuisti, domine, super caput eorum, &c.

‘ Lorde, he seyth, on his heved thou settest wel arigt
 ‘ A coronne of a pretious ston richeliche ydigte.’
 And so fayre a coronne nas never non ysene,
 In this worlde on kynges hevede¹⁶, ne on quene :
 Ffor this coronne is the coronne of blisse,
 And the ston is joye whereof hi schilleth never misse, &c.
 The synfolke schulleth, as I have afore ytold,
 Ffele outrageous hete, and afterwards to muche colde ;
 Ffor now he schullethe freose, and now brenne¹⁷,
 And so be ypynd that non schal other kenne¹⁸,
 And also be ybyte with dragonnes felle and kene,
 The whuche schulleth hem destreye outigte and clene,

1 Shall. 2 Ever, always. 3 Tunes. 4 Shrill. 5 But. 6 Sorrow. 7 Prepared.
 8 Sinners. 9 Either side. 10 Devils. 11 Senses. 12 Remain. 13 They. 14 Precious
 stones. 15 Seated. 16 Head. 17 This is the hell of the monks, which Milton has adopted.
 18 Know.

And with other vermyn and bestes felle,
The whiche beothe nougt but fendes of helle, &c.

We have then this description of the New Jerusalem.

This cite is yset on an hei hille.
Ther no synful man may therto tille¹ :
The whuche ich likne to beril clene,
And so fayr berel may non be ysene.
Thulke hyl is nougt elles to understondynge
Bote holi thugt, and desyr brennyng,
The whuche holi men hadde heer to that place,
Whiles hi hadde on eorthe here lyves space ;
And i likne, as ymay ymagene in my thought,
The walles of hevene, to walles that were ywrougt
Of all maner preciose stones yset yfere²,
And ysemented with gold brigt and clere ;
Bot so brigt gold, ne non so clene,
Was in this worlde never ysene, &c.
The wardes of the cite of hevene brigt
I likne to wardes that wel were ydygt,
And clenly ywrougt and sotely enteyled,
And on silver and gold clenly avamayled³, &c,
The torettes⁴ of hevene grete and smale
I likne to the torrettes of clene cristale, &c.

I am not, in the mean time, quite convinced that any MSS. of the PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE in English belongs to Hampole. That this piece is a translation from the Latin appears from these verses.

Therefore this boke is in Englis drawe
Of fele⁵ matters that bene unknowe
To lewed men that are unkonande⁶
That con no latyn undirstonde⁷.

The Latin original in prose, entitled *STIMULUS CONSCIENTIÆ*⁸, was

¹ Come. ² Together. ³ Aumayled. ⁴ Turrets. ⁵ Many.

⁶ Ignorant. ⁷ MSS. Digb. ut sup. 87. ad princip.

⁸ In the Cambridge MSS. of Hampole's PARAPHRASE ON THE LORDS PRAYER, above-mentioned, containing a prolix description of human virtues and vices, at the end, this remark appears. 'Explicit quidam tractatus super Pater noster *secundum* Ric. Hampole qui obiit 'A.D. MCCCLXXXIV.' [But the true date of his death is in another place, viz. 1348.] MSS. More, 215. Princ.

'Almighty God in trinite 'In whom is only personnes thre.'

The PARAPHRASE ON THE BOOK OF JOB, mentioned also before, seems to have existed first in Latin prose under the title of *PARVUM JOB*. The English begins thus :

'Lief Lord my soul thou spare.'

In Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud, F. 77. 5, &c. &c. It is a paraphrase of some Excerpta from the book of Job. The SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS begin thus :

'To goddis worschippe that dere us bougt.'

MSS. Bodl. Digb. 18. Hampole's EXPOSITIO IN PSALTERIUM is not uncommon in English. It has a preface in English rhymes in some copies, in praise of the author and his work. Pr. 'This blessyd boke that hire.' MSS. Laud. F. 14, &c. Hampole was a very popular writer. Most of his many theological pieces seem to have been translated into English soon after they appeared : and those pieces abound among our manuscripts. Two of his tracts were translated by Richard Misyn, prior of the Carmelites at Lincoln, about the year 1435. The INCENDIUM

most probably written by Hampole : and it is not very likely that he should translate his own work. The author and translator were easily confounded. As to the copy of the English poem given to bishop Grossthead, he could not be the translator, to say nothing more, if Hampole wrote the Latin original. On the whole, whoever was the author of the two translations, at least we may pronounce with some certainty, that they belong to the reign of Edward III¹.

SECTION VIII.

THE next poet in succession is one who deserves more attention on various accounts. This is Robert Longlande, author of the poem called the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN, a secular priest, and a fellow of Oriel college, in Oxford. He flourished about the year 1350. This poem contains a series of distinct visions, which the author imagines himself to have seen, while he was sleeping, after a long ramble on Malverne-hills in Worcestershire. It is a satire on the vices of almost every profession : but particularly on the corruptions of the clergy, and the absurdities of superstition. These are ridiculed with much humour and spirit, couched under a strong vein of allegorical invention. But instead of availing himself of the rising and rapid improvements of the English language, Longland prefers and adopts the style of the Anglo-Saxon poets. Nor did he make these writers the models of his language only : he likewise imitates their alliterative versification, which consisted in using an aggregate of words beginning with the same letter. He has therefore rejected rhyme, in the place of which he thinks it sufficient to substitute a perpetual alliteration. But this imposed constraint of seeking identical initials, and the affectation of obsolete English, by demanding a con-

AMORIS, at the request of Margaret Hellingdon a recluse, Princ. 'To the askynge of thi desire.' And DE EMENDATIONE VITÆ. 'Tarry thou not to oure.' They are in the translator's own hand-writing in the library of C. C. C. Oxon. MSS. 237. I find other ancient translations of both these pieces. Particularly, *The PRICKE OF LOVE after Richard Hampol treting of the three degrees of love.* MSS. Bodl. Arch. B. 65. f. 109. As a proof of the confusions and uncertainties attending the works of our author, I must add, that we have a translation of his tract DE EMENDATIONE under this title. *The form of perfyte living, which holy Richard the hermit wrote to a recluse named Margarete.* MSS. Vernon. But Margarete is evidently the recluse, at whose request Richard Misyn, many years after Hampole's death, translated the INCENDIUM AMORIS. These observations, to which others might be added, are sufficient to confirm the suspicions insinuated in the text. Many of Hampole's Latin theological tracts were printed very early at Paris and Cologne.

¹ Much about the same period, Lawrence Minot, not mentioned by Tanner, wrote a collection of poems on the principal events of the reign of King Edward III, preserved in the British Museum. MSS. Cotton. GALB. E. ix.

I have here followed a date commonly received. But it may be observed, that there is in this poem an allusion to the fall of Edward II. The siege of Calais is also mentioned as a recent fact ; and *Bribery* accuses *Conscience* of obstructing the conquest of France. See more in *Observations on the Fairyt Queen*, ii. §. xi. p. 281.

stant and necessary departure from the natural and obvious forms of expression, while it circumscribed the powers of our author's genius, contributed also to render his manner extremely perplexed, and to disgust the reader with obscurities. The satire is conducted by the agency of several allegorical personages, such as Avarice, Bribery, Theology, Conscience, &c. There is much imagination in the following picture, which is intended to represent human life, and its various occupations.

Then gan I to meten a mervelouse sweven,
That I was in wildernes, I wyst never where :
As I beheld into theast, on highe to the sunne
I saw a tower on a loft, rychlych ymaked,
A depe dale beneth, a dungeon therein,
With depe diches and darcke, and dreadfull of syght :
A fayre felde ful of folke found I ther betwene,
Of all maner men, the meane and the riche,
Working and wandring, as the world asketh ;
Some put hem to the ploughe, pleiden full selde,
In setting and sowing swonken full harde :
And some put hem to pryd¹, &c.

The following extracts are not only striking specimens of our author's allegorical satire, but contain much sense and observation of life, with some strokes of poetry².

Thus robed in russet, I romed aboute
All a somer season, for to seke³ DOWEL
And freyned⁴ full oft, of folke that I mette
If any wight wist, wher DOWEL⁵ was at inne,
And what man he might be, of many man I asked,
Was never wight as I went, that me wysh⁶ could
Where this ladde lenged⁷, lesse or more
Tyll it befell on a Fryday, two fryers I mette
Maisters of the minours⁸, men of greate wytte
I halsed hem hendelye⁹, as I had learned
And prayed hem for charitie, or they passed furthur
If they knewe any courte or countrie as they went
Where that DOWELL dwelleth, do me to wytte¹⁰
For they be men on this mould, that most wide walke
And knowe contries and courts, and many kinnes¹¹ places
Both princes palaces, and pore menes cotes
And DOWEL and DOEVIL, where they dwell both,
Amongest us quoth the minours, that man is dwellinge
And ever hath as I hope, and ever shall hereafter,
Contra quod I, as a clarke, and cumsed to disputen

¹ Fol. i. a. edit. 1550. By Roberte Crowley. 4to. He printed three editions in this one year. Another was printed [with Pierce Plowman's CREDE annexed] by Owen Rogers, 1561. 4to. See Strype, Ann. Reformat. i. 135. And Ames, Hist. Print. p. 270.

² F. 39. seq. Pass. viii. seq. edit. 1550.

³ Do-well.

⁴ Enquired.

⁵ Lived.

⁶ Inform me.

⁷ Lived.

⁸ The friers minors.

⁹ Saluted them civilly.

¹⁰ Know.

¹¹ Sorts of.

And sayde hym sothelye, Septies in die cadit justus,
 Seven¹ sythes sayeth the boke, synneth the rightfull,
 And who so synneth I say, doth evel as me thinketh,
 And DOWEL and DOEVYL may not dwel together,
 Ergo he is not alway among you fryers
 He is other whyle els where, to wyshen the people.
 I shal say the my sonne, sayde the frier than
 How seven sithes the sadde² man on a day synneth,
 By a forvisne³ quod the fryer, I shal the faire shewe
 Let bryng a man in abote, amynd the brode water
 The winde and the water, and the bote waggyng
 Make a man many time, to fall and to stande
 For stand he never so stiffe, he stumbleth if he move
 And yet is he safe and sounge, and so hym behoveth,
 For if he ne arise the rather, and raght to the stere,
 The wind would with the water the boote overthrow.
 And than were his life lost through latches⁴ of himself.
 And thus it falleth quod the frier, bi folk here on erth
 The water is likned to the world, that waneth and wexeth
 The goods of this world ar likened to the gret waves
 That as winds and wethers, walken a bout.
 The boote is likende to our body, that brytil is of kynd
 That through the fleshe, and the frayle worlde
 Synneth the sadde man, a day seven tymes
 And deadly synne doeth he not, for DOWEL him kepeth
 And that is CHARITIE, the chapion, chiefe helpe agayne sinne,
 For he strengtheth man to stand, and stirreth mans soule
 And thoughe thy bodi bowe, as bote doth in water,
 Aye is thy soule safe, but if thou wylt thy self
 Do a deadly sinne, and drenche so thy soule
 God wyll suffer wel thy slouth, if thy selfe lyketh
 For he gafe the two yeresgifts, to teme wel thy selfe
 And that is witte and frewil, to every wight a portion
 To flynge fowles, to fishes, and to beastes
 And man hath moste thereof, and most is to blame
 But if he worch wel therewith, as DOWEL hym teacheth
 I have no kind knowyng quoth I, to coceive all your wordes
 And if I may live and loke, I shal go learne better
 I bikenne the Christ, that on the crosse dyed
 And I said the same, save you from mischaunce
 And give you grace on this ground good me to worth.
 And thus I went wide wher, walking mine one
 By a wyde weldernes, and by a woddes syde,
 Blisse of the birdes, brought me on slepe,
 And under a lynde⁵ on a land, lened I a stounde⁶
 To lyth the layes⁷, tho lovely fowles made,
 Myrthe of her mouthes made me there to slepe
 The marvelousest metelles, mette⁸ me than
 That ever dremed wyght, in world as I wente.

¹ Times.² Sober, Good.³ Similitude.⁴ Laziness.⁵ Lime tree.⁶ A while.⁷ Listen.⁸ Dreamed.

A much man as me thought, and like to my selfe,
 Came and called me, by my kinde¹ name
 What art thou quod I tho, thou that my name knoweste
 That thou wottest wel quod he, and no wight better
 Wot I what thou art? THOUGHT sayd he than,
 I have sued² the this seven yeres, se ye me no rather?
 Art thou THOUGHT quoth I tho, thou couldest me wysshe
 Wher that DOWEL dwelleth, and do me that to knowe
 DOWEL and DOBETTER, and DOBEST the thirde quod he
 Are thre fayre vertues, and be not farre to finde,
 Who so is true of hys tonge, and of hys two handes
 And through his labor or his lod, his livelod wineth³
 And is trusty of hys taylyng⁴, taketh but his owne
 And is no drunkelewe⁵ ne dedigious, DOWEL him followeth
 DOBET doth ryght thus, and he doth much more
 He is as lowe as a lamb, and lovely of speache
 And helpeth al men, after that hem nedeth
 The bagges and the bigirdles, he hath to brok⁶ hem al,
 That the erle avarous helde and hys heyres
 And thus to Mamons mony he hath made him fren des
 And is runne to religion, and hath rendred⁷ the bible
 And preached to the people, saynte Paules werdes
 Libenter suffertis insipientes cum sitis ipsi sapientes.
 And suffereth the unwyse, wyth you for to lyve
 And with glad wil doth he good, for so god you hoteth
 DOBEST is above boeth, and beareth a bishops crosse
 Is hoked on that one ende to halye⁸ men from hell
 A pyke is on the potent⁹ to pull downe the wyked
 That wayten anye wykednes, DOWELL to tene
 And DOWELL and DOBET, amongst hem have ordeyned
 To crowne one to be kynge, to rule hem boeth
 That if DOWELL and DOBET, arne¹⁰ agaynste DOBESTE
 Then shall the kynge com, and cast hem in yrons
 And but if DOBEST byd for hem, they be there for ever
 Thus DOWELL and DOBET, and DOBESTE the thyrd
 Crouned one to be king, to kepen hem al
 And to rule the realme, by her¹¹ thre wyttes
 And none other wise, but as they thre assentyd.
 I thanked THOUGHT tho, that he me thus taught
 And yet favoreth me not thy suging, I covet to lerne,
 How DOWEL DOBEST and DOBETTER, done among the people
 But WYT can wish the¹² quoth THOUGHT, wer tho¹³ iii dwell
 Els wot I none that can tell, that nowe is alyve.
 THOUGHT and I thus, thre dayes we yeden¹⁴
 Disputynge upon DOWELL, daye after other.
 And ere we were ware, with WYT gan we mete
 He was longe and leane, lyke to none other
 Was no pryde on hys apparell, nor poverty nether

¹ Own.² Sought.³ Getts.⁴ Dealing Reckoning.⁵ Drunkard.⁶ Broken to picces.⁷ Translated.⁸ Draw.⁹ Staff.¹⁰ Arc.¹¹ Their.¹² Thee.¹³ They.¹⁴ Went.

Sadde of hys semblaunce, and of soft chere
 I durste not move no matter, to make hym to laughe,
 But as I bade THOUGHT tho be meane betwene
 And put forth some purpose, to prevent his wyts
 What was DOWELL fro DOBET, and DOBEST fro hem both.
 Than THOUGHT in that tyme, sayd these wordes
 Whether DOWELL DOBET, and DOBEST ben in land
 Here is wyl wold wyt, if WIT could teach him
 And whether he be man or woman, this man fain wold espy
 And worch as they thre wold, this is his enten,
 Here DOWELL dwelleth quod WIT, not a day hence
 In a castel that kind¹ made, of four kins things
 Of earth and ayre is it made, mingled togethers
 With wind and with water, witterly² enjoined
 KYNDE hath closed therein, craftely withall
 A Lemman³ that he loveth, like to him selfe
 ANIMA she hyght, and Envye her hateth
 A proude pricker of Fraunce, princeps hujus mundi
 And woulde wynne her away with wiles and he myghte
 And KIND knoweth thys well, and kepeth her the better.
 And dothe her with sir DOWELL is duke of thys marches
 DOBET is her damosell, sir DOWEL'S daughter
 To serve this lady lelly⁴ both late and rathe⁵.
 DOBEST is above both a byshops pere,
 That he byd moote be doo⁶ he ruleth them all
 ANIMA that lady, is led by his lerning,
 And the constable of the castell, that kepeth al the watche,
 Is a wyse knight withall, sir Inwit he hight
 And hath fyve fayre sonnes by his fyrst wyfe
 Syr Seewel and Saywel, and Hearwell the end
 Syr Worchwel with thy hand, a wight man of strength
 And Syr Godfray Gowel, great lordes forsoth
 These fyve bene set, to save this lady Anima
 Tyl KIND com or send, to save her for ever
 What kins thing is KIND quod I, canst thou me telle
 Kynd quod Witte is a créator, of al kinnis thinges
 Father and former of all, that ever was makyd
 And that is the great god that ginning had never
 Lord of lyfe and of light, of blys and of payne
 Angels and al thing arne at hys wyl,
 And man is him most like, of marke⁷ and of shape,
 For through the word that he spake, wexen forth bestes
 And made Adam, likest to him selfe one
 And Eve of his ribbe bone, without any meane
 For he was singuler him selfe, and sayde faciamus
 As who say more must hereto, then my worde one
 My might must helpe now with my speche,
 Even as a lord shuld make leters, and he lacked perchment
 Though he could write never so wel, if he had no pen
 The letters for al his lordship, I leve wer never imaked

¹ Nature.² Cunningly.³ Paramour.⁴ Fair lady.⁵ Early.⁶ Must be done.⁷ Fashion. Similitude.

And so it semeth by him, as the bible telleth,
 There he sayde, Dixit et facta sunt.
 He must worch with hys word, and his wyt shewe
 And in this maner was man made, by might of God almighty
 With his word and his workmanship, and with life to last
 And thus God gave him a goste¹, of the godhed of heven
 And of his great grace, graunted him blysse
 And that is the castel that KINDE made, Caro it hight
 And is as much to meane, as man with a soule
 And that he wrought with work, and with word both
 Through might of the majesty, man was imaked
 Inwyt and Alwyts, closed bene therin
 For love of the ladie Anima, that life is nempned²
 Over al in mans body, she walketh and wandreth
 And in the herte is hir home, and hir most³ rest
 And Inwit is in the head, and to the herte loketh
 What Anima is leef or loth⁴, he leadith hyr at his wil.—
 Than had WIT a wife, was hote dame STUDY,
 That leve was of lere, and of liche boeth.
 She was wonderli wroght, Wit me so teched
 And al staryng dame Study, sternely sayde.
 Wel art you wise quoth she to Wyt, any wysdomes to tell
 To flatterers or to foles, that frentyke be of wyttes
 And blamed him and banned⁵ him, and bade him be styl
 Wyth such wyse wordes, to wysch any sottes
 And sayde, Noli mittere man, Margarite Pearles
 Amonge hogges, that have hawes at wyll.
 They do but drivel thereon,⁶ drafte were hem lever⁷,
 Than al precious pearles that in paradise waxeth⁸.
 I say it by such, quod she, that shew it by her works,
 That hem were lever land⁹, and lordshyp on earth,
 Or ryches or rentes, and rest at her wyll,
 Than al the soth sawes, that Salomon sayde ever.
 Wysedome and wytte, nowe it not worth a kerse¹⁰
 But if it be carded with covetis¹¹, as clothers kemb her woule
 Whoso can contryve deceites and conspyre wrongs
 And lead forth a love daye¹², to let wyth truth
 He that such craftes can, is oft cleped to counsell,
 They lead lords with leasinges, and belieth truth
 Job the gentel in his gestic, greatly wytneseth
 That wicked men welden the wealth of this world
 The psalter sayeth the same, by such as done evyl
 Ecce ipsi peccatores habundantes in seculo obtinuerunt divitias.
 Lo sayth holy lecture, which lords be these shrewes?
 Thilke that god geveth most, lest good they dealeth
 And most unkind be to that comen, that most catel weldeth¹³.
 Que perfecisti destruxerunt, justus autem, &c.
 Harlots for her harlotrye, maye have of her goodes

¹ Spirit.² Named.³ Greatest.⁴ Willing.⁵ Cursed.⁶ See Draffesack. Chauc. Urr. p. 33. v. 1098.⁷ Rather.⁸ Grow.⁹ They had rather.¹⁰ Not worth a straw.¹¹ Covetousness.¹² Lady.¹³ Commands.

And japers and judgelers¹, and jangelers of jestes
 And he that hath holy wryte, aye in his mouth
 And can tell of Tobie, and of the twelve apostles
 Or preache of the penaunce, that Pilate falsely wrought
 To Jesu the gentle, that Jewes to drawe :
 Lyttle is he loved, that suche a lesson sheweth
 Or daunten or drawe forth, I do it on god him selfe
 But tho² that faine hem foles, and with sayting³ liveth
 Againe the lawe of our lorde, and lien on hem selfe
 Spitten and spuen, and speake foule wordes
 Drynken and drivelen, and do men for to gape
 Lyken men, and lye on hem, and leneth hem no giftes
 They can⁴ no more minstrelsy ne musyke men to glad
 Than Mundie the milner, of multa fecit deus.
 Ne were hir vyle harlotry, have god my trouth
 Shoulde never kynge ne knyght, ne canon of Poules
 Gyve hem to her yeres gyfte, ne gyft of a grote,
 And myrth and minstrelsy amongst men is nought
 Lechery, losenchery⁵, and losels tales,
 Glotony and greate othes, this mirthe they loveth,
 And if thei carpen⁶ of Christ, these clerkes and these lewed.
 And they meet in her mirth, whan mynstrels ben styl
 Whan telleth they of the trinitie, a tale or twaine
 And bringeth forth a blade reason, and take Bernard⁷ to witnes.
 And put forth a presumption to preve the soth
 Thus they dreveil at her dayse the deitie⁸ to scorn
 And gnawen God to hyr gorge⁹ whan hyr guts fallen
 And the carefull¹⁰ may crye, and carpen at the gate
 Both a fyngerd and a furste, and for chel¹¹ quake
 Is none to nymen hem nere, his noye¹² to amend
 But hunten hym as a hounde, and hoten hym go hence,
 Litle loveth he that lorde that lent hym al that blisse,
 That thus parteth withe pore, a percel whan him nedeth
 Ne were mercy in mean men, more than in rich
 Mendynauntes meatles¹³, myght go to bedde.
 God is much in the gorge of these greate maisters,
 And amonges meane men, his mercy and hys worckes
 And so sayeth the psalter, I have sene it oft.
 Clarkes and other kinnes men, carpen of god fast
 And have him much in the mouth, and meane men in hert
 Friars and fayters, have founden such questions
 To plesse wyth the proud men, sith the pestilence time
 And preachen at S. Paules, for pure envi of clarks
 That folke is not firmed in the faythe, ne fre of her goodes
 Ne sory for her synnes, so is pryde waxen,
 In religion, and in al the realme, amongst rich and pore
 That prayers have no pore, the pestilence to lette
 And yet the wretches of this worlde, are none ware by other

¹ Jugglers.² They.³ Deceiving.⁴ Know.⁵ Lying.⁶ Speak.⁷ S. Bernard.⁸ Their table.⁹ Throat¹⁰ Poor.¹¹ Told.¹² Trouble.¹³ Beggars supperless.

Ne for dreade of the death, withdraw not her prid
 Ne ben plentuous to the pore, as pure charitie wold
 But in gaines and in glotony, forglote goods hem selfe
 And breketh not to the begger, as the boke teacheth.
 And the more he wynneth, and wexeth welthy in riches
 And lordeth in landes, the lesse good he dealeth
 Tobie telleth ye not so, takehede ye ryche
 Howe the byble boke of hym beareth wytnes,
 Who so hath much spend manly, so meaneth Tobit.
 And who so lytle weldeth, rule hym thereafter,
 For we have no letter of our life, how long it shal endure
 Suche lessons lordes, shoulde love to heare
 And how he myght most meyny, manylch fynde
 Not to fare as a fideler, or a frier to seke feastes,
 Homely at other mens houses, and haten her owne.
 Elenge¹ is the hal every day in the weke
 There the lorde ne the lady lyketh not to sytte
 Nowe hath eche ryche a rule², to eaten by hem selfe
 In a privie parler, for poore mens sake
 Or in chambre wyth a chymney, and leave the chiefe hal
 That was made for meales, men to eate in.—
 And whan that Wytte was ware, what dame Studie told
 He became so confuse he cunneth not loke
 And as dombe as death, and drew him arere³
 And for no carping I cold after, ne kneling to therth
 I myght get no grayne, of his grete wyttis
 But al laughynge he louted, and loked about upon Study
 In sygne that I shulde, besechen hyr of grace
 And when I was war of his wil, to his wife I loutid
 And sayde mercie madame, your man shal I worth
 As long as I live both late and earlie
 For to worchen your wil, the whyle mi life endureth
 With this that ye ken me kindlye, to know to what is DOWEL
 For thi mekenes man quod she, and for thi milde spech
 I shal ken the to my cosen, that Clergye is hoten⁴
 He hath weddyd a wyfe, within these syx moneths
 Is syb⁵ to the seven artes, Scripture is hyr name
 They two as I hope, after my teachinge
 Shal wishen the Dowel, I dare under take.
 Than was I as fayne⁶, as foule⁷ of fayr morow
 And glader then the gleman⁸ that golde hath to gyfte
 And asked hir the high way where that Clergie⁹ dwelt
 And tellme some token quod I, for tyme is that I wend
 Aske the hygh waye quod she, hence to suffer
 Both wel and woo, if that thou wylt learne
 And ryde forthe by riches, and rest thou not therin,
 For if thou couplest ye therwith to clergie comest thou never,
 And also the licores lande that lechery hight

¹ Strange, deserted. Henry VIII. in a letter to Anne Bullen, speaks of his *Ellengness* since her departure. Hearne's Avesb. p. 360.

⁴ Named.

⁵ Mother, or Cousin.

² Custom.

³ Back.

⁶ Harper.

⁶ Cheerful.

⁷ Bird.

⁹ Learning.

Leave it on thy left half, a large mile and more,
 Tyll thou come to a courte, kepe well thy tonge
 Fro leasinges and lyther speach¹, and licorous drinckes
 Than shalt thou se Sobrietie, and Simplicite of speche
 That ech might be in his wyll, his wytte to shewe
 And thus shalt ye come to Cleargye that can mani thinges
 Saye hym thys signe, I sette him to schole
 And that I grete wel his wife, for I wrot her many bokes
 And set hir to Sapience, and to the psalter glose
 Logike I learned her, and manye other lawes,
 And all the unisons to musike, I made hir to know,
 Plato the poete, I put him firste to boke,
 Aristotle and other moe, to argue I taught
 Grammer for gyrles, I garde firste to wryte
 And beat hem with a bales, but if they would learne
 Of all kinnes craftes, I contrived tooles
 Of carpentre of carvers, and compassed masons
 And learned hem level and line, though I loke dimme
 And Theologie hath tened me, seven score times,
 The more I muse therin, the mistier it semeth
 And the deper I devine, the darker me it thyneketh.

The artifices and persuasions of the monks to procure donations to their convents, are thus humorously ridiculed, in a strain which seems to have given rise to Chaucer's *SOMPNOUR'S TALE*.

Than he assoyled her sone, and sithen he sayde :
 We have a windowe in working, wil set us ful high,
 Woudst thou glase the gable, and grave therin thy name,
 Scher shoulde thy soule be heven to have², &c.

COVETISE or Covetousness, is thus drawn in the true colours of satirical painting.

¹ Wanton.

² fol. xii. a. b. These, and the following lines, are plainly copied by Chaucer, viz

And I shall cover your kyrke, and your cloisture do maken.

Chaucer, *Sompn.* T. p. 93. v. 835. edit. Urr. But with new strokes of humour.

Yeve me then of thy golde to make our cloyster,
 Quod he, for many a muscle and many an oyster,
 Whan othir men have been full well at ease,
 Have ben our fode our cloyster for to reyse.
 And yet, god wote, unneth the fundament
 Parfourmid is, ne of our pavement
 Thar is not yet a tile within our wones,
 Bigod, we owe fourtie pound for stones.

So also in the *PLOUGHMAN'S CREDE*, hereafter mentioned. Sig. B. iii. A friar says,

So that thou mow amende our house with money other els
 With som catal, other corn or cuppes of sylvere

And again, Sig. A. iii. *ibid*.

And mightest on amenden as with money of thine own,
 Thou sholdest knely bfore Christ in compas of gold,
 In the wide wyndowe westward, wel nigh in the midel.

That is, 'your figure shall be painted in glass, in the middle of the west window, &c.' But of this passage hereafter.

And then came COVETIS, can I him no discrive,
 So hungerly and hollowe, so sternely he loked,
 He was bittle-browed and baberlypped also ;
 Wyth two blered eyen as a blinde hagge,
 And as a lethren purse lolled his chekes,
 Well syder than his chyn they shevered for colde :
 And as a bound man of his bacon his berd was bidrauled,
 With a hode on his heade, and a lousy hatte above.
 And in a tawny taberde¹, of twelve winter age,
 Alle torne and baudye, and full of lyce creepinge ;
 But that yf a louse could have lepen the better,
 She had not walked on the welte, so was it thredbare.
 I have been Covetise, quoth this catife,
 For sometime I servid Symme at style,
 And was his prentice plight, his profyt to wate.
 Fyrst I lernid to lye, a leef other twayne
 Wychedly to way, was my first lesson :
 To Wy² and to Winchester³ I went to the fayre

¹ Tabard. A coat.

² Wy is probably Weyhill in Hampshire, where a famous fair still subsists.

³ Anciently, before many flourishing towns were established, and the necessities or ornaments of life, from the convenience of communication and the increase of provincial civility, could be procured in various places, goods and commodities of every kind, were chiefly sold at fairs; to which, as to one universal mart, the people resorted periodically, and supplied most of their wants for the ensuing year. The display of merchandise, and the conflux of customers, at these principal and almost only emporia of domestic commerce, was prodigious: and they were therefore often held on open and extensive plains. One of the chief of them seems to have been that of St. Giles's hill or down near Winchester, to which our poet here refers. It was instituted and given as a kind of revenue to the bishop of Winchester, by William the conqueror; who by his charter permitted it to continue for three days. But in consequence of new royal grants, Henry III. prolonged its continuance to sixteen days. Its jurisdiction extended seven miles round, and comprehended even Southampton, then a capital trading town: and all merchants who sold wares within that circuit, forfeited them to the bishop. Officers were placed at a considerable distance, at bridges and other avenues of access to the fair, to exact toll of all merchandise passing that way. In the meantime, all shops in the city of Winchester were shut. In the fair was a court called the pavilion, at which the bishop's justices and other officers assisted, with power to try causes of various sorts for seven miles round: nor, among other singular claims, could any lord of a manor hold a court-baron within the said circuit, without licence from the pavilion. During this time, the bishop was empowered to take toll of every load or parcel of goods passing through the gates of the city. On St. Giles's eve, the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of the city of Winchester, delivered the keys of the four city gates to the bishop's officers; who, during the said 16 days, appointed a mayor and bailiff of their own to govern the city, and also a coroner to act within the said city. Tenants of the bishop, who held lands by doing service at the pavilion, attended the same with horses and armour, not only to do suit at the court there, but to be ready to assist the bishop's officers in the execution of writs and other services. But I cannot here enumerate the many extraordinary privileges granted to the bishop on this occasion; all tending to obstruct trade, and to oppress the people. Numerous foreign merchants frequented this fair: and it appears, that the justices of the pavilion, and the treasurer of the bishop's palace of Wolvesey, received annually for a fee, according to ancient custom, four basons and ewers, of those foreign merchants who sold brazen vessels in the fair, and were called *mercatores diunteres*. In the fair several streets were formed, assigned to the sale of different commodities; and called the *Drapery*, the *Pottery*, the *Spicery*, &c. Many monasteries, in and about Winchester, had shops, or houses, in these streets, used only at the fair, which they held under the bishop, and often lett by lease for a term of years. One place in the fair was called *Speciarium Sancti Swithini*, or the *Spicery of Saint Swithin's monastery*. In the revenue-rolls of the ancient bishops of Winchester, this fair makes a grand and separate article of reception, under this title, *FERIA. Com utus fferie sancti Egidii*. But in the revenue-roll of bishop Will. of Waynflete, [an. 1471.] it appears to have greatly decayed: in which, among other proofs, I find mention made of a district in the fair being unoccupied, '*Ubi homines Cornubiæ stare solebant*.' From whence it likewise appears that different counties had their different stations. The whole reception to the bishop this year from the fair, amounted only to 45*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* Yet this sum, small as it may seem, was worth upwards of

With mani manner merchandise, as mi master me height. -
 Than drave I me among drapers my donet¹ to lerne.
 To draw the lyfer along, the longer it semed
 Among the rich rayes, &c.

Our author, who probably could not get preferment, thus inveighs against the luxury and diversions of the prelates of his age.

400f. Edward I. sent a precept to the sheriff of Hampshire, to restore to the bishop this fair which his escheator Malcolm de Harleigh had seized into the king's hands, without command of the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, in the year 1292. Registr. Joh. de Pontissara, Episc. Wint. fol. 195. After the charter of Henry III., many kings by charter confirmed this fair, with all its privileges, to the bishops of Winchester. The last charter was of Henry VIII. to bishop Richard Fox and his successors, in the year 1511. But it was followed by the usual confirmation-charter of Charles II. In the year 1144, when Brian Fitz-count, lord of Wallingford in Berkshire, maintained Wallingford castle, one of the strongest garrisons belonging to Maud the empress, and consequently sent out numerous parties for contributions and provisions, Henry de Blois bishop of Winchester enjoined him not to molest any passengers that were coming to his fair at Winchester, under pain of excommunication. *Omnibus ad FERIAM MEAM venientibus*, &c. MSS. Dodsworth. vol. 89 f. 76, Bibl. Bodl. This was in king Stephen's reign. In that of Richard I., in the year 1194, the king grants to Portsmouth a fair lasting for 15 days, with all the privileges of St. Giles's fair at Winchester. Anderf. Hist. Com. i. 197. In the year 1234, the eighteenth of Henry II., the fermier of the city of Winchester paid twenty pounds to Ailward chamberlain of Winchester castle, to buy a robe at this fair for the king's son, and divers silver implements for a chapel in the castle. Madox, Exch. p. 251. It appears from a curious record now remaining, containing *The Establishment and Expenses of the household of Henry Percy*, fifth earl of Northumberland, in the year 1512, and printed by doctor Percy, that the stores of his lordship's house at Wresille, for the whole year, were laid in from fairs. 'He that standes charged with my lordes house for the 'houll yeir, if he may possible, shall be at all FAIRES where the groice emptions shall be 'boughte for the house for the houll yeire, as wine, wax, beiffes, multons, wheite, and maltie,' p. 407. This last quotation is a proof, that fairs still continued to be the principal marts for purchasing necessities in large quantities, which now are supplied by frequent trading towns: and the mention of *beiffes* and *multons*, which were salted oxen and sheep, shews that at so late a period they knew but little of breeding cattle. Their ignorance of so important an article of husbandry, is also an evidence that in the reign of Henry VIII. the state of the population was much lower among us than we may imagine.

In the statutes of St. Mary Ottery's college in Devonshire, given by bishop Grandison the founder, the stewards and sacrist are ordered to purchase annually two hundred pounds of wax for the choir of the college, at this fair. 'Cap. lxvii.—Pro luminaribus vero omnibus 'supradictis inveniendis, etiam statumimus, quod senescalli scaccarii per visum et auxilium 'sacriste, omni anno, in NUNDINIS WYNTON, vel alibi apud Toryngton et in partibus Barnestepol, ceram sufficientem, quam ad ducentas libras aestimamus pro uno anno ad minus, 'faciant provideri.' These statutes were granted in the year 1338. MSS. apud. Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin, Winton. In Archiv. Wolves. In the accounts of the Priors of Maxtoke in Warwickshire, and of Bicester in Oxfordshire, under the reign of Henry VI., the monks appear to have laid in yearly stores of various yet common necessities, at the fair of Sturbridge in Cambridgeshire, at least one hundred miles distant from either monastery. It may seem surprising, that their own neighbourhood, including the cities of Oxford and Coventry, could not supply them with commodities neither rare nor costly, which they thus fetched at a considerable expense of carriage. It is a rubric in some of the monastic rules, *De Euntibus ad Nundinas*. See Dugd. Mon. Angl. ii. p. 746. It is hoped the reader will excuse this tedious note, which at least develops ancient manners and customs.

¹ Lesson. Properly a *Grammar*, from *Ælius Donatus* the grammarian. Chaucer, Testam, L. p. 504, b. edit. Urr. 'No passes to vertues of this Margarite, but therein al my donet can I lerne.' In the statutes of Winchester-college, [written about 1386,] grammar is called 'Antiquus donatus,' i. e. the *old donat*, or the name of a system of grammar at that time in vogue, and long before. The French have a book entitled 'LE DONNET, *traite de grammaire, baille a feu roi Charles viii.*' Among Rawlinson's manuscripts at Oxford, I have seen *Donatus optimus noviter compilatus*, a manuscript on vellum, given to St. Alban's, by John Stoke, abbot, in 1450. In the introduction, or *lytell Proheme*, to Dean Colet's GRAMMATICES RUDIMENTA, we find mention made of 'certayne introducyons into latyn speche called 'Donates, &c.' Among the books written by bishop Pecock, there is the DONAT *into christin religion*, and the *Folower to the DONAT*. Lewis's PECOCK, p. 317. I think I have before observed, that John of Basing, who flourished in the year 1240, calls his Greek Grammar DONATUS GRÆCORUM. Pegge's WESEHAM, p. 51. Wynkyn de Worde printed DONATUS ad Anglicanarum scholarum usum. Cotgrave (in V.) quotes an old French proverb, 'Les diables estoient encores a leur DONAT, *The devils were but yet in their grammar.*'

And now is religion a rider, a romer by the streete,
 A leader of lovedayes¹ and a loude² beggar
 A pricker on a palfrey from maner to maner,
 An heape of houndes at his arse as he a lord were³.
 And yf but his knave knele, that shall hys cope bryng,
 He loured on hym, and asked who taught him curtesye⁴.

There is great picturesque humour in the following lines.

HUNGER in hest tho hent wastour by the maw.
 And wrong him so by the wombe that both his eies watered :
 He buffeted the breton about the chekes
 That he loked lyke a lanterne al his life after⁵.

And in the following, where the Vices are represented as converted and coming to confession, among which is the figure of Envy.

Of a freres froke were the fore sleeves,
 And as a leke that hath lied long in the sunne
 So looked he with leane chekes, lowering foule⁶.

It would be tedious to transcribe other strokes of humour with which this poem abounds. Before one of the Visions the poet falls asleep while he is bidding his beads. In another he describes Antichrist, whose banner is borne by Pride, as welcomed into a monastery with ringing of bells, and a solemn congratulatory procession of all the monks marching out to meet and receive him⁷.

¹ Levadies. Ladies.

² Lewd.

³ Walter de Suffield, bishop of Norwich, bequeathes by will his pack of hounds to the king, in 1256. Blomefield's Norf. ii. 347. Chaucer's Monke, Prol. v. 165. This was a common topic of satire. It occurs again, fol. xxvii. a. Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE, p. 492, col. ii. Urr. The archdeacon of Richmond, on his visitation, comes to the priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire, in 1216, with 97 horses, 21 dogs, and 3 hawks, Dugd. Mon. ii. 65.

⁴ Fol. l. a. The following prediction, although a probable conclusion, concerning a king, who after a time would suppress the religious houses, is remarkable. I imagined it was foisted into the copies, in the reign of king Henry VIII. But it is in MSS. of this poem older than the year 1400, fol. l. a. b.

And THER SHALL COME A KING, and confesse your religions
 And bete you as the bible telleth, for breking of your rule:
 And amende moniales, monkes and chanoines.
 And then friers in her freytor shall fynd a key
 Of Constantynes coffers, in which is the catal.
 That Gregories godchyl dren had it dispended.
 And than shall the abot of Abingdon, and all his issue for ever,
 HAVE A KNOCKE of a KING, and INCURABLE THE WOUND.

Again, fol. lxxxv. a. Where he alludes to the knights-templars, lately suppressed.

————Men of holie kirke
 Shall turne as templars did, *the tyme approcheth nere.*

This, I suppose, was a favourite doctrine in Wickliffe's discourses. I cannot help taking notice of a passage in Piers Plowman, which shows how the reigning passion for chivalry affected the ideas and expressions of the writers of this period. The poet is describing the crucifixion, and speaking of the person who pierced our Saviour's side with a spear. This person our author calls a *knight*, and says that he came forth, '*with his spere in hand, and justed with Jesus.*' Afterwards for doing so base an act as that of wounding a dead body, he is pronounced a disgrace to *knighthood*: and our '*Champion chevalier chiefe knyght*' is ordered to *yield himself recreant*. Fol. lxxxviii. b. This knight's name is Longis, and he is blind: but receives his sight from the blood which springs from our Saviour's side. This miracle is recorded in the GOLDEN LEGENDE. He is called Longias, 'A blinde knight men ycallid Longias,' in Chaucer, *Lam. Mar. Magd.* v. 177.

⁵ Fol. xxiii. b.

⁶ fol. xlii. a.

⁷ fol. cxii. a.

These images of Mercy and Truth are in a different strain.

Out of the west cost, a wenche as me thought,
Come walking in the way, to hevnward she loked ;
Mercy hight that mayde, a meke thyng withall,
A full benigne byrde, and buxome of speech ;
Her syster, as yt seemed, came worthily walking,
Even out of theste, and westward she loked,
A ful comely creature, Truth she hyght,
For the vertue that her folowed afered was she never.
When these maydens mette, Mercy and Truth,
Eyther asked other of this gret marvel,
Of the din and of the darknes, &c¹.

The imagery of Nature, or KYNDE, sending forth his diseases from the planets, at the command of CONSCIENCE, and of his attendants AGE and DEATH, is conceived with sublimity.

KYNDE CONSCIENCE then heard, and came out of the planetts,
And sent forth his forriours Fevers, and Fluxes,
Coughes, and Cardiacles, Crampes, and Toth-aches,
Reumes, and Radgondes, and raynous Scalles,
Byles, and Botches, and burnynge Agues,
Freneses and foule Evill, foragers of KYNDE !
Ther was ' Harowe ! and Helpe ! here cometh KYNDE !
' With Death that is dreadfull, to undo us all !'
The lord that lyveth after lust tho aloud cried.—
*Age the boore, he was in the vaw-ward,
And bare the banner before Death ; by ryght he it claimed.*
KYNDE came after, with many kene sores,
As Pockes and Pestilences, and much people shent.
So KYNDE through corruptions, kylled full many :
DEATH came dryvyng after, and all to dust pashed
Kyngs and Kaysers, knightes and popes.
Many a lovely lady, and lemman of knightes,
Swoned and swelled for sorowe of DEATH's dyntes.
CONSCIENCE, of his curtesye, to KYNDE he besoght
To cease and sufire, and se where they wolde
Leave Pride prively, and be perfite christen,
And KYNDE ceased tho, to see the people amende².

These lines at least put us in mind of Milton's Lazarhouse³.

. Immediately a place
Before his eyes appeared, sad, noisome, dark :
A lazar-house it seem'd, wherein were laid
Numbers of all diseas'd : all maladies
Of gastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
Intestine stone, and ulcer, cholic pangs,

¹ fol. lxxxviii. b.

² Fol. cxiii. a.

³ far. L. ii. 475.

Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,
 And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
 Marasmus, and wide-wasting Pestilence ;
 Dropsies and asthma, and joint-racking rheum.
 Dire was the Tossing ! Deep the groans ! DESPAIR
 Tended the sick, busy from couch to couch :
 And over them triumphant DEATH his dart
 Shook, but delay'd to strike, &c.

At length FORTUNE or PRIDE sends forth a numerous army led by
 LUST, to attack CONSCIENCE.

And gadered a greate hoste, all agayne CONSCIENCE :
 This LECHERY led on, with a laughyng chere,
 And with a privye speeche, and paynted wordes,
 And armed him in idleness and in high bearyng.
 He bare a bowe in his hand, and many bloudy arrowes,
 Were fethered with faire behest, and many a false truth.

Afterwards CONSCIENCE is besieged by Antichrist, and seven great
 giants, who are the seven capital or deadly sins : and the assault is
 made by SLOTH, who conducts an army of more than a thousand
 prelates !

It is not improbable, that Longland here had his eye on the old
 French ROMAN D'ANTECHRIST, a poem written by Huon de Meri,
 about the year 1228. The author of this piece supposes that Anti-
 christ is on earth, that he visits every profession and order of life, and
 finds numerous partisans. The VICES arrange themselves under the
 banner of ANTICHRIST, and the VIRTUES under that of CHRIST.
 These two armies at length come to an engagement, and the battle
 ends to the honour of the Virtues, and the total defeat of the Vices.
 The BANNER OF ANTICHRIST has before occurred in our quotations
 from Longland. The title of Huon de Meri's poem deserves notice.
 It is *TURNOYEMENT DE L'ANTECHRIST*. These are the concluding
 lines.

Par son droit nom a peau cet livre
 Qui tresbien s'avorde a l' escrit
Le Tournoiment de l' Antechrist.

The author appears to have been a monk of St. Germain des Pres,
 near Paris. This allegory is much like that which we find in the old
 dramatic MORALITIES. The theology of the middle ages abounded
 with conjectures and controversies concerning Antichrist, who at a
 very early period was commonly believed to be the Roman pontiff¹.

¹ See this topic discussed with singular penetration and perspicuity, by Dr. Hurd, in
TWELVE SERMONS INTRODUCTORY TO THE STUDY OF THE PROPHECIES. Lond. 1772.

SECTION IX.

TO the VISION OF PIERCE PLOWMAN has been commonly annexed a poem called PIERCE THE PLOWMAN'S CREDE, and which may properly be considered as its appendage¹. It is professedly written in imitation of our VISION, but by a different hand. The author, in the character of a plain uninformed person, pretends to be ignorant of his creed; to be instructed in the articles of which, he applies by turns to the four orders of mendicant friars. This circumstance affords an obvious occasion of exposing in lively colours the tricks of those societies. After so unexpected a disappointment, he meets one Pierce, or Peter, a plowman, who resolves his doubts, and teaches him the principles of true religion. In a copy of the CREDE lately presented to me by the bishop of Gloucester, and once belonging to Mr. Pope, the latter in his own hand has inserted the following abstract of its plan. 'An ignorant plain man having learned his Pater-noster and Ave-mary, wants to learn his creed. He asks several religious men of the several orders to teach it him. First of a friar Minor, who bids him beware of the Carmelites, and assures him they can teach him nothing, describing their faults, &c. But that the friars Minors shall save him, whether he learns his creed or not. He goes next to the friars Preachers, whose magnificent monastery he describes: there he meets a fat friar, who declaims against the Augustines. He is shocked at his pride, and goes to the Augustines. They rail at the Minorites. He goes to the Carmes; they abuse the Dominicans, but promise him salvation without the creed, for money. He leaves them with indignation, and finds an honest poor PLOWMAN in the field, and tells him how he was disappointed by the four orders. The plowman answers with a long invective against them.'

The language of the CREDE is less embarrassed and obscure than that of the VISION. But before I proceed to a specimen, it may not be perhaps improper to prepare the reader, by giving an outline of the constitution and character of the four orders of mendicant friars, the object of our poet's satire: an enquiry in many respects connected with the general purport of this history, and which, in this place at least, cannot be deemed a digression, as it will illustrate the main subject, and explain many particular passages of the PLOWMAN'S CREDE².

Long before the thirteenth century, the monastic orders, as we have

¹ The first edition is by R. Wolf, Londyn, 1553. 4to. In four sheets. It was reprinted, and added to Rogers's, or the fourth edition of the *Vision*, 1561. It was evidently written after the year 1384. Wickliffe died in that year, and he is mentioned as no longer living, in *Signat. C. ii. edit. 1561.* Walter Britte, or Brithie, a follower of Wickliffe, is also mentioned, *Signat. C. iii.* Britte is placed by Pale in 1350. *Cent. vi. 94.* Fuller's Worth. p. 8. *Wales.* The reader will pardon this small anticipation for the sake of connection,

² And of some perhaps quoted above from the *Vision*.

partly seen in the preceding poem, in consequence of their ample revenues, had degenerated from their primitive austerity, and were totally given up to luxury and indolence. Hence they became both unwilling and unable to execute the purposes of their establishment: to instruct the people, to check the growth of heresies, or to promote in any respect the true interests of the church. They forsook all their religious obligations, despised the authority of their superiors, and were abandoned without shame or remorse to every species of dissipation and licentiousness. About the beginning therefore of the thirteenth century, the condition and circumstances of the church rendered it absolutely necessary to remedy these evils, by introducing a new order of religion, who being destitute of fixed possessions, by the severity of their manners, a professed contempt of riches, and an unwearied perseverance in the duties of preaching and prayer, might restore respect to the monastic institution, and recover the honours of the church. These were the four orders of mendicant or begging friars, commonly denominated the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Augustines¹.

These societies soon surpassed all the rest, not only in the purity of their lives, but in the number of their privileges, and the multitude of their members. Not to mention the success which attends all novelties, their reputation arose quickly to an amazing height. The popes, among other uncommon immunities, allowed them the liberty of travelling wherever they pleased, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the people in general, and of hearing confessions, without reserve or restriction: and as on these occasions, which gave them opportunities of appearing in public and conspicuous situations, they exhibited more striking marks of gravity and sanctity than were observable in the deportment and conduct of the members of other monasteries, they were regarded with the highest esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe.

In the mean time they gained still greater respect, by cultivating the literature then in vogue, with the greatest assiduity and success. Gianoni says, that most of the theological professors in the university of Naples, newly founded in the year 1220, were chosen from the mendicants². They were the principal teachers of theology at Paris, the school where this science had received its origin³. At Oxford and Cambridge respectively, all the four orders had flourishing monasteries. The most learned scholars in the university of Oxford, at the close of

¹ The Franciscans were often styled friars-minors, or minorites, and grey-friars: the Dominicans, friars-preachers, and sometimes black-friars. The Carmelites white-friars; and the Austins grey-friars. The first establishment of the Dominicans in England was at Oxford in 1221. Of the Franciscans at Canterbury. These two were the most eminent of the four orders. The Dominican friary at Oxford stood in an island on the south of the city, south-west of the Franciscan friary, the site of which is hereafter described.

² Hist. Nap. xiv. 3.

³ Boul. Hist. Academ. Paris. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248, &c.

the thirteenth century, were Franciscan friars: and long after this period, the Franciscans appear to have been the sole support and ornament of that university¹. Hence it was that bishop Hugh de Balsham, founder of Peter-house at Cambridge, orders in his statutes given about the year 1280, that some of his scholars should annually repair to Oxford for improvement in the sciences². That is, to study under the Franciscan readers. Such was the eminence of the Franciscan friary at Oxford, that the learned bishop Grossthead, in the year 1253, bequeathed all his books to that celebrated seminary³. This was the house in which the renowned Roger Bacon was educated; who revived, in the midst of barbarism, and brought to a considerable degree of perfection the knowledge of mathematics in England, and greatly facilitated many modern discoveries in experimental philosophy⁴. The same fraternity is likewise said to have stored their valuable library with a multitude of Hebrew manuscripts, which they purchased of the Jews on their banishment from England⁵. Richard de Bury bishop of Durham, author of *PHILOBIBLON*, and the founder of a library at Oxford, is prolix in his praises of the mendicants for their extraordinary diligence in collecting books⁶. Indeed it became difficult in the beginning of the fourteenth century to find any treatise in the arts, theology, or canon law, commonly exposed to sale; they were all universally bought up by the friars⁷. This is mentioned by Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Amagh, in his discourse before the pope at Avignon in 1357, their bitter and professed antagonist; who adds, without any

¹ This circumstance in some degree roused the monks from their indolence, and induced the greater monasteries to procure the foundation of small colleges in the universities for the education of their novices. At Oxford the monks had also schools which bore the name of their respective orders: and there were schools in that university which were appropriated to particular monasteries. Kennett's Paroch. Adt. p. 214. Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 119. Leland says, that even in his time, at Stamford, a temporary university, the names of halls inhabited by the novices of Peterborough, Sempringham, and Vauldreay abbies, were remaining. Itin. vi. p. 21. And it appears, that the greater part of the proceeders in theology at Oxford and Cambridge, just before the reformation, were monks. But we do not find, that in consequence of all these efforts, the monks made a much greater figure in literature.

In this rivalry which subsisted between the mendicants and the monks, the latter sometimes availed themselves of their riches: and with a view to attract popularity, and to eclipse the growing lustre of the former, proceeded to their degrees in the universities with prodigious parade. In the year 1298, William de Brook, a Benedictine of St. Peter's abbey, at Gloucester, took the degree of doctor in divinity at Oxford. He was attended on this important occasion by the abbot and whole convent of Gloucester, the abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, and Malmesbury, with one hundred noblemen and esquires, on horses richly caparisoned. These were entertained at a sumptuous feast in the refectory of Gloucester college. But it should be observed, that he was the first of the Benedictine order that attained this dignity. Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 25, col. 1. See also Stevens, Mon. i. 70.

² 'De scholaribus emittendis ad universitatem Oxonie pro doctrina.' Cap. xviii.

³ Leland, Script. Brit. p. 283. This house stood just without the city walls, near Little-gate. The garden called *Paradise* was their grove or orchard.

⁴ It is probable, that the treatises of many of Bacon's scholars and followers, collected by Thomas Allen in the reign of James I., still remain among the MSS. of Sir Kenelm Digby in the Bodleian library.

⁵ Wood, ubi supr. i. 77, col. 2.

⁶ Philobibl. cap. v. This book was written 1344.

⁷ Yet I find a decree made at Oxford, where these orders of friars flourished so greatly, in the year 1373, to check the *excessive multitude* of persons selling books in the university without licence. Vet. Stat. Univ. Oxon. D. fol. 75. Archiv. Bodl.

intention of paying them a compliment, that all the mendicant convents were furnished with a 'grandis et nobilis libraria'. Sir Richard Whittington built the library of the Grey Friars in London, which was 129 feet long, and 12 broad, with 28 desks². About the year 1430, one hundred marks were paid for transcribing the profound Nicholas de Lyra, in two volumes, to be chained in this library.³ Leland relates, that John Wallden, a learned Carmelite, bequeathed to the same library as many manuscripts of approved authors, written in capital roman characters, as were then estimated at more than 2,000 pieces of gold⁴. He adds, that this library, even in his time, exceeded all others in London for multitude of books and antiquity of copies⁵. Among many other instances which might be given of the learning of the mendicants, there is one which greatly contributed to establish their literary character. In the eleventh century, Aristotle's philosophy had been condemned in the university of Paris as heretical. About a hundred years afterwards, these prejudices began to subside; and new translations of Aristotle's writings were published in Latin by our countryman Michael Scotus, and others, with more attention to the original Greek, at least without the pompous and perplexed circumlocutions which appeared in the Arabic versions hitherto used. In the mean time the mendicant orders sprung up: who happily availing themselves of these new translations, and making them the constant subject of their scholastic lectures were the first who revived the doctrines of this philosopher, and acquired the merit of having opened a new system of science⁶. The Dominicans or Spain were accomplished adepts in the learning and language of the Arabians; and were employed by the kings of Spain in the instruction and conversion of the numerous Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions⁷.

¹ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. *Propositio coram papa*, &c. And MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 182. *Propositio coram*, &c. See a translation of this Sermon by Trevisa, MSS. Harl. 1900. fol. Pergam. 2. See f. 11. See also Browne's append. Fascic. Rer. expetend. fugiend. ii. p. 466. I believe this discourse has been printed twice or thrice at Paris. In which, says the archbishop, there were 30,000 scholars at Oxford in my youth, but now (1357,) scarce 6000. At Bennet in Cambridge, there is a curious MSS. of one of Fitzrauf's Sermons, in the first leaf of which there is a drawing of four devils, hugging four mendicant friars, one of each of the four orders, with great familiarity and affection, MSS. L. 16. This book belonged to Adam Eston, a very learned Benedictine of Norwich, and a witness against Wickcliffe at Rome, where he lived the greatest part of his life, in 1370.

² Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 255. edit. 1599.

³ Stowe, *ibid.* p. 251. Stevens, *Monast.* i. 112.

⁴ Script. Brit. p. 441. And Collectan. iii. p. 52.

⁵ See Joann. Laun. *de varia Aristotel.* Fortun. in Acad. Paris, p. 78. edit. Paris, 1662.

⁶ 7. Simon's Lett. Choix. tom. iii. p. 112. They studied the arts of popular entertainment. The mendicants, I believe, were the only religious in England who acted plays. The CREATION OF THE WORLD, annually performed by the Grey friars at Coventry, is still extant. See *supr.* p. 92, 243. And they seem to have been famous abroad for these exhibitions. Gualvanei de la Flamma, who flourished about the year 1340, has the following curious passage in his chronicle of the VICECOMITES of Milan, published by Muratori. In the year 1336, says he, on the feast of Epiphany, the first feast of the three kings was celebrated at Milan, by the convent of the friars preachers. The three kings appeared crowned on three great horses, richly habited, surrounded by pages, body-guards, and an innumerable retinue. A golden star was exhibited in the sky, going before them. They proceeded to the pillars of S. Lawrence, where king Herod was represented with his scribes and wise-men. The three kings

⁴ Aurei.

The buildings of the mendicant monasteries, especially in England, were remarkably magnificent, and commonly much exceeded those of the endowed convents of the second magnitude. As these fraternities were professedly poor, and could not from their original institution receive estates, the munificence of their benefactors was employed in adorning their houses with stately refectories and churches : and for these and other purposes they did not want address to procure multitudes of patrons, which was facilitated by the notion of their superior sanctity. It was fashionable for persons of the highest rank to bequeath their bodies to be buried in the friary churches, which were consequently filled with sumptuous shrines and superb monuments¹. In the noble church of the Grey friars in London, finished in the year 1325, but long since destroyed, four queens, besides upwards of six hundred persons of quality, were buried, whose beautiful tombs remained till the dissolution². These interments imported considerable sums of money into the mendicant societies. It is probable that they derived more benefit from casual charity than they would have gained from a regular endowment. The Franciscans indeed enjoyed from the popes the privilege of distributing indulgences, a valuable indemnification for their voluntary poverty³.

On the whole, two of these mendicant institutions, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans, for the space of near three centuries, appear to have governed the European church and state with an absolute and universal sway ; they filled, during that period, the most eminent ecclesiastical and civil stations, taught in the universities with an authority which silenced all opposition, and maintained the prerogative of the Roman pontiff against the united influence of prelates and kings, with a vigour only to be paralleled by its success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the reformation, exactly what the Jesuits have been since. They disregarded the monastic character and profession, and were employed not only in spiritual matters, but in temporal affairs of the greatest consequence, in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, and concerting alliances : they presided in cabinets councils, levied national subsidies, influenced courts, and managed the machines of every important operation and event, both in the religious and political world.

ask Herod where Christ should be born : and his wise-men having consulted their books, answer him at Bethlehem. On which, the three kings with their golden crowns, having in their hands golden cups filled with frankincense, myrrh, and gold, the star still going before, marched to the church of St. Eustorgius, with all their attendants ; preceded by trumpets and horns, apes, baboons, and a great variety of animals. In the church, on one side of the high altar, there was a manger with an ox and an ass, and in it the infant Christ, in the arms of his mother. Here the three kings offer their gifts, &c. The concourse of the people, of knights, ladies, and ecclesiastics, was such as never before was beheld, &c. *Rer. Italic. Scriptor. tom. xii. col. 2017. D. fol. Mediolan. 1728. Compare p. 149, supr. This feast in the ritual is called *The feast of the Star*. Joan. Episcop. Abrinc. de Offic. Eccl. p. 30.*

¹ Their churches were esteemed more sacred than others.

² Weav. Fun. Mon. p. 388.

³ See Baluz. Miscellan. tom. iv. 490, vii. 392.

From what has been here said it is natural to suppose, that the mendicants at length became universally odious. The high esteem in which they were held, and the transcendent degree of authority which they had assumed, only served to render them obnoxious to the clergy of every rank, to the monasteries of other orders, and to the universities. It was not from ignorance, but from a knowledge of mankind, that they were active in propagating superstitious notions, which they knew were calculated to captivate the multitude, and to strengthen the papal interest ; yet at the same time, from the vanity of displaying an uncommon sagacity of thought, and a superior skill in theology, they affected novelties in doctrine, which introduced dangerous errors, and tended to shake the pillars of orthodoxy. Their ambition was unbounded, and their arrogance intolerable. Their increasing numbers became, in many states, an enormous and unwieldy burthen to the commonwealth. They had abused the powers and privileges which had been entrusted to them ; and the common sense of mankind could not long be blinded or deluded by the palpable frauds and artifices, which these rapacious zealots so notoriously practised for enriching their convents. In England, the university of Oxford resolutely resisted the perpetual encroachments of the Dominicans¹ ; and many of our theologists attacked all the four orders with great vehemence and severity. Exclusive of the jealousies and animosities which naturally subsisted between four rival institutions, their visionary refinements, and love of disputation, introduced among them the most violent dissensions. The Dominicans aimed at popularity, by an obstinate denial of the immaculate conception. Their pretended sanctity became at length a term of reproach, and their learning fell into discredit. As polite letters and general knowledge increased, their speculative and pedantic divinity gave way to a more liberal turn of thinking, and a more perspicuous mode of writing. Bale, who was himself a Carmelite friar, says, that his order, which was eminently distinguished for scholastic erudition, began to lose their estimation about the year 1460. Some of them were imprudent enough to engage openly in political controversy ; and the Augustines destroyed all their repute and authority in England by seditious sermons, in which they laboured to supplant the progeny of Edward IV., and to establish the title of the usurper Richard². About the year 1530, Leland visited the Franciscan friary at Oxford, big with the hopes of finding, in the celebrated library, if not many valuable books, at least those which had been bequeathed by the learned bishop Grosthead. The delays and difficulties with which he procured admittance into this venerable repository, heightened his curiosity and expectations. At length, after much ceremony, being permitted to

¹ Wood, ut supr. i. 150, 154, 196.

² Newcourt, Repert. i. 289.

enter, instead of an inestimable treasure, he saw little more than empty shelves covered with cobwebs and dust¹.

After so prolix an introduction, I cannot but give a large quotation from our CREDE, the humour and tendency of which will now be easily understood: and especially as this poem is not only extremely scarce, and has almost the rarity of a manuscript, but as it is so curious and lively a picture of an order of men who once made so conspicuous a figure in the world.

For first I frayned² the freres, and they me full tolden,
That al the fruyt of the fayth, was in her foure orders,
And the cofres of christendom, and the keie bothen
And the lock of byleve³, lyeth locken in her hondes

Then wennede⁴ I to wytte, and with a whight I mette
A Minoure in amorwetide, and to this man I saide,
Sir for greate godes love, the graith⁵ thou me tell,
Of what myddel erde man myght I best lerne
My crede, for I can it nought, my care is the more,
And therefore for Christes love, thy counseyl I preie,
A Carme⁶ me hath yovenant, ye nede me to teche.
But for thou knowest Carmes wel, thy counsaile I aske.

This Minour loked on me, and laughyng he sayde
Leve christen man, I leve⁷ that thou madde.
Whough shuld thei teche the God, that con non hemselfe?
They ben but jugulers, and japers of kynde,
Lorels and lechures, and lemans holden,
Neyther in order ne out but unneth lybbeth⁸,
And byjapeth the folk with gestes⁹ of Rome.
It is but a faynt folke, yfounded up on japes,
They maketh hem Maries men¹⁰, and so thei men tellen.
And leieth on our lady many a long tale.
And that wicked folk wymmen betraieith,
And begileth hem of her good with glavering wordes.
And ther¹¹ with holden her hous in harlotes warkes.
And so save me God I hold it great synne,
To gyven hem any good, swiche glotones to fynde

¹ Leland describes this adventure with some humour. 'Contigit ut copiam peterem vidend
'bibliothecam Franciscanorum, ad quod obstreperunt asini aliquot, rudentes nulli prorsus
'mortalium tam sanctos aditus et recessus adire, nisi Gardiano et sacris sui collegii baccalariis.
'Sed ego urgebam, et principis deplomate munitus, tantum non coegi ut sacraria illa aperi-
'rent. Tum unus e majoribus asinis multa subrudens tandem fores ægre reseravit. Summe
'Jupiter quid ego illic inveni? Pulverem autem inveni, telas aranearum, tineas, blattas,
'situm denique et squallorem. Inveni etiam et libros, sed quos tribus obolis non emerem.'
Script. Brit. p. 286.

² Asked.

³ Belief.

⁴ Thought.

⁵ Truth.

⁶ Carmelite.

⁷ Believe.

⁸ Deceiveth.

⁹ Legends.

¹⁰ The Carmelites, sometimes called the brethren of the Blessed Virgin, were fond of boasting their familiar intercourse with the Virgin Mary. Among other things, they pretended that the Virgin assumed the Carmelite habit and profession: and that she appeared to Simon Sturckius, general of their order, in the thirteenth century, and gave him a solemn promise that the souls of those christians who died with the Carmelite scapulary upon their shoulders should infallably escape damnation.

¹¹ Their.

To maintaine swiche maner men the michel good destruieth
 Yet¹ seyn they in her sutiltie, to sottes in townes
 Thei comen out of Carmeli, Christ for to folwen.
 And feyneth hem with holynesse, the yuele hem bisemeth.
 Thei lyven more in lecherie, and lieth in her tales,
 Than suen² any good liif, but lurken in her selles,
 But wynnyn werdliche³ good, and wasten it in synne,
 And gif⁴ thei couthen⁵ her crede other on Christ leveden
 Thei weren nought so hardy, swyche harlotri usen,
 Sikerli I can nought fynden who hem first founded,
 But the foles foundeden hem self freres of the pye,
 And maken hem mendyans, and marre the pule.
 But what glut of the gomes may any good kachen,
 He wil kepen it hem selfe, and confrene it faste.
 And though his felawes fayle good, for bi he mai sterue
 Her monei mai bi quest, and testament maken
 And none obedience here, but don as hym luste.
 And right as Robartes men raken aboute
 At feyres and at full ales, and fyllen the cuppe⁶
 And precheth al of pardon, to plesen the puple,
 But patience is al pased, and put out to ferme
 And pride is in her povertie, that litell is to preisen
 And at the lullyng of our lady⁷, the wymmen to lyken
 And miracles of mydwyves, and maken wymmen to wenen
 That the lace of our lady smok lighteth hem of children.
 Thei ne prechen nought of Powel⁸, ne penaunce for synne,
 But al of merci and mensk⁹, that Marie may helpen.
 With sterne staves and stronge, thei overlond straketh,
 Thider as here lemans liggeth, and lurketh in townes.
 Grey grete heded quenes, with gold by the eighen,
 And seyne that hur sustern thei ben that sojourneth aboute,
 And thus abouten the gon and godes folke betrayeth,
 It is the puple that Powel preched of in his tyme.
 He seyde of swiche folke that so aboute wente
 Wepying, I warne you of walkers aboute,
 It beth enemyes of the cros that Christ upon tholede.
 Swiche slomreers¹⁰ in slepe slaughte¹¹ is her end.

¹ Say.² Follow.³ Worldly.⁴ If.⁵ Knew.

⁶ 'Robartes men, or Roberdsmen were a set of lawless vagabonds, notorious for their outrages when PIERCE PLOWMAN was written, that is, about the year 1350. The statute of Edward III, [an. reg. 5. c. xiv.] specifies 'divers manslaughters, felonies, and robberies, done by people that be called *Roberdesmen*, Wastours, and drawlatches.' And the statute of Richard II. [an. reg. 7. c. v.] ordains that the statute of king Edward concerning *Roberdsmen* and *Drawlatches* shall be rigorously observed. Sir Edward Coke [INSTIT. iii. 197.] supposes them to have been originally the followers of Robert Hood in the reign of Richard I. See Blackstone's COMM. B. iv. ch. 17. Bishop Latimer says, that in a town where he intended to preach, he could not collect a congregation, because it was *Robinhoodes days*. 'I thought my rochet would have been regarded, though I were not: but it would not serve, 'it was faine to give place to *Robinhoodes men*.' SERMONS, fol. 74, b. This expression is not without an allusion to the bad sense of *Roberdsmen*.

⁷ The Carmelites pretended that their order was originally founded on Mount Carmel where Elias lived: and that their first convent was placed there, within an ancient church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in the year 1121.

⁸ St. Paul.⁹ Mercy.¹⁰ Slumberers.¹¹ Sloth.

And glotonye is her god, with glopping of drink
 And gladnesse in glee, and grete joye ymaked
 In the shending¹ of swiche shal mychel folk lauwghe.
 Therfore frend for thy feith fond to don beter,
 Leve nought on tho losels, but let hem forth pasen,
 For thei ben fals in her faith, and feeble mo other.

Alas frere, quath I tho, my purpos is yfailed,
 Now is my comfort a cast, canst ou no bote,
 Wher I might meten with a man that might me wysсен
 For to conne my crede, Christ for to folwen

Certeyn felawe, quath the frere, withouten any fayle
 Of al men upon mold² we Minorites most sheweth
 The pure aposteles leif, with penance on erthe,
 And suen³ hem in sanctite, and sufferen wel harde.
 We haunten not tavernes, ne hobelen⁴ abouten
 At marketes and miracles we medeley us never⁵.
 We houlden⁶ no moneye, but moneliche faren⁷
 And haven hunger at the mete, at ich a mel ones.
 We haven forsaken the world, and in wo libbeth⁸
 In penaunce and poverte, and prechethe the puple⁹
 By ensample of our liif soules to helpen
 And in poverte preien, for al oure parteneres
 That gyveth us any good, God to honouren
 Other bel other book, or bred to our foode,
 Other catel other cloth, to coveren with oure bones¹⁰:
 Mony, other money worth, here mede is in hevene
 For we buildeth a burugh¹¹, a brod and a large,
 A chirch and a chapitle¹², with chaumbers a lofte.
 With wide wyndowes ywrought, and walles wel heye
 That mote ben portreid, and paint and pulched ful clene¹³
 With gay glittering glas, glowing as the sunne,
 And¹⁴ mightestou amenden us with money of thyne owen,
 Thou shouldest knely before Christ in compas of gold,
 In the wyde window westward wel neigh in the middell¹⁵,
 And saint Franceis him self, shal folde the in his cope,
 And present the to the trinite, and praye for thy synnes,
 Thy name shal noblich be wryte and wrought for the nones
 And in remembraunce of the, praid therfor ever¹⁶,

¹ Destroying.

² Earth.

³ Follow.

⁴ Skip. Run.

⁵ See supr. p. 276.

⁶ Collect. Hide. Possess. Hoard.

⁷ Live like monks, like men dedicated to religion. Or rather, moneyless poor.

⁸ Live.

⁹ People.

¹⁰ Either bells, or books, or bread, or catel, &c. 'In the *LIBER PÆNITENTIALIS* there is this injunction, 'Si monachus per EBRIETATEM vomitum fecerit, triginta dies *pauitcat*.' MSS. JAM. V. 237. Bibl. Bodl.

¹¹ A house.

¹² A chapter-house. *Capitulum*. 'May. Might.'

¹³ Painted and beautifully adorned. ¹⁴ If you would help us with your money.

¹⁵ Your figure kneeling to Christ shall be painted in the great west window. This was the way of representing benefactors in painted glass. See supr. p. 278.

¹⁶ Your name shall be written in our table of benefactors for whose souls we pray. This was usually hung up in the church. Or else he means, Written in the windows, in which manner benefactors were frequently recorded. 'Most of the printed copies read *praid*. Hearne, in a quotation of this passage, reads *grad*. GUL. NEWDRIG. p. 776. He quotes an edition of 1553. 'Your name shall be richly written in the windows of the church of the monastery' 'which men will READ there for ever.' This seems to be the true reading.

And brother be thou nought aferd, bythenkin thyne hert
 Though thou cone¹ nought thy crede, care thou no more
 I shal asoilen² the syr, and setten it on my soule.
 And thou may maken this good, thenke thou non other.

Sir (I sayde) in certaine I shal gon and asaye,
 And he set on me his hond, and asoiled me clene,
 And there I parted him fro, withouten any peyne,
 In covenant that I come agayn, Christ he me be taught

Than saide I to myself, here semeth litel treuthe,
 First to blame his brother, and bakbyten hym foule,
 There as curteis Christ clerliche sayde:
 Whow might thou in thy brothers eighe a bare mote loke
 And in thyne owen eighe nought a beme toten,
 See first on thy self, and sithen on a nother,
 And clense clene thy sight, and kepe wel thyne eighe,
 And for another mannes eighe, ordeyne after
 And also I see coveitise, catel to fongen³,
 That Christ had clerliche forboden⁴ and clenliche destruede
 And sayde to his sueres⁵, for sothe on this wyse:
 Nought thy neighbours good coveyte in no tyme.
 But charitie and chastite, ben chased out clene,
 But Christ seide by her fruit, men shal hem ful knowen.
 Thannesaide I, certeine syr, thou demest ful trewe.

Than thought I to frayne⁶ the first of these foure ordres,
 And presed to the Prechoures⁷, to proven her wille,
 Ich highed⁸ to her house, to herken of more
 And when I came to that court, I gaped about,
 Swich a bild bold ybuld upon erthe heichte,
 Say I nought in certeyn syththe a long tyme⁹.
 I¹⁰ semed upon the hous, and yerne¹¹ thereon loked,
 Whow the pileres weren ypaint and pulchud¹² ful clene,
 And queyntly ycorven, with curious knottes,
 With wyndowes wel ywrought, wyde up alofte,
 And than I entred in, and even forthe wente,
 And all was walled that wone¹³, though it wiid were
 With posternes in privity to passen when hem liste.
 Orcheyardes, and erberes¹⁴ euesed well clene,
 And a curious cros, craftly entayled¹⁵,
 With tabernacles ytight to toten¹⁶ al abouten.
 The pris of a ploughlond, of penies so rounde,
 To aparaile that pyler, were pure litel¹⁷,
 Than I munte me¹⁸ forth, the mynstere¹⁹ to knowen,
 And²⁰ awayted woon, wonderly wel ybild,
 With arches on everich half, and bellyche²¹ yeorven

¹ Know.² Absolve.³ Take. Receive.⁴ Forbidden.⁵ Followers.⁶ To ask.⁷ I hastened to the friars preachers.⁸ I went to their monastery.⁹ It is long since I have seen so fine a building.¹⁰ Gazed.¹¹ Earnestly.¹² Polished.¹³ House. Habitation.¹⁴ Arbours.¹⁵ Carved.

See Spenser, ii. 3, 37, 6, 29.

¹⁶ To look.¹⁷ The price of a carucate of land would not raise such another building.¹⁸ Went.¹⁹ Church.²⁰ I saw one.²¹ Beautifully.

With crochetes on corneres, with knottes of gold.
 Wyde wyndows ywrought ywritten ful thikke¹
 Shynen² with shapen sheldes, to shewen aboute,
 With³ merkes of merchauntes, ymedeled betwene
 Mo than twentie and two, twyse ynoumbbred ;
 Ther is non heraud that hath half swich a rolle⁴
 Right as a rageman hath rekned him newe
 Tombes upon tabernacles, tylde upon lofte,
 Housed⁵ in hornes, harde set abouten⁶
 Of armede alabaustre, clad for the nones
 Maad opou marbel in many manner wyse
 Knyghtes in their conisante⁷ clad for the nones

¹ With texts, or names.

² That is, coats of arms of benefactors painted in the glass. So in an ancient roll in verse, exhibiting the descent of the family of the lords of Clare in Suffolk, preserved in the Austin friary at Clare, and written in the year 1356.

Dame Mault, a lady full honorable, Hir <i>armes of glasse</i> in the eastern gable.—	Borne of the Ulsters, as sheweth ryfe ————— So conjoynd be Ulstris arms and Glocestris thurgh and thurgh, As shewith our <i>Wyndows</i> in houses thre, Dortur, chapitre-house, and fraiture, which she Made out the grounde both plancher and wall.
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Dugdale cites this roll, Mon. Angl. i. p. 535. As does Weaver, who dates it in 1460. Fun. Mon. p. 734. But I could prove this fashion to have been of much higher antiquity.

‘By *Merkes of merchauntes* we are to understand their symbols, cyphers, or badges, drawn or painted in the windows. Of this passage I have received the following curious explication from Mr. Cole, rector of Blechley in Bucks, a learned antiquary in the heraldic art. ‘*Mixed with the arms of their founders and benefactors stand also the MARKS of tradesmen and merchants, who had no Arms, but used their Marks in a Shield like Arms.* Instances of ‘this sort are very common. In many places in Great Saint Mary’s church in Cambridge ‘such a SHIELD of MARK occurs: the same that is to be seen in the windows of the great ‘shop opposite the Conduit on the Market-hill, and the corner house of the Petty Curry. ‘No doubt, in the reign of Henry VII., the owner of these houses was a benefactor to ‘the building, or glazing Saint Mary’s church. I have seen like instances in Bristol cathedral; ‘and the churches at Lynn are full of them.’—In an ancient system of heraldry in the British Museum, I find the following illustration, under a shield of this sort. ‘Theys be none armys, ‘but as MARK as MARCHAUNTS vse, for every mane may take hyme a Marke, but not armys, ‘without an herawde or purcyvaunte.’ MSS. Harl. 2259, 9, fol. 110.

³ Such a roll.

⁴ Set up on high.

⁵ Surrounded with iron rails. *Horns* seems to be *irons*. ‘But perhaps we should read HURNES, interpreted, in the short Glossary to the CREDE, CAVES, that is, in the present application, *niches, arches*. See GLOSS. Rob. Glouc. p. 660, i. HURN, is *angle, corner*. From the Saxon *pyrn, Angulus*. Chaucer FRANKEL. T. Urr. p. 110, v, 2677.

Seeking in every halke [nook], and every *herne*.

And again, CHAN. YEM. Prol. p. 121, v. 679.

Lurking in *hernis* and in *lanis* blind.

Read the line, thus pointed.

Housed in HURNES hard set abouten.

The sense is therefore. ‘The tombs were within lofty-pinacled tabernacles, and enclosed in ‘a multiplicity of thick-set arches.’ HARD is *close* or *thick*. This conveys no bad idea of a Gothic sepulchral shrine.

⁶ Placed very close or thick about the church,

⁷ In their proper habiliments. In their *cognisances*, or surcoats of arms. So again, Signat. C. ii. b.

For though a man in her minstre a masse wold heren,
 His fight shall also byset on sondrye workes,
 The pennons and the poinells, and pointes of sheldes
 Withdrawen his devotion and dusken his harte.

That is, the banners, achievements, and other armorial ornaments, hanging over the tombs.

Alle it semed seyntes, ysacred opon erthe,
 And lovely ladies ywrought, leyen by her sydes
 In many gay garnemens, that weren gold beten,
 Though the tax often yere were trewely gadered,
 Nolde it nought maken that hous, half as I trowe.
 Than cam I to that cloystre, and gaped abouten,
 Whough it was pilered and peynt, and portreyd well clene
 Alhyled¹ with leed, lowe to the stones,
 And ypaved with poynttl², ich point after other
 With cundites of clene tyn closed al aboute³
 With lavoures of lattin⁴, loveliche ygreithed⁵
 I trowe the gaynage of the ground, in a gret shyre
 Nold aparaile that place, oo poynt tyl other ende⁶.
 Thane was the chapitre house wrought as a greet chirch
 Corven and covered, ant queytelche entayled⁷,
 With semliche selure yset on lofte⁸
 As a parlement hous pyeynted aboute⁹.

¹ Covered.

² *Point en point* is a French phrase for *in order*, exactly. This explains the latter part of the line. Or *poynttyl* may mean tiles in squares or dies, in chequer-work. See Skinner in *POINT*, and du Fresne in *PUNCTURA*. And then *ich POINT after other* will be *one SQUARE after another*. So late as the reign of Henry VIII., so magnificent a structure as the refectory of Christ-church at Oxford was, at its first building, paved with green and yellow tiles. The whole number was 3600, and each 100 cost three shillings and sixpence. MSS. Br. Twyne, Archiv. Oxon. 8 p. 352. Wolsey's great hall at Hampton Court, evidently built in every respect on the model of this at Christ-church, was very probably paved in the same manner. See *OBSERVAT. on SPENS.*

³ Spouts. Or channels for conveying the water in the Lavatory, which was usually placed in the cloyster.

⁴ Laten, a metal so called.

⁵ Prepared. Adorned.

⁶ From one end to the other.

⁷ The chapter-house was magnificently constructed in the style of church architecture, finely vaulted, and richly carved.

⁸ A seemly ceiling, or roof, very lofty.

⁹ That they painted the walls of rooms, before tapestry became fashionable, I have before given instances. *OBSERVAT. SPENS.* I will here add other proofs. In an old French romance on the MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN, liv. i. Carpent. Suppl. Lat. Gl. Du Cang. V. LAMBROISSARE.

Lors moustiers tiennent ors et sals,

Et lor cambres, et lor grans sales,

Font lambroissier, *peindre et pourtraire*.

Gervasius Dorobernensis, in his account of the burning of Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1174, says, 'that not only the beam-work was destroyed, but the ceiling underneath it, or con-cameration called cœlum, being of wood beautifully painted, was also consumed.' 'Cœlum inferius egregie depictum, &c.' p. 1289. Dec. Script. Lond. 1652. And Stubbes, *Actus Pontif. Eboracensis*, says, that archbishop Aldred, about 1060, built the whole church of York from the Presbytery to the Tower, and 'superius opere pictorio quod Cœlum vocant auro multi-formiter intermixto, mirabili arte construxit.' p. 1704. Dec. Script. ut supr. There are many instances in the pipe-rolls, not yet printed. The roof of the church of Cassino in Italy, is ordered to be painted in 1349, like that of St. John Lateran at Rome. Hist. Cassin. tom. ii. p. 545. col. 1. Dugdale has printed an ancient French record, by which it appears, that there was a hall in the castle of Dover called *Arthur's hall*, and a chamber called *Geneura's chamber*. Monast. ii. 2. I suppose, because the walls of these apartments were respectively adorned with paintings of each. Geneura is Arthur's queen. In the pipe-rolls of Henry III, we have this notice, A.D. 1259. 'Infra portam castri et birbecanam, etc. ab exitu CAMERÆ ROSAMUNDÆ usque capellam sancti Thomæ in Castro Wynton.' Rot. Pip. Henr. iii. an. 43. This I once supposed to be a chamber in Winchester castle, so called because it was painted with the figure or some history of fair Rosamond. But a ROSAMUND-CHAMBER was a common apartment in the royal castles, perhaps in imitation of her BOWER at Woodstock, literally nothing more than a *chamber*, which yet was curiously constructed and decorated, at least in memory of it. The old prose paraphrast of the chronicle of Robert of Gloucester says 'BOURES hadde the Rosamonde a bout in Engelonde, which this kynge [Hen. ii.] for his sake 'made: atte Waltham bishope's, in the castelle of Wynchester, atte park of Fremantel, atte

Thanne ferd I into fraytoure¹, and fond there a nother,
 An halle for an hygh kynge, an household to holden,
 With brod bordes abouten, ybenched wel clene,
 With wyndowes of glass, wrought as a chirche²
 Than walkede I ferrer³, and went al abouten
 And seigh⁴ halles ful heygh, and houses ful noble,
 Chambres with chymneys, and chapels gaye,
 And kychenes for an high kynge, in castels to holden,
 And her dortoure⁵ ydight, with dores ful stronge
 Fermerye and fraitur⁶, with fele mo houses⁷
 And al strong ston wal sterne opon heithe
 With gaye garites, and grete, and iche hole glased.
 And other houses ynowe, to hereberwe the queene⁸,
 And yet these bilderes wiln beggen a bagge ful of whete
 Of a pure pore man, that may onethe⁹ paye
 Half his rent in a yere, and half ben byhynde.

Than turned I apen whan I hadde al ytoted¹⁰
 And fond in a freitoure a frere on a benche,
 A greet chorl and a grym, growen as a tonne,
 With a face so fat, as a ful bleddere¹¹,
 Blowne bretful of breth, and as a bagge honged.
 On bothen his chekes, and his chyn, with a chol lollede
 So greet a gos ey, growen al of grece.
 That al wagged his fleish, as a quick mire¹²,
 His cope that¹³ biclypped him, wel clene was it folden
 Of double worstede ydyght, down to the hele.
 His kyrtel of clene whiit, clenlyche ysewed
 Hit was good ynow of ground, greyn for to baren.
 I haylsede that thirdman, and hendliche I sayde,
 Gode sire for godes love, canst on me graith tellen,
 To any wortheley wiight, that wissen me couthe,
 Whom I shuld conne my crede, Christ for to folwe,
 That lenede lilliche¹⁴ hym selfe, and lyved ther after,
 That seynede no falshede, but fully Christ suwede,
 Forsith a certeyn man syker wold I trosten
 That he wold tell me the trewth, and turn to none other.
 And an Austyn this ender day, egged¹⁵ me faste
 That he wold techen me wel, he plyght me his treuthe
 And seyde me certeyn, sighten Christ deyed
 Oure ordre was evels, and erst yfounde

'Marteleston, atte Woodestoke, and other fele [many] places.' Chron. edit. Hearne, 479.
 This passage indeed seems to imply, that Henry the second himself provided for his fair concubine a BOWER or chamber of peculiar construction, not only at Woodstock, but in all the royal palaces; which, as may be concluded from the pipe-roll just cited, was called by her name. Leland says, that in the stately castle of Pickering in Yorkshire, 'in the first court be 'a foure Toures, of the which one is caullid *Rosamundes Toure*.' Itin. fol. 71. Probably because it contained one of these bowers or chambers. Or, perhaps we should read ROSAMUND'S BOWRE. Compare Walpole's Anecd. Paint. i. p. 10. 11.

¹ Fraternity.

³ Further.

⁴ Saw.

² A series of stately gothic windows.

⁵ Dormitory.

⁶ Infirmary, &c.

⁷ Many other apartments.

⁸ To lodge the queen.

⁹ Scarcely.

¹⁰ Observed.

¹¹ Bladder.

¹² Quag-mire.

¹³ Covered.

¹⁴ Truly.

¹⁵ Moved.

First felawe quath he, fy on his pylthe
He is but abortiif, eked with cloutes
He holdeth his ordinaunce with hores and theves,
And purchaseth hem privileges, with penyes so rounde.
It is a pure pardoners craft, prove and asay
For have they thy money, a moneth therafter
Certes theigh thou come agen, he wil ye nought knowen.
But felawe our foundement was first of the other
And we ben founded fullliche, withouten fayntise
And we ben clerkes renowen, cunning in schole
Proued in procession by processe of lawe.
Of oure order ther beth bichopes wel manye
Seyntes on sundry stedes, that suffreden harde
And we ben proved the priis of popes at Rome
And of grettest degre, as gospels telleth.

I must not quit our Ploughman without observing, that some other satirical pieces anterior to the Reformation, bear the adopted name of **PIERS THE PLOWMAN**. Under the character of a plowman the religious are likewise lashed, in a poem written in apparent imitation of Longland's **VISION**, and attributed to Chaucer. I mean the **PLOWMAN'S TALE**¹. The measure is different, and it is in rhyme. But it has Longland's alliteration of initials : as if his example had, as it were, appropriated that mode of versification to the subject, and the supposed character which supports the satire². All these poems were, for the most part, founded on the doctrines newly broached by Wickliffe³ : who

¹ Perhaps falsely. Unless Chaucer wrote the *Crede*, which I cannot believe. For in Chaucer's *PLOWMAN'S TALE* this *Crede* is alluded to. v. 3005.

And of *Freris* I have *before* Told in amaking of a *Crede*;
And yet I could tell worse and more.

This passage at least brings the **PLOWMAN'S TALE** below the CREDE in time. But some have thought, very improbably, that this Crede is *Jack Upland*.

² It is extraordinary, that we should find in this poem one of the absurd arguments of the puritans against ecclesiastical establishments. v. 2253. Urr. edit.

For Christ made no cathedralls, Ne with him was no Cardinalls.

But see what follows, concerning Wickliffe.

3 It is remarkable, that they touch on the very topics which Wickliffe had just published in his OBJECTIONS on FREERES charging them with *fifty heresies*. As in the following. 'Also "Freres buildin many great churches, and costly wate houses and cloisteres, as it wern castels. "and that withouten nede, &c.' Lewis's WICKLIFF, p. 22. I will here add a passage from Wickliffe's tract entitled WHY POOR PRIESTS HAVE NO BENEFICES. Lewis, App. Num. xix. p. 289. 'And yet they [lords] wolen not present a clerk able of kunning of god's law, but a "kitchen clerk, or a penny clerk, or wise in building castles or worldly doing, though he "kunne not reade well his sauter, &c.' Here is a manifest piece of Satire on Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, Wickliffe's contemporary; who is supposed to have recommended himself to Edward III. by rebuilding the castle of Windsor. This was a recent and notorious instance. But in this appointment the king probably paid a compliment to that prelate's singular talents for business, his activity, circumspection, and management, rather than to any scientific and professed skill in architecture, which he might have possessed. It seems to me that he was only a supervisor or comptroller on this occasion. It was common to depute churchmen to this department, from an idea of their superior prudence and probity. Thus John, the prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester in 1280, is commissioned by brief from the king, to supervise large repairs done by the sheriff in the castle of Winchester, and the royal manor of Wolmer. MSS. Registr. Priorat. Quat. 19. fol. 3. The bishop of St. David's was master of the works at building King's College. Hearne's Elmh. p. 353. Alcock, bishop of Ely, was comptroller of

maintained, among other things, that the clergy should not possess estates, that the ecclesiastical ceremonies obstructed true devotion, and that mendicant friars, the particular object of our Plowman's CREDE, were a public and insupportable grievance. But Wickliffe, whom Mr. Hume pronounces to have been an enthusiast, like many other reformers, carried his idea of purity too far ; and, at least it appears from the two first of these opinions, under the design of destroying superstition, his undistinguishing zeal attacked even the necessary aids of religion. It was certainly a lucky circumstance that Wickliffe quarrelled with the pope. His attacks on superstition at first probably proceeded from resentment. Wickliffe, who was professor of divinity at Oxford, finding on many occasions not only his own province invaded, but even the privileges of the university frequently violated by the pretensions of the mendicants, gratified his warmth by throwing out some slight censures against all the four orders, and the popes their principal patrons and abettors. Soon afterwards he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury hall, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place. Upon this he appealed to the pope, who confirmed the archiepiscopal sentence, by way of rebuke for the freedom with which he had treated the monastic profession. Wickliffe, highly exasperated at this usage, immediately gave a loose to his indignation, and without restraint or distinction attacked in numerous sermons and treatises, not only the scandalous enormities of the whole body of monks, but even the usurpations of the pontifical power itself, with other ecclesiastical corruptions. Having exposed these palpable abuses with a just abhorrence, he ventured still farther, and proceeded to examine and refute with great learning and penetration the absurd doctrines which prevailed in the religious system of his age : he not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but translated the bible into English for general use and popular inspection. Whatever were his motives, it is certain that these efforts enlarged the notions of mankind, and sowed those seeds of a revolution in religion, which were quickened at length and brought to maturity by a favourable coincidence of circumstances, in an age when the increasing growth of literature and curiosity naturally led the way to innovation and improvement. But a visible diminution of the authority of the ecclesiastics, in England at least, had been long growing from other causes. The disgust which the laity had contracted from the numerous and arbitrary encroachments both of the court of Rome, and of their own clergy, had greatly weaned the kingdom from superstition ; and conspicuous symptoms had appeared, on various occasions, of a general desire to shake off the intolerable bondage of papal oppression.

the royal buildings under Henry VII. Parker Hist. Cambr. p. 119. He like Wykeham, was a great builder, but not therefore an architect. Richard Williams, dean of Litchfield, and chaplain to Henry VIII., bore the same office. MSS. Wood, Litchfield. D. 7. Ashmol. Nicholas Townley clerk, was master of the works at Cardinal College. MSS. Twyne, 8. f. 351. Walpole, i. Anecd. Paint. p. 40.

SECTION X.

LONGLAND'S peculiarity of style and versification, seems to have had many cotemporary imitators. One of these is a nameless author on the fashionable history of Alexander the Great : and his poem on this subject is inserted at the end of the beautiful Bodleian copy of the French ROMAN D'ALEXANDRE, before mentioned, with this reference¹. 'Here fayleth a prossesse of this romaunce of Alixaunder the whiche 'prossesse that fayleth ye schulle fynde at the ende of thys boke 'ywrote in Engeliche ryme.' It is imperfect, and begins and proceeds thus².

How Alexander partyd thennys³.

When this weith at his wil wedinge
 Hadde, fful rathe rommede he rydinge
 Thedince so ondrace with his oft
 Alixandre wendeth there wilde contre
 Was wist and wonderfull peple
 That weren proved ful proude, and prys of hevi helde
 Of bodi went thei thare withoute any wede
 And had grave on the ground many grete cavys
 There here wonnyng was wynturus and somerus
 No syte nor no sur stede sothli thei ne hadde
 But holus holwe in the grounde to hide hem inne
 Now is that name to mene the nakid wise
 Wan the kiddeste of the cavus that was kinge holde
 Hurde tydinge telle and loknyng wiste
 That Alixaundre with his ost at lede thidince
 To beholden of hom hure heizest prynce
 Than waies of worshipe wittie and quainte
 With his lettres he let to the lud sende

¹ P. 240. It is in a different hand yet with Saxon characters. It has minatures in water colours.

² There is a poem in the Ashmolean museum, complete in the former part, which I believe is the same. MSS. Ashm. 44. It has 27 passus, and begins thus :

Whener folk fasted and fed, fayne wolde thei her
 Some farand thing, &c.

³ At the end are these rubrics, with void spaces, intended to be filled.

'How Alexandre remewid to a flood that is called Phison.'
 'How king Duidimus sent letters to king Alexandre.'
 'How Duidimus enditid to Alexaundre of here levyng.'
 'How he spareth not Alexandre to telle hym of hys governance.'
 'How he telleth Alexandre of his maumetrie.'
 'How Alexandre sente aunswere to Duidimus by lettres.'
 'How Duidimus sendyd an answer to Alexandre by lettre.'
 'How Alexandre sente Duidimus another lettre.'
 'How Alexandre pight a pelyr of marbyl ther.'

Thanne southte thei sone the foresaide prynce
 And to the schamlese schalk schewen hur lettres
 Than rathe let the reden the sonde
 That newe thythinge is tolde in this wise
 The gentil¹ Geneosophistians that gode were of witte
 To the emperour Alixandre here aunsweris wreten
 This is worschip of word worthi to have
 And in conquerer kid in contres manie
 Us is sertefyed seg as we soth heren
 That thou hast ment with the man among us ferre
 But yf thou kyng to us come with caere to figte
 Of us getist thou no good gome we the warne
 For what richesse . . . us might you us bi reve
 Whan no wordliche wele is with us founde
 We ben sengle of us silfe and semen ful bare
 Nouht welde we nowe but naked we wende
 And that we happili her haven of kynde
 May no man but god make us fine
 Thei thou fonde with thi folke to fighte us alle
 We schulle us kepe on caugt our cavns withinne
 Nevere werred we with wigth upon erthe
 For we ben hid in oure holis or we harme laache hadde
 Thus saide sothli the loude that thi sente
 And al so cof as the king kende the sawe
 New lettres he let the bi take
 And with his sawes of soth he hem alle
 That he wolde faire with his folke in a faire wise
 To bi holden here home and non harme wurke
 So heth the king with hem sente and sithen with his peple
 cosli til hem to kenne of hure fare
 But whan thai sieu the seg with so manye ryde
 Thei war a grison of his grym and wende gref tholie
 Ffast heiede thei to holis and hidden there
 And in the cavus hem kept from the king sterne, &c.

Another piece, written in Longland's manner, is entitled, THE WARRES OF THE JEWES. This was a favourite subject, as I have before observed, drawn from the Latin historical romance, which passes under the name of HEGESIPPUS DE EXCIDIO HIERUSALEM.

In Tyberyus tyme the trewe emperour
 Syr Sesar hym sulf sayes in Rome
 Whyle Pylot was provost under that prynce ryche
 And sewen justice also in Judeus londis
 Herodes under his empire as heritage wolde
 King of Galile was ycallid whan that Crist deyad
 They Sesar sakles wer that oft syn hatide
 Throw Pilet pynd he was and put on the rode
 A pyler pygt was don upon the playne erthe
 His body bouden therto beten with scourgis

¹ Gymnosophists.

Whippes of quyrbole by went his white sides
 Til he al on rede blode ran as rayn on the strete
 Such stockyd hym an a stole with styf menes hondis
 Blyndfelled hym as a be and boffetis hym ragte
 Zif you be a prophete of pris prophecie they sayde
 Which man her aboute bolled the laste
 A thrange thorn crown was thraste on his hed
 . . . casten hym with a cry and on a cros slowen
 Ffor al the harme that he had hasted he nogt
 On hym the vyleny to venge that hys venys brosten
 Bot ay taried on the tyme gif they tone wolde
 Gaf he space that him spilede they he speede lyte
 Yf aynt was as yfynde and no fewer¹, &c.

Notwithstanding what has been supposed above, it is not quite certain, that Longland was the first who led the way in this singular species of versification. His *VISION* was written on a popular subject, and is the only poem, composed in this capricious sort of metre, which has been printed. It is easy to conceive how these circumstances contributed to give him the merit of an inventor on this occasion.

The ingenious doctor Percy has exhibited specimens of two or three other poems belonging to this class². One of these is entitled, *DEATH AND LIFE*: it consists of 229 lines, and is divided into two parts or *Fitts*. It begins thus:

Christ christen king that on the cross tholed,
 Hadde paines and passyons to defend our soules;
 Give us grace on the ground the greatye to serve
 For that royall red blood that rann from thy side.

The subject of this piece is a *VISION*, containing a contest for superiority between *Our lady Dame LIFE*, and the *ugly fiend Dame DEATH*: who with their several attributes and concomitants are personified in a beautiful vein of allegorical painting. *Dame LIFE* is thus forcibly described.

Shee was brighter of her blee than was the bright sonn:
 Her rud redder than the rose that on the rise hangeth:
 Meekely smiling with her mouth, and merry in her lookes;
 Ever laughing for love, as shee like would:
 And as she came by the bankes the boughes eche one
 They lowted to that ladye and layd forth their branches;
 Blossomes and burgens breathed full sweete,

¹ Laud. . . . 22. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Ad calc. 'Hic tractatur bellum Judaicum apud Jerusalem.' f. 19, b. It is also in Brit. Mus. Cott. MSS. CALIG. A. 1. fol. 109.—123. Gyraldus Cambrensis says, that the Welsh and English use alliteration, 'in omni sermone exquiritio.' Descript. Camb. cap. xi. p. 889. O'Flaherty also says of the Irish, 'Non parvæ est apud nos in oratione elegantiae schema, quod Paromæon, i.e. *Assimile*, dicitur: quoties multæ dictiones, ab eadem litera incipientes, ex ordine collocantur.' Ogyg. part. iii. 30, p. 242. Percy's judicious Essay on the METRE OF PIERCE PLOWMAN'S VISIONS.

² Essay on the Metr. of P. P. Vis. p. 8. seq.

Flowers flourished in the frith where she forth stepped,
And the grasse that was gray grened belive.

The figure of DEATH follows, which is equally bold and expressive. Another piece of this kind, also quoted by doctor Percy, is entitled, CHEVELERE ASSIGNE, or DE CIGNE, that is, the *Knight of the Swan*. This is a romance which is extant in a prose translation from the French, among Mr. Garrick's noble collection of old plays¹. We must not forget, that among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a French metrical romance on this subject, entitled, L'YSTOIRE DU CHEVALIER AU SIGNE². Our English poem begins thus³:

All-weldynge god, whence it is his wylle,
Wele he wereth his werke with his owene honde,
For ofte harmes were hente that help wene mygte
Nere the hygnes of hem that lengeth in hevene
For this, &c.

This alliterative measure, unaccompanied with ryhme, and including many peculiar Saxon idioms appropriated to poetry, remained in use so low as the sixteenth centuay. In doctor Percy's *Ancient Ballads*, there is one of this class called THE SCOTTISH FEILDE, containing a very circumstantial narrative of the battle of Flodden fought in the year 1513.

In some of the earliest of our specimens of old English poetry, we have long ago seen that alliteration was esteemed a fashionable and favourite ornament of verse. For the sake of throwing the subject into one view, and further illustrating what has been here said concerning it, I chuse to cite in this place a very ancient hymn to the Virgin Mary, never printed, where this affectation professedly predominates⁴.

I. Hail beo yow⁵ Marie, moodur and may,
Mylde, and meke, and merciabie ;
Heyl folliche fruit of sothfast fay,
Agayn vche stryf studefast and stable !
Heil sothfast soul in vche a say,
Undur the son is non so able.
Heil logge that vr lord in lay,
The formast that never was founden in fable,

¹ K. vol. 10. 'Imprinted at London by me Wylliam Copland.' There is an edition on parchment by W. de Worde, 1512, 'Newly translated out of Frenshe into Englyshe at thin-
stigation of the pyussaunt prynce lorde Edward duke of Buckyngname.' Here I understand French prose.

² 15 E. vi. 9 fol. And in the Royal library at Paris, MSS. 7192, 'Le Roman du Chevalier au Cigne en vers.' Montf. Cat. MSS. ii. p. 789.

³ See MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. i. f. 109, 123.

⁴ Among the Cotton MSS. there is a Norman Saxon alliterative hymn to the Virgin Mary. NER. A. xiv. fol. 240, cod. membran. 8vo. 'On ȝoð ureisun to ure lesdi.' That is, *A good prayer to our lady*.

Criþter milde moder reyte Marie Miner huer leonie, mi leoue leȝdi.

⁵ See some pageant-poetry, full of alliteration, written in the reign of Henry VII., Leland. Coll. iii. App. 180, edit. 1770.

Heil trewe, trouthfull, and trefable,
 Heil cheef i chosen of chastite,
 Heil homely, hende, and amyable
To preye for us to thi sone so fre ! AVE.

- II. Heil stern, that never stinteth liht :
 Heil bush, brennyng that never was brent ;
 Heil rihtful rulere of everi riht,
 Schadewe to schilde that scholde be schent,
 Heil, blessed be yowe blosme briht,
 To trouthe and trust was thine entent ;
 Heil mayden and modur, most of miht,
 Of all mischeves and amendement ;
 Heil spice sprong that never was spent,
 Heil trone of the trinitie ;
 Heil soiene¹ that god us sone to sent
Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE.

- III. Heyl hertely in holinesse.
 Heyl hope of help to heighe and lowe
 Heyl strength and stel of stabylnesse Heyl windowe of hevene wowe,
 Heyl reson of rihtwysnesse, To vche a caityf comfort to knowe,
 Heyl innocent of angernesse, Vr takel, vr tol, that we ontrowe,
 Heyl frend to all that beoth forth flowe
 Heyl liht of love, and of bewte,
 Heyl brihter then the blod on snowe,
 Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE

- IV. Heyl mayden, heyl modur, heyl martir trowe,
 Heyl kyndly i knowe confessour,
 Heyl evenere of old lawe and newe,
 Heyl buildor bold of cristes bour,
 Heyl rose higest of hyde and hewe, Of all ffuytes feirest ffLOUR,
 Heyl turtell trustiest and trewe, Of all trouthe thou are tresour,
 Heyl puyred princesse of paramour,
 Heyl blosme of breere brihtest of ble,
 Heyl owner of eorthly honour,
 Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE, &c.

- V. Heyl hende, heyl holy emperesse,
 Heyle queene corteois, comely, and kynde,
 Heyl distroyere of everi strisse,
 Heyl mender of everi monnes mynde,
 Heil bodi that we ouht to blesse,
 So feythful frend may never mon fynde,
 Heil levere and love of largenesse
 Swete and swetest that never may swynde,
 Heil botenere of everie bodi blynde, Heil borgun brihtes of all bounte,
 Heyl trewore then the wode bynde,
 Yow preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE.

¹ F. Seyen. *Scyon*.

- VI. Heyl modur, heyl mayden, heyl hevenc quene,
 Heyl gatus of paradys,
 Heyl sterre of the se that ever is sene,
 Heyl rich, royall, and ryhtwys,
 Heyl burde i blessed mote yowe bene,
 Heyl perle of al perey the pris,
 Heyl schadewe in vche a schour schene,
 Heyl fairer thae that flour de lys,
 Heyl cher chosen that never nas chis
 Heyl chef chamber of charite
 Heyl in wo that ever was wis
Yowe preye for us thi sone so fre ! AVE, &c. &c¹.

These rude stanzas remind us of the Greek hymns ascribed to Orpheus, which entirely consist of a cluster of the appellations appropriated to each divinity.

SECTION XI.

ALTHOUGH this work is professedly confined to England, yet I cannot pass over two Scotch poets of this period, who have adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to their age ; and who consequently deserve to be mentioned in a general review of the progress of our national poetry. They have written two heroic poems. One of them is John Barbour archdeacon of Aberdeen. He was educated at Oxford ; and Rymer has printed an instrument for his safe passage into England in order to prosecute his studies in that university, in the years 1357 and 1365². David Bruce, king of Scotland. gave him a pension for life, as a reward for his poem called the HISTORY OF ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF THE SCOTS³. It was printed at Glasgow in the year 1671⁴. A battle fought by lord Douglas is thus described.

When that thus thir two battles were	Assembled, as I said you air,
The Stewart Walter that then was	And the good lord als of Dowglas,
In a battle when that they saw	The earl, foroutten dread or aw,
Assemble with his company	On all that folk so sturdily,
	For to help him they held their way,
	And their battle with good array,
Beside the earl a little by	They sembled all so hardily,

¹ MSS. Vernon, f. 122. In this manuscript are several other pieces of this sort. 'The Holy Virgin appears to a priest who often sung to her, and calls him her *foolator*.' MSS. JAMES. xxvi. p. 32.

² Ford. vi. 31, 473.

³ Tanner, Bibl. p. 73.

⁴ 12mo.

That their foes felt ther coming well:
 For with weapons stallwort of steel
 They dang on them with all their might,
 Their foes received well, I heght,
 With swords and spears, and als with mass,
 The battle there so fellon was

And so right great spilling of blood, That on the erd the slouces stood,

The Scottish men so well them bare,
 And so great slaughter made they there,
 And fra so feil the lives they reav'd,
 That all the field was bloody leav'd.
 That time that thir three battles were
 All side by side fighting well near,
 There might men hear many a dint,
 And weapons upon arms stint,
 And might see tumble knights and steeds,
 And many rich and royal weeds
 Fouly defiled under feet,
 Some held on loft, some tint the suet.
 A long while fighting thus they were,
 That men in no wise might hear there.
 Men might hear nought but groans and dints
 That flew, as men strike fire on flints.
 They fought ilk ane so eagerly,
 That they made neither noise nor cry
 But dang on other at their might
 With weapons that were burnisht bright
 The arrows also thick there flaw,
 (That they well might say, that them saw)

That they a hideous shower can ma ; For where they fell, I underta,

They left after them tokening,
 That shall need, as I trow, leeching.
 The English archers shot so fast,
 That might their shot have any last,
 It had been hard to Scottishmen.
 But king Robert, that wel can ken,
 That their archers were perillous,
 And their shot right hard and grievous,
 Ordained forouth the assembly,
 His marshal, with a great menzie,
 Five hundred armed into steele
 That on light horse were horsed well,
 For to prick amongst the archers,
 And to assail them with their spears,
 That they no leisure have to shoot.

This marshal that I hereof mute,

Sir Robert of Keith he was call'd
 When that he saw the battles so
 And saw the archers shoot stoutly
 In hy upon them can he ride,
 And rush'd among them so rudely.

And I before here have you tould.
 Assemble, and together go,
 With all them of his company,
 And overtake them at a side,
 Sticking them so despiteously,

And in lik fusion bearing down, And slaying them forout ransoun,
 That they them skailed e'erilkane ;
 And, fra that time forth, there was nane
 That assembled, shot for to ma.
 When Scots archers saw that they sa
 Reboted were, they wax'd hardy, And with their might shot eagerly
 Among the horsemen that there rade,
 And wounds wide to them they made,
 And slew of them a full great deal. They bore them hardily and well ;
 For fra that their foes archers were Skailed, as I said to you air,
 They more than they were by great thing,
 So that they dread not their shooting.
 They wax'd so hardy, that them thought,
 They should set all their foes at nought.

The following is a specimen of our author's talent at rural description. The verses are extremely soft.

This was in midst of month of May, When birds sing in ilka spray,
 Melland their notes with seemly soun, For softness of the sweet seasoun,
 And leaves of the branches spreeds,
 And blooms bright beside them breeds,
 And fields strawed are with flowers Well savouring of seir colours,
 And all thing worthis, blyth and gay.

The other wrote a poem on the exploits of Sir William Wallace. It was first printed in 1601. And very lately reprinted at Edinburgh in quarto, with the following title. 'The acts and deeds of the most famous and valiant champion Sir William Wallace, knight, of Ellerslie. Written by BLIND HARRY, in the year 1361. Together with ARNALDI BLAIR RELATIONES. Edinburgh, 1758.' No circumstances of the life of our blind bard appear in Dempster¹. This poem, which consists of twelve books, is translated from the Latin of Robert Blare, or Blair, chaplain to Sir William Wallace². The following is a description of the morning, and of Wallace arming himself in his tent³.

Into a vale by a small river fair,
 On either side where wild deer made repair,
 Set watches out that wisely could them keep,
 To supper went, and timeously they sleep,

¹ See Dempst. viii. 349, 662.

² Tit. GESTA WILLELMI WALLAS. Dempst. ii. 148. He flourished in 1300. He has left another Latin poem, DE LIBERATA TYRANNIDE SCOTIA. Arnald Blair, mentioned in the title page in the text, probably Robert's brother, if not the same, was also chaplain to Wallace, and monk of Dumferling, about the year 1327. Relat. ut supr. p. 1. But see p. 9, 10. In the fifth book of the Scotch poem we have this passage, p. 94, v. 533.

Maister JOHN BLAIR was oft in that message,
 A worthy clerk, both wise and als right sage,
 Levyt he was before in PARYS town, &c.

He was the man that principell undertook,
 Of WALLACE life right famous in rensoun,
 With him they were and put in story all

That first compil in dyte the Latin book,
 And THOMAS GRAY parson of Libertoun,
 Oft one or both mickle of his travell, &c.

³ P. 229, P. viii. v. 65. The editor seems to have modernised the spelling.

Of meat and sleep they cease with suffisaunce,
 The night was mirk, overdraise the darksome chance,
 The merry day sprang from the orient,
 With beams bright illuminate occident,
 After Titan Phebus upriseth fair,
 High in the sphere, the signs he made declare.
 Zephyrus then began his morning course,
 The sweet vapour thus from the ground resourse ;
 The humble bregth down from the heaven avail
 In every mead, both frith, forest and dale.
 The clear rede among the rockis rang
 Through grene branches where the byrds blythly sang,
 With joyous voice in heavenly harmony,
 When Wallace thought it was no time to ly :
 He crossyd him, syn suddenly arose,
 To take the air out of his pallion goes
 Maister John Blair was ready to revess,
 In goode intent syne bouned to the mass.
 When it was done, Wallace can him array,
 In his armore, which goodly was and gay ;
 His shining shoes that birnisht was ful been,
 His leg-harness he clapped on so clean,
 Pullane grees he braced on full fast,
 A close birnie with many siker clasp,
 Breast-plate, brasars, that worthy were in wear :
 Beside him forth Jop could his basnet bear ;
 His glittering gloves that graven on either sid
 He seemed well in battell to abide.
 His good girdle, and syne his buirly brand,
 A staffe of steel he gripped in his hand.
 The host him blest, &c.
 Adam Wallaice and Boyd forth with him yeed
 By a river, throughout a florisht mead.
 And as they walk attour the fields so green,
 Out of the south they saw when that the queen
 Toward the host came riding soberly,
 And fifty ladies in her company, &c.

The four following lines on the spring are uncommonly terse and elegant.

Gentle Jupiter, with his mild ordinance,
 Both herb and tree reverts into pleasance ;
 And fresh Flora her flowery mantle spread,
 In every dale both hop, hight, hill, and mead¹.

A different season of the year is here strongly painted.

The dark region appearing wonder fast,
 In November when October was past,

¹ Lib. ix. v. 22, ch. i, p. 250.

The day failed through right course worthit short,
 To banisht man that is no great comfort :
 With their power in paths worthis gang,
 Heavy they think when that the night is lang.
 Thus good Wallace saw the night's messenger ;
 Phebus had lost his fiery beams so clear :
 Out of the wood thei durst not turn that side
 For adversours that in their way would hide¹.

The battle of Black-Earnside, shews our author a master in another style of painting.

Kerlie beheld unto the bold heroun,
 Upon Fawdoun as he was looking down,
 A subtil stroke upward him took that tide
 Under the cheeks the grounden sword gart glide,
 By the mail good, both halse and his craig-bane
 In sunder strake ; thus ended that chiftain,
 To ground he feil, fell folk about him throng,
 Treason, they cry'd, traitors are us among.
 Kerlie, with that, fled out soon at a side,
 His fellow Steven then thought no time to bide.
 The fray was great, and fast away they yeed,
 Both toward Ern ; thus scaped they that dread.
 Butler for wo of weeping might not stint.
 Thus raklesly this good knight have they tint.
 They deemed all that it was Wallace men,
 Or else himself, though they could not him ken ;
 He is right near, we shall him have but fail,
 This feeble wood may little him avail.
 Forty there past again to Saint Johnstoun,
 With this dead corps, to burying made it bown.
 Parted their men, syne divers ways they rode,
 A great power at Doplin still there bode.
 To Dalwryeth the Butler past but let,
 At sundry fords the gate they unbeset,
 To keep the wood while it was day they thought.
 As Wallace thus in the thick forest sought,
 For his two men in mind he had great pain,
 He wist not well, if they were tain or slain,
 Or scaped hail by any jeopardy.
 Thirteen were left with him, no more had he ;
 In the Gask-hall their lodging have they tane.
 Fire got they soon, but meat then had they nane ;
 Two sheep they took beside them of a fold,
 Ordain'd to sup into that seemly hold :
 Graithed in haste some food for them to dight :
 So heard they blow rude horns upon hight.
 Two sent he forth to look what it might be ;
 They bode right long, and no tidings hearde he,

¹ L. v. ch. 1, p. 73, v. i.

But bousteous noise so bryvely blowing fast ;
 So other two into the wood forth past.
 None came again, but bousteously can blaw,
 Into great ire he sent them forth on raw.
 When that alone Wallace was leaved there,
 The awful blast abounded meikle mare ;
 Then trow'd he well they had his lodging seen ;
 His sword he drew of noble metal keen,
 Syne forth he went where at he heard the horn.
 Without the door Fawdoun was him befor,
 As to his sight, his own head in his hand ;
 A cross he made when he saw him so stand.
 At Wallace in the head he swakked there,
 And he in haste soon hint it by the hair,
 Syne out again at him he could it cast,
 Into his heart he greatly was agast.
 Right well he trow'd that was do sprit of man,
 It was some devil, that sic malice began.
 He wist no wale there longer for to bide.
 Up through the hail thus wight Wallace can glide,
 To a close stair, the boards they rave in twin,
 Fifteen foot large he lap out of that inn.
 Up the water he suddenly could fare,
 Again he blink'd what pearance he saw there,
 He thought he saw Fawdoun, that ugly sire,
 That hail hall he had set into a fire ;
 A great rafter he had into his hand.
 Wallace as then no longer would he stand.
 Of his good men full great marvel had he,
 How they were tint through his feil fantasie.
 Trust right well that all this was sooth indeed,
 Suppose that it no point be of the creed.
 Power they had with Lucifer that fell,
 The time when he parted from heaven to hell.
 By sik mischief if his men might be lost,
 Drowned or slain among the English host ;
 Or what it was in likeness of Fawdoun.
 Which brought his men to sudden confusion ;
 Or if the man ended in ill intent,
 Some wicked sprit again for him present.
 I cannot speak of sik divinity,
 To clerks I will let all sic matters be :
 But of Wallace, now forth I will you tell.
 When he was won out of that peril fell,
 Right glad was he that he had scaped sa,
 But for his men great mourning can he ma.
 Flait by himself to the Maker above
 Why he suffer'd he should sik paining prove.
 He wist not well if that it was God's will ;
 Right or wrong his fortune to fulfil,
 Had he pleas'd God, he trow'd it might not be
 He should him thole in sik perplexitie.

But great courage in his mind ever drawe,
Of Englishmen thinking amends to have.
As he was thus walking by him alone
Upon Ern side, making a piteous moan,
Sir John Butler, to watch the fords right,
Out from his men of Wallace had a sight ;
The mist again to the mountains was gone,
To him he rode, where that he made his mone.
On loud he speir'd, What art thou walks that gate ?
A true man, Sir, though my voyage be late ;
Erands I pass from Down unto my lord,
Sir John Stewart, the right for to record.
In Down is now, newly come from the king.
Then Butler said, this is a selcouth thing,
You lied all out, you have been with Wallace,
I shall thee know, ere you come off this place,
To him he start the courser wonder wight,
Drew out a sword, so made him for to light.
Above the knee good Wallace has him tane,
Through thigh and brawn in sunder strake the bane.
Derfly to dead the knight fell on the land.
Wallace the horse soon seized in his hand,
An ackward stroke syne took him in that stead,
His craig in two ; thus was the Butler dead.
An Englishman saw their chiftain was slain,
A spear in rest he cast with all his main,
On Wallace drave, from the horse him to bear ;
Warily he wrought, as worthy man in wear.
The spear he wan withouten more abode,
On horse he lap, and through a great rout rode ;
To Dalwryeth he knew the ford full well :
Before him came feil stuffed in fine steel.
He strake the first, but bade, on the blasoun,
While horse and man both fleet the water down.
Another soon down from his horse he bare,
Stamped to ground, and drown'd withouten mare.
The third he hit in his harness of steel,
Throughout the cost, the spear it brake some deal.
The great power then after him can ride.
He saw no waill there longer for to bide.
His burnisht brand braithly in hand he bare,
Whom he hit right they followed him na mare.
To stuff the chase feil freiks followed fast,
But Wallace make the gayest ay agast.
The muir he took, and through their power yeed,
The horse was good, but yet he had great dread
For failing ere he wan unto a strength,
The chase was great, skail'd over breadth and length,
Through strong danger they had him ay in sight.
At the Blackford there Wallace down can light,
His horse stuffed, for way was deep and lang,
A large great mile wightly on foot could gang.

Ere he was hors'd riders about him cast,
 He saw full well long so he might not last.
 Sad men indeed upon him can renew,
 With returning that night twenty he slew,
 The fiercest ay rudely rebuted he,
 Keaped his horse, and right wisely can flee,
 While that he came the mickest muir amang.
 His horse gave over, and would no further gang¹.

I will close these specimens with an instance of our author's allegorical invention.

In that slumber coming him thought he saw,
 An aged man fast toward him could draw,
 Soon by the hand he hint him hastily,
 I am, he said, in voyage charg'd with thee,
 A sword him gave of basely burnisht steel,
 Good son, he said, this wand you shall bruik weil.
 Of topaz stone him thought the plummet was,
 Both hilt and hand all glittering like the glass.
 Dear son, he said, we tarry here too long,
 Thou shalt go see where wrought is meikle wrong ;
 Then he him led to a mountain on hight,
 The world him thought he might see at a sight.
 He left him there, syne soon from him he went,
 Thereof Wallace studied in his intent,
 To see him more he had still great desire,
 Therewith he saw begin a fellow fire,
 Which braithly burnt in breadth through all the land,
 Scotland all over, from Ross to Solway-sand.
 Then soon to him there descended a queen,
 Illuminate, light, shining full bright and sheen ;
 In her presence appeared so meikle light,
 That all the fire she put out of his sight,
 Gave him a wand of colour red and green,
 With a sapphire saved his face and eyn,
 Welcome, she said, I choose thee for my love.
 Thou art granted by the great God above,
 To help people that suffer meikle wrong,
 With thee as now I may not tarry long,
 Thou shalt return to thy own use again,
 Thy dearest kin are here in meikle pain ;
 This right region you must redeem it all,
 Thy last reward in earth shall be but small ;
 Let not therefore, take redress of this miss,
 To thy reward thou shalt have lasting bliss.
 Of her right hand she beraught him a book,
 And humbly thus her leave full soon she took,
 Unto the cloud ascended off his sight.
 Wallace brake up the book in all his might.

¹ Going—go.

Into three parts the book well written was,
 The first writing was gross letters of brass,
 The second gold, the third was silver sheen.
 Wallace marvell'd what this writing should mean ;
 To read the book he busied him so fast,
 His spirit again to waking mind is past,
 And up he rose, syne soundly forth he went.
 This clerk he found, and told him his intent
 Of his vision, as I have said before,
 Completely through, what needs any words more.
 Dear son, he said, my wit unable is
 To ransack sik, for dread I say amiss ;
 Yet I shall deem, though my cunning be small,
 God grant no charge after my words may fall.
 Saint Andrew was gave thee that sword in hand,
 Of saints he is the vower of Scotland ;
 That mountain is, where he had thee on hight,
 Knowledge to have of wrong that thou must right ;
 The fire shall be fell tidings, ere ye part,
 Which shall be told in many fundry air.
 I cannot well wit what queen that should be,
 Whether Fortune, or our Lady so free,
 Likely it is, by the brightness she brought,
 Mother of him that all the world has wrought.
 The pretty wand, I trow, by mine intent,
 Assigns to you rule and cruel judgment ;
 The red colour, who graithly understood,
 Betokens all to great battle and blood ;
 The green, courage, that thou art now among,
 In trouble and war thou shalt continue long ;
 The sapphire stone she blessed thee withal,
 Is lasting grace, will God, shall to thee fall ;
 The threefold book is but this broken land,
 Thou must redeem by worthiness of hand ;
 The brass letters betokens but to this,
 The great oppress of war and meikle miss,
 The which you shall bring to the right again,
 But you therefore must suffer meikle pain ;
 The gold betokens honour and worthiness,
 Victory in arms, that thou shalt have by grace ;
 The silver shews clean life and heaven's bliss,
 To thy reward that mirth thou shalt not miss,
 Dread not therefore, be out of all despair.
 Further as now hereof I can na mare.

About the present period, historical romances of recent events seem to have commenced. Many of these appear to have been written by heralds¹. In the library of Worcester college at Oxford, there is a poem in French, reciting the achievements of Edward the Black Prince, who

¹ Le Pere Menestrier, Cheval. Ancien. c. v. p. 225. Par. 12mo.

died in the year 1376. It is in the short verse of romance, and was written by the prince's herald, who attended close by his person in all his battles, according to the established mode of those times. This was John Chandois-herald, frequently mentioned in Froissart. In this piece, which is of considerable length, the names of the Englishmen are properly spelled, the chronology exact, and the epitaph¹, forming a sort of peroration to the narrative, the same as was ordered by the prince in his will². This poem, indeed, may seem to claim no place here, because it happens to be written in the French language: yet, exclusive of its subject, a circumstance I have mentioned, that it was composed by a herald, deserves particular attention, and throws no small illustration on the poetry of this era. There are several proofs which indicate that many romances of the fourteenth century, if not in verse, at least those written in prose, were the work of heralds. As it was their duty to attend their masters in battle, they were enabled to record the most important transactions of the field with fidelity. It was customary to appoint none to this office but persons of discernment, address, experience, and some degree of education³. At solemn tournaments they made an essential part of the ceremony. Here they had an opportunity of observing accoutrements, armorial distinctions, the number and appearance of the spectators, together with the various events of the tourney, to the best advantage: and they were afterwards obliged to compile an ample register of this strange mixture of foppery and ferocity⁴. They were necessarily connected with the minstrels at public festivals, and thence acquired a facility of reciting adventures. A learned French antiquary is of opinion, that anciently the French heralds, called *Hiraux*, were the same as the minstrels, and that they sung metrical tales at festivals⁵. They frequently received fees or largesse in common with the minstrels⁶. They travelled into different countries, and saw the fashions of foreign courts, and foreign tourna-

¹ It is a fair and beautiful MSS. on vellum. It is an oblong octavo, and formerly belonged to Sir William Le Neve, Clarencieux herald.

² The hero's epitaph is frequent in romances. In the French romance of *SAINTRE*, written about this time, his epitaph is introduced.

³ Le Pere Menestrier Cheval. Ancien. ut supr. p. 225, ch. v. 'Que l'on croyoit avoir l'*Esprit*, &c.' Feron, says, that they gave this attendance in order to make a true report. *L'Insit. des Roys et Herauds*, p. 44, a. See also Favon, p. 57. See a curious description in Froissart, of an interview between the Chandois herald, mentioned above, and a marshal of France, where they enter into a warm and very serious dispute concerning the *devices d'amour* borne by each army. *Liv. i. ch. 161*.

⁴ 'L'un des principaux fonctions des Herautes d'armes estoit se trouver au jousts, &c. ou ils gardoient les escus pendans, recevoient les noms et les blasons des chevaliers, en tenoient REGISTRE, et en composoient recueils, &c.' Menestrier, *Orig. des Armoir*, p. 180. See also p. 119. These registers are mentioned in Perceforest, xi. 68, 77.

⁵ Carpentier, *Suppl. Du Cang. Gloss. Lat.* p. 750, tom. ii.

⁶ Thus at St. George's feast at Windsor we have, 'Diversis heraldis et ministrallis, &c.' *Ann. 21. Ric. ii. 9 Hen. vi.* Apud Anstis, *Ord. Gart.* i. 56, 108. And again, *Exit. Pell. M. ann. 22, Edw. iii.* 'Magister Andreæ Roy Norreys, [a herald,] Lybekin le Piper, et Hanakino filio suo, et sex aliis *menstrallis regis* in denariis eis liberatis de dono regis, in subsidium expensarum suarum, *lv. s. iv. d.*'—*Exit. Pell. P. ann. 33, Edw. ii.* 'Willielmo Volauit *regi heraldorum et ministrallis* existentibus apud Smithfield in ultimo hastiludio de dono regis, *x l.*' I could give many other proofs.

ments. They not only committed to writing the process of the lists, but it was also their business, at magnificent feasts, to describe the number and parade of the dishes, the quality of the guests, the brilliant dresses of the ladies, the courtesy of the knights, the revels, disguisings, banquets, and every other occurrence most observable in the course of the solemnity. Spenser alludes expressly to these heraldic details, where he mentions the splendor of Florimel's wedding.

To tell the glory of the feast that day,
The goodly servyse, the devisefull sights,
The bridegrome's state, the bride's most rich array,
The pride of ladies, and the worth of knights,
The royall banquettes, and the rare delights,
Were work fit for an HERALD, not for me¹.

I suspect that Chaucer, not perhaps without ridicule, glances at some of these descriptions, with which his age abounded; and which he probably regarded with less reverence, and read with less edification, than did the generality of his cotemporary readers.

Why shulde I tellen of the rialte
Of that wedding? or which course goth befor?
Who blowith in a trumpe, or in a horn?²

Again, in describing Cambuscan's feast.

Of which shall I tell all the array,
Then would it occupie a sommer's day:
And eke it nedeth not to devise,
At everie course the order of servise:
I will not tellen as now of her strange sewes,
Ne of her swans, ne of her heronsewes³.

And at the feast of Theseus, in the KNIGHT'S TALE⁴.

The minstralcie, the service at the feste,
The grete geftes also to the most and leste,
The riche array of Theseus palleis,
Ne who sat first or last upon the deis,
What ladies feyrist ben, or best daunsing,
Or which of them can best dauncin or sing,
Ne who most felingly spekith of love,
Ne what haukes sittin on perchis above,
Ne what houndes ligen on the floure adoun,
Of all this now I make no mentioun.

In the FLOURE and the LEAF, the same poet has described in eleven long stanzas, the procession to a splendid tournament, with all the proximity and exactness of a herald⁵. The same affectation, derived from the same sources, occurs often in Ariosto.

¹ F. Q. v. iii. 3.

⁴ V. 2199, p. 17, Urr.

² Man of Lawe's T. v. 704.

³ Squires T. v. 83.

⁵ From v. 204, to v. 287.

It were easy to illustrate this doctrine by various examples. The famous French romance of SAINTRE was evidently the performance of a herald. John de Saintre, the knight of the piece, was a real person, and, according to Froissart, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1356¹. But the compiler confounds chronology, and ascribes to his hero many pieces of true history belonging to others. This was a common practice in these books. Some authors have supposed that this romance appeared before the year 1380². But there are reasons to prove, that it was written by Antony de la Sale, a Burgundian, author of a book of CEREMONIES, from his name very quaintly entitled LA SALLADE, and frequently cited by our learned antiquary Selden³. This Antony came into England to see the solemnity of the queen's coronation in the year 1445⁴. I have not seen any French romance which has preserved the practices of chivalry more copiously than this of SAINTRE. It must have been an absolute master-piece for the rules of tilting, martial customs, and public ceremonies prevailing in its author's age. In the library of the Office of Arms, there remains a very accurate description of a feast of Saint George, celebrated at Windsor in 1471⁵. It appears to have been written by the herald Blue-mantle Poursuivant. Menestrier says, that Guillaume Rucher, herald of Henault, has left a large treatise, describing the tournaments annually celebrated at Lisle in Flanders⁶. In the reign of Edward IV., John Smarte, a Norman, garter king at arms, described in French the tournament held at Bruges, for nine days, in honour of the marriage of the duke of Burgundy with Margaret the king's daughter⁷. There is a French poem, entitled, *Les noms et les armes des seigneurs, &c. a l'assiege de Karleverch en Escocce*, 1300⁸. This was undoubtedly written by a herald. The author thus describes the banner of John duke of Bretagne.

Baniere avoit cointee et parce	De or et de asur eschequeree
Au rouge ourle o jaunes lupars	Determinee estoit la quarte pars ⁹ .

¹ Froissart, Hist. i. p. 178.

² Bysshe, Not. in Upton. Milit. Offic. p. 56. Menestrier, Orig. Arm. p. 23.

³ Tit. Hon. p. 413, &c. ⁴ Anst. Ord. Gart. ii. 321. ⁵ MSS. Offic. Arm. M. 15. f. 12, 13.

⁶ 'Guillaume Rucher, heraut d'armes du titre de Heynaut, a fait un gros volume des rois de l'EpINETTE a Lisle en Flanders; c'est une ceremonie, ou un feste, dont il a decrit les joustes, tournois, noms, armoiries, livres, et equipages de divers seigneurs, qui se rendoient de divers endroits, avec le catalogues de rois de cette feste.' Menestr. l'Orig. des Armoir. p. 64.

⁷ See many other instances in MSS. Harl. 69, fol. entit. THE BOOKE OF CERTAINE TRIUMPHES. See also APPENDIX to the new edition of Leland's COLLECTANEA.

⁸ MSS. Cott. Brit. Mus.

⁹ The bishop of Gloucester has most obligingly condescended to point out to me another source, to which many of the romances of the fourteenth century owed their existence. Montfaucon, in his MONUMENS DE LA MONARCHIE FRANCOISE, has printed the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint Esprit au droit desir ou du Noeud entabli par Louis d'Anjou roi de Jerusalem et Sicile en 1352-3-4*, tom. ii. p. 329. This was an annual celebration *au Chastel de l'Eufanchanti du merveilleux peril*. The castle, as appears by the monuments which accompany these statutes, was built at the foot of the obscure grot of the ENCHANTMENTS of Virgil. The statutes are as extraordinary as if they had been drawn up by Don Quixote himself, or his assessors the curate and the barber. From the seventh chapter we learn, that the knights

The pompous circumstances of which these heraldic narratives consisted, and the minute prolixity with which they were displayed, seem to have infected the professed historians of this age. Of this there are various instances in Froissart, who had no other design than to compile a chronicle of real facts. I will give one example out of many. At a treaty of marriage between our Richard II. and Isabel daughter of Charles V. king of France, the two monarchs, attended with a noble retinue, met and formed several encampments in a spacious plain, near the castle of Guynes. Froissart expends many pages in relating at large the costly furniture of the pavilions, the riches of the side-boards, the profusion and variety of sumptuous liquors, spices, and dishes, with their order of service, the number of the attendants, with their address and exact discharge of duty in their respective offices, the presents of gold and precious stones made on both sides, and a thousand other particulars of equal importance, relating to the parade of this royal interview¹. On this account, Caxton, in his exhortation to the knights of his age, ranks Froissart's history, as a book of chivalry, with the romances of Lancelot and Percival; and recommends it to their attention, as a manual equally calculated to inculcate the knightly virtues of courage and courtesy². This indeed was in an age when not only the courts of princes, but the castles of barons, vied with one another in the lustre of their shews: when tournaments, coronations, royal interviews, and solemn festivals, were the grand objects of mankind. Froissart was an eye-witness of many of the ceremonies which he describes. His passion seems to have been that of seeing magnificent spectacles, and of hearing reports concerning them³. Although a canon of two churches, he passed his life in travelling from court to court, and from castle to castle⁴. He thus, either from his own observation, or the credible informations of others, easily procured suitable materials for a history, which professed only to deal in sensible objects, and those of the most splendid and conspicuous kind. He was familiarly known to two kings of England, and one of Scotland⁵. But the court which he most admired was

who came to this yearly festival at the *chatel de l' euf*, were obliged to deliver in writing to the clerks of the chapel of the castle their yearly adventures. Such of these histories as were thought worthy to be recorded, the clerks are ordered to transcribe in a book, which was called *Le livre des avenemens aux chevaliers, &c. Et demerra le dit livre toujours en la dicte chapelle*. This sacred register certainly furnished from time to time ample materials to the romance writers. And this circumstance gives a new explanation to a reference which we so frequently find in romances: I mean, that appeal which they so constantly make to some authentic record.

¹ Froissart's *CHRONICLE*, translated by Lord Berners. Pinson, 1523, vol. ii. f. 242.

² *Boke of the Ordre of Chevalrye or Knighthood: Translated out of the Frenske and imprinted by Wyllyam Caxton.* S.D. Perhaps 1484, 4to.

³ His father was a painter of armories. This might give him an early turn for shews. See *M. de la Curne de S. Palaye*, *Mem. Lit.* tom. x. p. 664. edit. 4to.

⁴ He was originally a clerk of the chamber to Philippa, queen of Edward III. He was afterwards canon and treasurer of Chimay in Henault, and of Lisle in Flanders: and chaplain to Guy earl of Castellon. Labor. *Introd. a l'Hist. de Charles vi.* p. 69. Compare also Froissart's *Chron.* ii. f. 29, 305, 319. And Bullart, *Academ. des Arts et des Scienc.* i. p. 125, 126.

⁵ *Chron.* ii. f. 158, 161.

that of Gaston earl of Foix, at Orlaix in Bearn; for, as he himself acquaints us, it was not only the most brilliant in Europe, but the grand centre for tidings of martial adventures¹. It was crowded with knights of England and Aragon. In the mean time it must not be forgot, that Froissart, who from his childhood was strongly attached to carousals, the music of minstrels, and the sports of hawking and hunting², cultivated the poetry of the troubadours, and was a writer of romances³. This turn, it must be confessed, might have some share in communicating that romantic cast to his history which I have mentioned. During his abode at the court of the earl of Foix, where he was entertained for twelve weeks, he presented to the earl his collection of the poems of the duke of Luxemburgh, consisting of sonnets, balades, and virelays. Among these was included a romance, composed by himself, called MELIADER, or THE KNIGHT OF THE SUN OF GOLD. Gaston's chief amusement was to hear Froissart read this romance⁴ every evening after supper⁵. At his introduction to Richard II., he presented that brilliant monarch with a book beautifully illuminated, engrossed with his own hand, bound in crimson velvet, and embellished with silver bosses, clasps, and golden roses, comprehending all the matters of AMOURS and MORALITIES, which in the course of twenty-four years he had composed⁶. This was in the year 1396.

¹ Chron. ii. f. 30. This was in 1381.

² Mem. Lit. ut supr. p. 665.

³ Speaking of the death of king Richard, Froissart quotes a prediction from the old French prose romance of BRUT, which he says was fulfilled in that catastrophe. Liv. iv. c. 119. Froissart will be mentioned again as a poet.

⁴ I take this opportunity of remarking, that romantic tales or histories appear at a very early period to have been READ as well as SUNG at feasts. So Wace in the *Roman du Rou* in the British Museum, above-mentioned.

Doit l'en les vers et les regestes,

Et les estoires LIRE as festes,

⁵ Froissart brought with him for a present to Gaston Earl of Foix four greyhounds, which were called by the romantic names of *Tristram*, *Hector*, *Brut*, and *Roland*. Gaston was so fond of hunting that he kept upwards of 600 dogs in his castle. M. de la Curne, ut supr. p. 676, 678. He wrote a treatise on hunting, printed 1520. See Verdier, Art. GASTON Comte de Foix. In illustration of the former part of this note, Crescimbeni says, 'Che in molte nobilissime famiglie Italiane, ha 400 a piu anni, passarono i nomi de' Lancillotti de' Tristram, de' Galvani, di Galotti, delle Isotte, [Isoulde] delle Genevre, e d'altri cavalieri, a dame in esse TAVOLA ROTONDA operanti, &c.' Istori. Volg. Poes. vol. i. lib. v. p. 327. Venez. 4to.

⁶ I should think that this was his romance of MELIADER. Froissart says, that the king at receiving it asked him what the book treated of. He answered, *d'Amour*. The king, adds our historian, seemed much pleased at this; and examined the book in many places, for he was fond of reading as well as speaking French. He then ordered Richard Crenon, the chevalier in waiting, to carry it into his privy chamber, *dont il me fit bon chere*. He gave copies of the several parts of his chronicle, as they were finished, to his different patrons. Le Laboureur says, that Froissart sent fifty-six quires of his ROMAN AU CRONIKES to Guillaume de Bailly an illuminator; which, when illuminated, were intended as a present to the king of England. Hist. ch. vi. En la vie de Louis duc d'Anjou, p. 67 seq. See also Cron. i. iv. c. i.—iii. 26. There are two or three fine illuminated copies of Froissart now remaining among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum. Among the stores of Henry VIII. at his manor of Bedington in Surrey, I find the fashionable reading of the times exemplified in the following books, viz. 'Item, a great book of parchmente written and lymned with gold of graver's work *De Confessione Anantis*, with xviii other bookes, Le premier volume de Lancelot, FROISSART, Le grant voiage de Jerusalem, Enguerain de Monstrelot, &c.' MSS. Harl. 1419, f. 382. Froissart was here properly classed.

When he left England the same year¹, the king sent him a massy goblet of silver, filled with one hundred nobles².

As we are approaching to Chaucer, let us here stand still, and take a retrospect of the general manners. The tournaments and carousals of our ancient princes, by forming splendid assemblies of both sexes, while they inculcated the most liberal sentiments of honour and heroism, undoubtedly contributed to introduce ideas of courtesy, and to encourage decorum. Yet the national manners still retained a great degree of ferocity, and the ceremonies of the most refined courts in Europe had often a mixture of barbarism, which rendered them ridiculous. This absurdity will always appear at periods when men are so far civilised as to have lost their native simplicity, and yet have not attained just ideas of politeness and propriety. Their luxury was inelegant, their pleasures indelicate, their pomp cumbersome and unwieldy. In the mean time it may seem surprising, that the many schools of philosophy which flourished in the middle ages, should not have corrected and polished the times. But as their religion was corrupted by superstition, so their philosophy degenerated into sophistry. Nor is it science alone, even if founded on truth, that will polish nations. For this purpose, the powers of imagination must be awakened and exerted, to teach elegant feelings, and to heighten our natural sensibilities. It is not the head only that must be informed, but the heart must also be moved. Many classic authors were known in the thirteenth century, but the scholars of that period wanted taste to read and admire them. The pathetic or sublime strokes of Virgil would be but little relished by theologists and metaphysicians.

SECTION XII.

THE most illustrious ornament of the reign of Edward III., and of his successor Richard II., was Jeffrey Chaucer ; a poet with whom the history of our poetry is by many supposed to have commenced : and who has been pronounced, by a critic of unquestionable taste and

¹ Froissart says, that he accompanied the king to various palaces, 'A Elten, a Ledos, a Kinkestove, a Cenes, a Certesee, et a Windsor.' That is, Eltham, Leeds, Kingston, Chertsey, &c. Chron. liv. iv. c. 119, p. 348. The French are not much improved at this day spelling English places and names. 'Perhaps by *Cenes*, Froissart means SHENE, the royal palace at Richmond.'

² Cron. f. 251, 252, 255, 319, 348. Bayle, who has an article on Froissart, had no idea of searching for anecdotes of Froissart's life in his CHRONICLE. Instead of which, he swells his notes on this article with the contradictory accounts of Moreri, Vossius, and others: whose disputes might have been all easily settled by recurring to Froissart himself, who has interspersed in his history many curious particulars relating to his own life and works.

discernment, to be the first English versifier who wrote poetically¹. He was born in the year 1328, and educated at Oxford, where he made a rapid progress in the scholastic sciences as they were then taught : but the liveliness of his parts, and the native gaiety of his disposition, soon recommended him to the patronage of a magnificent monarch, and rendered him a very popular and acceptable character in the brilliant court which I have above described. In the mean time, he added to his accomplishments by frequent tours into France and Italy, which he sometimes visited under the advantages of a public character. Hitherto our poets had been persons of a private and circumscribed education, and the art of versifying, like every other kind of composition, had been confined to recluse scholars. But Chaucer was a man of the world : and from this circumstance we are to account, in great measure, for the many new embellishments which he conferred on our language and our poetry. The descriptions of splendid processions and gallant carousals, with which his works abound, are a proof that he was conversant with the practices and diversions of polite life. Familiarity with a variety of things and objects, opportunities of acquiring the fashionable and courtly modes of speech, connections with the great at home, and a personal acquaintance with the vernacular poets of foreign countries, opened his mind and furnished him with new lights². In Italy he was introduced to Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galeazzo duke of Milan, with the duke of Clarence : and it is not improbable that Boccaccio was of the party³. Although Chaucer undoubtedly studied the works of these celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante before this fortunate interview ; yet it seems likely, that these excursions gave him a new relish for their compositions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables. His travels likewise enabled him to cultivate the Italian and Provencal languages with the greatest success : and induced him to polish the asperity, and enrich the sterility of his native versification, with softer cadences, and a more copious and variegated phraseology. In this attempt, which was authorised by the recent and popular examples of Petrarch in Italy, and Alain Chartier in France⁴, he was countenanced and assisted by his friend John Gower, the early guide and encourager

¹ Johnson's DICTIONARY, Pref. p. 1.

² The earl of Salisbury, beheaded by Henry IV., could not but patronise Chaucer. I do not mean for political reasons. The earl was a writer of verses, and very fond of poetry. On this account, his acquaintance was much cultivated by the famous Christina of Pisa ; whose works, both in prose and verse, compose so considerable a part of the old French literature. She used to call him 'Gracieux chevalier, aimant dictiez, et lui-meme gracieux dicteur.' See M. Boivin, Mem. Lit. tom. ii. p. 767, seq. 4to. I have seen none of this earl's *Ditties*. Otherwise he would have been here considered in form, as an English poet.

³ Froissart was also present. VIE DE PETRARQUE, iii. 772. Amst. 1766, 4to. I believe Paulus Jovius is the first who mentions this anecdote. Vit. Galeas. ii. p. 152.

⁴ Leland, Scrip. Brit. 421.

of his studies¹. The revival of learning in most countries appear to have first owed its rise to translation. At rude periods the modes of original thinking are unknown, and the arts of original composition have not yet been studied. The writers therefore of such periods are chiefly and very usefully employed in importing the ideas of other languages into their own. They do not venture to think for themselves, nor aim at the merit of inventors, but they are laying the foundations of literature: and while they are naturalising the knowledge of more learned ages and countries by translation, they are imperceptibly improving the national language. This has been remarkably the case, not only in England, but in France and Italy. In the year 1387, John Trevisa, canon of Westbury in Wiltshire, and a great traveller, not only finished a translation of the Old and New Testaments, at the command of his munificent patron Thomas lord Berkley², but also translated Higden's POLYCHRONICON, and other Latin pieces³. But these translations would have been alone insufficient to have produced or sustained any considerable revolution in our language: the great work was reserved for Gower and Chaucer. Wickliffe had also translated the bible⁴: and in other respects his attempts to bring about a reformation in religion at this time proved beneficial to English literature. The orthodox divines of this period generally wrote in Latin: but Wickliffe, that his arguments might be familiarised to common readers and the bulk of the people, was obliged to compose in English his numerous theological treatises against the papal corruptions. Edward III., while he perhaps intended only to banish a badge of conquest, greatly contributed to establish the national dialect, by abolishing the use of the Norman tongue in the public acts and judicial proceedings, as we have before observed, and by substituting the national language of the country. But Chaucer manifestly first taught his countrymen to write English; and formed a style by naturalising words from the Provencal, at that time the most polished dialect of any in Europe, and the best adapted to the purposes of poetical expression.

¹ Gower, *Confess. Amant.* l. v. fol. 190, b. Barthel, 1554.

And grete wel Chaucer, when ye mete,
For in the flowers of his youth,
Of dities and of songs glade

As my disciple and my poete:
In sundrie wise as he well couth,
The which he for my sake made, etc.

² H. Wharton, *Append. Cav.* p. 49.

³ Such as Bartholomew Hantwille *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, lib. xix. Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1494 fol. And Vegetius *De Arte Militari*, MSS. Digb. 233. Bibl. Bodl. In the same MSS. is Ægidius Romanus *De Regimine Principum*, a translation probably by Trevisa. He also translated some pieces of Richard Fitzralph, archbishop of Armagh. See *supr.* p. 291. He wrote a tract, prefixed to his version of the POLYCHRONICON, on the utility of translations. *De Utilitate Translationum. Dialogus inter Clericum et Patronum*. See more of his translations in MSS. Harl. 1900. I do not find his ENGLISH BIBLE in any of our libraries, nor do I believe that any copy of it now remains. Caxton mentions it in the preface to his edition of the English POLYCHRONICON.

⁴ It is observable, that he made his translation from the vulgate Latin version of Jerom. It was finished 1383. See MSS. Cod. Eibl. Coll. Eman. Cant. 102.

It is certain that Chaucer abounds in classical allusions : but his poetry is not formed on the ancient models. He appears to have been an universal reader, and his learning is sometimes mistaken for genius : but his chief sources were the French and Italian poets. From these originals two of his capital poems, the KNIGHT'S TALE¹, and the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, are imitations or translations. The first of these is taken from Boccacio.

Boccacio was the disciple of Petrarch ; and although principally known and deservedly celebrated as a writer or inventor of tales, he was by his cotemporaries usually placed in the third rank after Dante and Petrarch. But Boccacio having seen the Platonic sonnets of his master Petrarch, in a fit of despair committed all his poetry to the flames², except a single poem, of which his own good taste had long taught him to entertain a more favourable opinion. This piece, thus happily rescued from destruction, is at present so scarce and so little known, even in Italy, as to have left its author but a slender proportion, of that eminent degree of poetical reputation, which he might have justly claimed from so extraordinary a performance. It is an heroic poem, in twelve books, entitled, LE TESEIDE, and written in the octave stanza, called by the Italians *ottava rima*, which Boccacio adopted from the old French chansons, and here first introduced among his countrymen³. It was printed at Ferrara, but with some deviations from the original, and even misrepresentations of the story, in the year 1475⁴. Afterwards, I think, in 1488. And for the third and last time at Venice, in the year 1528⁵. But the corruptions have been suffered to remain through every edition.

Whether Boccacio was the inventor of the story of this poem is a curious enquiry. It is certain that Theseus was an early hero of romance⁶. He was taken from that grand repository of the Grecian heroes, the History of Troye, written by Guido de Colonna⁷. In the royal library at Paris, there is a MSS. entitled, The ROMAN DE THESEUS ET DE GADIFER². Probably this is the printed French romance, under the title. 'Histoire du chevalier THESEUS de Cou-

¹ Chaucer alludes to some book from whence this tale was taken, more than once, viz. v. 1. 'Whilom, as *olde stories* tellin us,' v. 1465. 'As *olde books* to us saine, that *all this storie telleth more plain*,' v. 2814. 'Of *soulis fynd* I nought in this *registre*.' That is, this history, or narrative. See also v. 2297. In the *Legende of good women*, where Chaucer's works are mentioned, is this passage, which I do not well understand, v. 420.

And al the love of Palamon and Arcite Of Thebis, *though the storie is known lite.*

² Goujet, Bibl. Fr. Tom. vii. p. 328. But we must except, that besides the poem mentioned below, Boccacio's AMAZONIDA, E FORZE D'ERCOLE, are both now extant : and were printed at Ferrara in, or about, the year 1475 fol.

³ Crescimben, Istor. Volgar. Poes. vol. i. L. i. p. 65. Ven. 1731, 4to.

⁴ Poema della TESEIDE del Boccacio chiosato, e dichiarato du Andrea de Bassi in Ferrara, 1475, fol.

⁵ In Lydgate's TEMPLE OF GLAS, never printed, among the lovers painted on the wall is Theseus killing the Minotaure. I suppose from Ovid. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Fairfax, 16. Or from Chaucer, *Legende Ariadne*.

⁶ MSS. Bibl. [Reg. Paris.] Tom. ii. 974. E.

logne, par sa prouesse empereur de Rome, et aussi de son fils Gadifer 'empereur du Greece, et de trois enfans du dit Gadifer, traduite de vieille rime Picarde en prose Francoise.' Paris 1534¹. Gadifer, with whom Theseus is joined in this ancient tale, written probably by a troubadour of Picardy, is a champion in the oldest French romances². He is mentioned frequently in the French romance of Alexander.³ In the romance of PERCEFORREST, he is called king of Scotland, and said to be crowned by Alexander the great⁴. But whether or no this prose HITOIRE DU CHEVALIER THESEUS is the story of Theseus in question, or whether this is the same Theseus, I cannot ascertain. There is likewise in the same royal library a manuscript, called by Montfaucon, HISTORIA THESEI IN LINGUA VULGARI, in ten books⁵. The Abbe Goujet observes, that there is in some libraries of France an old French translation of BOCCACCIO'S THESEID, from which Anna de Graville formed the French poem of PALAMON and ARCITE, at the command of queen Claude, wife of Francis I., about the year 1487⁶. Either the translation used by Anna de Graville, or her poem, is perhaps the second of the manuscripts mentioned by Montfaucon. Boccacio's THESEID has also been translated into Italian prose, by Nicholas Granuci and printed at Lucca in 1579⁷. Boccacio himself mentions the story of Palamon and Arcite. This may seem to imply that the story existed before his time: unless he artfully intended to recommend his own poem on the subject by such an allusion. It is where he introduces two lovers singing a portion of this tale. 'Dioneo 'e Fiametta gran pezza canterona insieme d'ARCITE e de PALAMONE⁸.' By Dioneo, Boccacio represents himself; and by Fiametta, his mistress, Mary of Aragon, a natural daughter of Rob. king of Naples.

I confess I am of opinion, that Boccacio's THESEID is an original composition. But there is a Greco-barbarous poem extant on this subject, which, if it could be proved to be antecedent in point of time to the Italian poem, would degrade Boccacio to a mere translator on this occasion. It is a matter that deserves to be examined at large, and to be traced with accuracy.

This Greek poem is as little known and as scarce as Boccacio's THESEID. It is entitled, *Θησέος καὶ γάμου τῆς Ἑμῆλιας*. It was printed in quarto at Venice in the year 1529. *Stampata in Vinegia per*

¹ Fol. tom. ii. Again, *ibid.* 4to. Bl. Lett. Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. p. 191.

² The chevaliers of the courts of Charles the fifth and sixth adopted names from the old romances, such as Lancelot, Gadifer, Carados, &c. *Mem. anc. Cheval.* i. p. 340.

³ *Historie du Perceforrest roy de la Gr. Bretagne, et Gadifer roy d'Escoffe, &c.* 6 tom. Paris, 1531. fol.

⁴ *Bibl. MSS.* ut *supr.* p. 773.

⁵ 4to. There is a French prose translation with it. The THESEID has also been translated into French prose by D. C. C. 1597. 12mo. Paris. 'La THESEIDE de Jean Boccace, contenant les chastes amours de deux chevaliers Thebans, Arcite et Polemon, &c.' Jane de la Fontaine also translated into French verse this poem. She died 1536. Her translation was never printed. It is applauded by Joannes Secundus, *Eleg.* xv.

⁶ *Giorn.* vii. Nov. 10. p. 348. edit. Vineg. 1548. 4to. Chaucer himself alludes to this story, *El. Kn.* v. 369. Perhaps on the same principle.

*Giovanantonio et fratelli da Sabbio a requisitione de M. Damiano de Santa Maria de Spici MDXXIX. del Mese de Decembrio*¹. It is not mentioned by Crusius or Fabricius: but it is often cited by Du Cange in his Greek glossary, under the title, DE NUPTII THESEI ET ÆMILIÆ. The heads of the chapters are adorned with rude wooden cuts of the story. I once suspected that Boccacio, having received this poem from some of his learned friends among the Grecian exiles, who being driven from Constantinople took refuge in Italy about the fourteenth century, translated it into Italian. Under this supposition, I was indeed surprised to find the idea of chivalry, and the ceremonies of a tournament minutely described, in a poem which appeared to have been written at Constantinople. But this difficulty was soon removed, when I recollected that the Franks, Venetians, and Germans, had been in possession of that city for more than one hundred years; and that Baldwin earl of Flanders was elected emperor of Constantinople in the year 1204, and was succeeded by four Latin or Frankish emperors, down to the year 1261². Add to this, that the word *τερνεμέντον* a TOURNAMENT, occurs in the Byzantine historians³. From the same communication likewise,

¹ A MSS. of it is in the Royal library at Paris, Cod. 2569. Du Cange, Ind. Auct. Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. p. 65. col. r.

² About which period it is probable that the anonymous Greek poem, called the *Loves of Lybister and Rhodamna*, was written. This appears by the German name Frederic, which often occurs in it, and is grecised, with many other German words. In a MSS. of this poem which Crusius saw, were many paintings and illuminations; where, in the representation of a battle, he observed no guns, but javelins, and bows and arrows. He adds, 'et musicæ testudines.' It is written in the iambic measure mentioned below. It is a series of wandering adventures with little art or invention. Lybister, the son of a Latin king, and a Christian, sets forward accompanied with an hundred attendants in search of Rhodamna, whom he had lost by the stratagems of a certain old woman skilled in magic. He meets Clitophon son of a king in Armenia. They undergo various dangers in different countries. Lybister relates his dream concerning a partridge and an eagle; and how from that dream he fell in love with Rhodamna daughter of Chyses a pagan king, and communicated his passion by sending an arrow, to which his name was affixed, into a tower, or castle, called Argyrocastre, &c. See Crusii Turco-Græcia, p. 974. But we find a certain species of erotic romances, some in verse and some in prose, existing in the Greek empire, the remains and the dregs of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, Xenophon the Ephesian, Charito, Eustathius or Eumathius, and others, about or rather before the year 1200. Such are the *Loves of Rhodante and Dosicles* of Theodorus Prodromus, who wrote about the year 1130. This piece was imitated by Nicetas Eugenianus in the *Loves of Charicell and Drosilla*. See Labb. Bibl. Nov. MSS. p. 220. Whether or no *The Loves of Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe*, *The Erotic history of Hemperius*, *The history of the Loves of Florius and Platzaflora*, with some others, all by anonymous authors, and in Greco-barbarous iambics, were written at Constantinople; or whether they were the compositions of the learned Greeks after their dispersion, of whom more will be said hereafter, I am not able to determine. Nessel. i. p. 342. 343. Meurs Gloss. Gr. Barb. V. Βάνειν. And Lambecc. v. p. 262. 264.

³ As also *Τόρνς Hastiludium*, Fr. *Tournoi*. And *Τουρνέσιον hastiludio contendere*. John Cantacuzenus relates, that when Anne of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus, the fourth earl of the Allobroges, was married to the emperor Andronicus, junior, the Frankish and Savoyard nobles, who accompanied the princess, held tilts and tournaments before the court at Constantinople; which, he adds, the Greeks learned of the Franks. This was in the year 1326. Hist. Byzant. l. i. cap. 42. But Nicetas says, that when the emperor Manuel made some stay at Antioch, the Greeks held a solemn tournament against the Franks. This was about the year 1160. Hist. Byzant. l. iii. cap. 3. Cinnamus observes, that the same emperor Manuel altered the shape of the shields and lances of the Greeks to those of the Franks. Hist. Byzant. lib. iii. Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote about the year 1340, affirms, that the Greeks learned this practice from the Franks. Hist. Byzant. l. x. p. 339. edit. fol. Genev. 1615. The word *Καβαλλάριοι*, Knights, *Chevaliers*, occurs often in the Byzantine historians, even as early as Anna Commena, who wrote about 1140. Alexiad. lib. xiii. p. 411. And we have in J. Cantacuzenus, 'τὴν Καβαλαρίων παρίχῃ τιμήν,' *He conferred the honour of Knighthood*.

I mean the Greek exiles, I fancied Boccaccio might have procured the stories of several of his tales in the *DECAMERON*: as, for instance, that of *CYMON* and *IPHIGENIA*, where the names are entirely Grecian, and the scene laid in Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, and other parts of Greece belonging to the imperial territory.¹ But, to say no more of this, I have at present no sort of doubt of what I before asserted, that Boccaccio is the writer and inventor of this piece. Our Greek poem is in fact a literal translation from the Italian *THESEID*. It consists of twelve books, and is written in Boccaccio's octave stanza, the two last lines of every stanza rhyming together. The verses are of the iambic kind, and something like the *VERSUS POLITICI*, which were common among the Greek scholars a little before and long after Constantinople was taken by the Turks, in the year 1443. It will readily be allowed, that the circumstance of the stanzas and rhymes is very singular in a poem composed in the Greek language, and is alone sufficient to prove this piece to be a translation from Boccaccio. I must not forget to observe, that the Greek is extremely barbarous, and of the lowest period of that language.

It was a common practice of the learned and indigent Greeks, who frequented Italy and the neighbouring states about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to translate the popular pieces of Italian poetry, and the romances or tales most in vogue, into these Greco-barbarous iambics². *PASTOR FIDO* was thus translated. The Romance of *ALEXANDER THE GREAT* was also translated in the same manner by Demetrius Zenus, who flourished in 1530, under the title of *Ἀλεξάνδρεως ὁ Μακέδων*, and printed at Venice in the year 1529³. In the very year, and at the same place, when and where our Greek poem on Theseus, or Palamon and Arcite, was printed. *APOLLONIUS OF TYRE*, another famous romance of the middle ages, was translated in the same manner, and entitled *Διηγῆσις ὠραιωτάτῃ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ἐν Τύρῳ*⁴ *ρημάδα*⁵. The story of king

This indeed is said of the Franks. Hist. ut supr. l. iii. cap. 25. And in the Greek poem now under consideration one of the titles is, 'Πῶς ἐποίηκεν ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς δύο Θεβαίους Καβαλαρίου.' How *Theseus* dubbed the two *Theban* Knights. lib. vii. Signatur. νηι, fol. vers.

¹ Giorn. v. Nov. 1.

² That is *versus politici* above-mentioned, a sort of loose iambic. See Langii *PHILOLOGIA GRÆCO-BARBARA*. Tzetes's *Chiliads* are written in this versification. See Du Cange, Gl. Gr. ii, col. 1196.

³ Crus. ut supr. p. 373, 399.

⁴ That is, Rhythmically, Poetically, Gr. Barb.

⁵ Du Cange mentions, *Μεταγλώττισμα ἀπὸ Λατινικῆς εἰς Ῥωμαϊκὴν διήγησις πολλῆς παθούσας Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τύρου*. Ind. Auct. Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii, p. 36, col. b. Compare Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. vi. 821. I believe it was first printed at Venice, 1563. viz. 'Historia Apollonii Tyanaei, [Tyrensis] Ven. 1563. Liber Eroticus, Gr. barb. lingua exaratus ad modum rhythmorum nostrorum, rarissimus audit, &c.' Vogt. Catal. libr. rarior. p. 345. edit. 1753. I think it was reprinted at Venice, 1696. apud Nicol. Glycem. 8vo. In the works of Velserus, there is *Narratio Eorum quæ Apollonio regi acciderunt*, &c. He says it was first written by some Greek author. Velseri Op. p. 697. edit. 1682. fol. The Latin is in Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. 39. —Bodl. F. 7, 7. And F. 11, 45. In the preface, Velserus, who died 1614, says, that he believes the original in Greek still remains at Constantinople, in the library of Manuel Eugenicius. Montfaucon mentions a noble copy of this romance, written in the thirteenth century, in the royal library at Paris, Bibl. MSS. p. 753. Compare MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl.

Arthur they also reduced into the same language. The learned Martinus Crusius, who introduced the Greco-barbarous language and literature into the German universities, relates, that his friends who studied at Padua sent him in the year 1564, together with Homer's *Iliad*, Διδάχαι REGIS ARTHURI, ALEXANDER above-mentioned, and other fictitious histories or story-books of a similar cast¹. The French history or romance of BERTRAND DU GUESCELIN, printed at Abbeville in 1487², and that of BELISAIRE, or Beliasrius, they rendered in the same language and metre, with the titles Διήγησις ἐξάιρετος Βελθάνδρου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου³, and Ἱστορικὴ ἐξήγησις περὶ Βελλισαρίου, &c.⁴ Boccacio himself, in the DECAMERON⁵, mentions the story of Troilus and Cressida in Greek verse: which I suppose had been translated by some of the fugitive Greeks with

vi. p. 15. *Gesta Apollonii*, &c. There is a MSS. in Saxon of the romance of APOLLONIUS OF TYRE. Wanley's Catal. apud Hickes, ii, 146. See Martin, Crusii Turco-Græc. p. 209. edit. 1594. Gower recites many stories of this romance in his CONFESSIO AMANTIS. He calls Apollonius 'a yonge, a freshe, a lustie knight.' Lib. viii. fol. 175. b.—185. a. But he refers to Godfrey of Viterbo's PANTHEON, or universal Chronicle, called also *Memoria Seculorum* partly in prose, partly verse, from the Creation of the world, to the year 1186. The author died in 1190.

—A Cronike in daies gone

The which is cleped Panteone, &c.

fol. 175. a. The play called PERICLES PRINCE OF TYRE, attributed to Shakespeare, is taken from this story of Apollonius as told by Gower, who speaks the Prologue. It existed in Latin before the year 900. See Barth. Aversar. lvi. cap. i, Chaucer calls him 'of Tyre Apollonius.' PROL. *Man. L. TALE*. v. 81, p. 50. Urr. edit. And quotes from this romance,

How that the cursid king Antiochus
That is so horrible a tale to rede,

Birafte his daughter of hir maidinhede,
When he her drewe upon the pavement.

In the royal library there is 'Histoire d'Apollin roy de Thir.' Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 C, ii. 2. With regard to the French editions of this romance, the oldest I have seen is, 'Plaisante et agreable Histoire d' Apollonius prince de Thyr en Affrique et roy d' Antioch, traduite par Gilles Corozet, Paris, 1530. 8vo. And there is an old back-letter edition, printed in quarto et Geneva, entitled, 'La Chronique d' Appollin roy de Thir.' At length the story appeared in a modern dress by M. le Brun, under the title of 'Avantures d' Apollonius de Thyr,' printed in twelves at Paris and Rotterdam, in 1710. And again at Paris the following year. 'In the edition of the GESTA RAMANORUM, printed at Rouen in 1521, and containing one hundred and eighty-one chapters, the history of Apollonius of Tyre occurs, ch. 153. This is the first of the additional chapters.

¹ So I translate 'alios id genus minores libellos.' Crus. ibid. p. 489. Crusius was born in 1526, and died 1607.

² At the end of *Le Triumphe des NEUF PREUX*, &c. fol. That is, The NINE WORTHIES.

³ Du Cange, Gl. Gr. Barb. ii. Ind. Auctor. p. 36, col. b. This history contains Beltrand's, or Bertrand's amours with Χρυσάτζα *Chrysatsa*, the king of Antioch's daughter.

⁴ Lambecc. Bibl. Cæsar. Lib. v, p. 264. It is remarkable, that the story of *Date obolum Belisardo* is not in Procopius, but in this romance. Probably Vandyck got this story from a modernised edition of it, called *BELLISAIRE ou le Conquerant*, Paris, 1643. 8vo. Which however, is said in the title-page to be taken from Procopius. It was written by the sieur de Grenailles.

⁵ They sometimes applied their Greek iambics to the works of the ancient Greek poets. Demetrius Zenus, above-mentioned, translated Homer's Βατραχομουμαχία: and Nicolaus Lucanus, the *Iliad*. The first was printed at Venice, and afterwards reprinted by Crusius, Turco-Græc. p. 373. The latter was also printed at Venice, 1526. apud Steph. Sabium. This Demetrius Zenus is said to be the author of the Γαλαμμουμαχία, or BATTLE OF THE CATS AND MICE. See Crus. ubi supr. 396. And Fabric. Bibl. Gr. i, 264, 223. On account of the Greco-barbarous books which began to grow common, chiefly in Italy, about the year 1520, Stephen a Sabio, or Sabius, above-mentioned, the printer of many of them, published a Greco-barbarous lexicon at Venice, 1527, entitled, 'CORONA PRETIOSA, Εἰσαγωγὴ νέα ἐπιγραφομένη Στέφανος χρήσιμος, ἡγουν Στέφανος τίμιος, ὥστε μαθεῖν ἀναγινώσκειν, γράφειν, νοεῖν, καὶ λαλεῖν τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν καὶ ἀπτικὴν γλῶσσαν τὴν Γραικῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν γραμματικὴν καὶ τὴν ἰδιωτικὴν γλῶσσαν τῶν Λατίνων. It is a mixture of modern and ancient Greek words, Latin and Italian. It was reprinted at Venice by Petrus Burana, 1546.

whom he was connected, from a romance on that subject; many ancient copies of which now remain in the libraries of France¹. The story of FLORIUS AND PLATZFLORA, a romance which Ludovicus Vives with great gravity condemns under the name of *Florian and Blanca-Flor*, as one of the pernicious and unclassical popular histories current in Flanders about the year 1523², of which there are old editions in French, Spanish³, and perhaps Italian, is likewise extant very early in Greek iambics, most probably as a translation into that language. I could give many others; but I hasten to lay before my readers some specimens both of the Italian and the Greek PALAMON AND ARCITE⁴. Only premising, that both have about a thousand verses in each of the twelve books, and that the two first books are introductory: the first containing the war of Theseus with the Amazons, and the second that of Thebes, in which Palamon and Arcite are taken prisoners. Boccacio thus describes the Temple of Mars.

N e icampi Tracii sotto icieli hyberni

D a tempesta continua agitati

D oue schiere di nimbi sempiterni D auenti or qua e or la trasmutati

I n uarii loghi ne iguazosi uerni E de aqua globi per fredo agropati

G itati sono eneue tutta uia

C he in giazio amano aman se induria

E una selua sterile de robusti C erri doue eran folti e alti molto

N odosi aspri rigidi e uetusti

C be de ombra eterna ricopreno il uolto

D el tristo suolo enfra li antichi fusti

D i ben mille furor sempre rauolto

V i si sentia grandissimo romore N e uera bestia anchora ne pastore

I n questa nide la cha delo idio A rmipotente questa edificata

T utta de azzaiio splendido e pulio D alquale era del fol riuerberata

¹ Lenglet's Bibl. Rom. p. 253. 'Le Roman de Troylus.' And Montfaucon, Bibl. MSS. p. 792, 793, &c., &c. There is, 'L'Amore di Troleo et Griseida que si tratta in buone parte la Guerra di Troja, d'Angelo Leonico, Ven. 1553.' in oct. rhyme. 8vo. More will be said of this hereafter.

² Lud. Viv. de Christiana Femina. lib. i, cap. cui tit. *Qui non legendi Scriptores*, &c. He lived at Bruges. He mentions other romances common in Flanders, LEONELA AND CANAMOR, CURIAS AND FLORELA, and PYRAMUS AND THISBE.

³ FLORES y BLANCAFLOR. *En Alcala*, 1512. 4to.—Histoire Amoreuse de FLORES et de BLANCHEFLEUR, traduite de l'Espanjol par Jacques Vincent. Paris, 1554. 8vo.—FLORIMONT ET PASSEROZE, traduite de l'Espanjol en prose Francoise, Lyon, 15.... 8vo. There is a French edition at Lyons, 1571. It was perhaps originally Spanish. 'The translation of FLORES and BLANCAFLOR in Greek iambics might also be made in compliment to Boccacio. Their adventures make the principal subject of his PHILOCOPO: but the story existed long before, as Boccacio himself informs us, L. i. p. 6. edit. 1723. Flores and Blancaflor are mentioned as illustrious lovers by *Matfres Eymengau de Bezers*, a poet of Languedoc, in his BREVIAIR D'AMOR, dated in the year 1288. MSS. REG. 19 C. i. fol. 199. This tale was probably enlarged in passing through the hands of Boccacio. See CANTERB. T. iv. p. 169

⁴ For the use of the Greek THESEID I am obliged to Mr. Stanley, who patronises the studies he so well understands. I believe there is but one more copy in England, belonging to Mr. Ramsay the painter. Yet I have been told that Dr. George, provost of King's, had a copy. The first edition of the Italian book, no less valuable a curiosity, is in the excellent library of Dr. Askew. This is the only copy in England. Bibl. SMITH. Addend. fol. xl. Venet. 1755. 4to. I am informed, that Dr. George's books, amongst which was the Greek Theseid, were purchased by Lord Spencer.

L aluce che aboreua il logho rio T utta differro era la stretta entrata
 E le porte eran de eterno admante F errato dogni parte tutte quante
 E le le colone di ferro custei V ide che lo edificio sosteneano
 L i impeti de menti parue alei V eder che fieri dela porta usiano
 E il ciecho pechare e ogne omei S imilmente quiui si uedeano
 V idiue le ire rosse come focho E la paura palida in quel locho
 E con gli occulti ferri itradimenti V ide ele insidie con uista apparenza
 L i discordia sedea esanguinenti F erri auea in mano eogni differenza
 E tutti iloghi pareano strepenti D aspre minaze edi crudel intenza
 E n mezo illocho la uertu tristissima
 S edea di degne laude pouerissima
 V ideui ancora lo alegro furore E oltre acio con uolto sanguinoso
 L a morte armata uide elo stupore E ogni altare qui uera copioso
 D i sangue sol ne le bataglie fore D i corpi human cacciato eluminoso
 E ra ciaschun di focho tolto aterre A rse ediffate per le triste guerre
 E t era il tempio tutto historiato¹ D i socil mano e disopra edintorno
 E cio che pria ui uide designato E ran le prede de nocte edi giorno
 T olto ale terre equalunque sforzato
 F u era qui in habito musorno
 V ideanuissi le gente incatenate P orti di ferro e forteze spezate
 V edeuì ancor le naue bellatrici I n uoti carri eli uolti guastati
 E i miseri pianti & infelici E t ogni forza con li aspecti e lati
 O gni ferita ancor si vedea lici E sangue con le terre mescolati
 E ogni logo con aspecto fiero S i uedea Marte turbido e altiero, &c².

The Temple of Venus has these imageries.

P oi presso ase uidde passar bellezza
 S enza ornamento alchun se riguardando
 E gir con lei uidde piaceuolleza E luna laltra secho comendano
 P oi con lor uidde istarsi gioueneza
 D estra e adorna molto festegiando
 E daltra parteuiddel foleardire L usinge e ruffiania in sieme gire
 I n mezo el locho in su alte colone
 D i rame uidde un tempio al qual dintorno

¹ Thus, *Στορίσματα* means paintings, properly history-paintings, and *ἱστορεῖν* and *ἀνιστορεῖν* is to *paint*, in barbarous Greek. There are various examples in the Byzantine writers. In middle Latinity *Historiographus* signifies literally a *Painter*. Perhaps our HISTORIOGRAPHER ROYAL was originally the king's *Illuminator*. *ἱστοριογράφος μουσιάτωρ* occurs in an Inscription published by Du Cange, Dissertat. Joinv. xxvi. p. 319. Where *μουσιάτωρ* implies an artist who painted in mosaic work called *μουσαίων*, or *μουσίον Musæum*. In the Greek poem before us *ἱστορίτα* is used for a *Painter*, lib. ii.

² *Ἐκ τὴν παρούσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἐλεπτοῖκεν ὁ ἱστορίτας*. In the middle Latin writers we have *dēpingere* HISTORIALITER. *To paint with histories or figures*, viz. Forinsecus dealbavit illud [delubrum,] *intrinsicus autem depinxit historialiter*. Dudo de Act. Norman. l. iii. p. 153. Dante uses the Italian word before us in the same sense. Dante, Purgat. Cant. x.

Quivi er HISTORIATA l'alta gloria

Del Roman Prince.——

ἱστορία frequently occurs, simply for picture or representation in colours. Nilus Monach. lib. iv. Epist. 6r. *Καὶ ἱστορίας πτηνῶν καὶ ἐρετῶν καὶ βλαστημάτων*. 'PICTURES of birds, serpents, and plants.' And in a thousand other instances.

² L. vii.

D anzando giouenette uidde e done
 Q ual da se belle : e qual de habito adorno
 D iscinte e schalze in giube e in gone
 E in cio sol dispendeano il giorno
 P oi soprael tempio uiddeuolitare P assere molte e columbi rugiare
 E alentrata del tempio uicina V idde che si sedeua piana mente
 M adona pace : e in mano una cortina
 N anzi la porta tenea lieue mente
 A presso lei in uista assai tapina . P acientia sedeua discreta mente
 P allida ne lo aspecto : e dogni parte
 E intorno alei uidde promesse e carte
 P oi dentro al tempio entrata di sospiri
 V i senti un tumulto che giraua
 F ochoso tutto di caldi desiri Q uesto gialtri tutti aluminaua
 D i noue fiamme nate di martiri D i qua ciaschun di lagrimegrondaui
 M osse da una dona cruda e ria C he uidde li chiamata gilosia &c.

Some of these stanzas are thus expressed in the Greco-barbarous translation¹.

Εἰς τοῦτον εἶδε τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν οἶκον τὸν μέγαν,
 ἀπάρματα πολλὰ σκληρὰ, κτισμένος ἦτον ὅλος.
 Ὅλολαμπρος γὰρ ἦτονος, ἔλαμπεν ὡς τὸν ἥλιον,
 ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος ἔκρουε, ἄστραπτεν ὡς τὸν φέγγος.
 Ὅ τοπος ὅλος ἔλαμπεν, ἐκτὴν λαμπροτητάτου,
 τὸ ἔμπατον ὀλοσίδηρον, καὶ τὰ στενωματάτου.
 Ἀπὸ διαμάντη πόρτεστον, ἦσαν καὶ τὰ καρφία,
 σηδερομέναις δυνατὰ, ἀπάπασαν μερία.
 Χολόναις ἦσαν σιδηρὲς, πολλὰ χοντρὲς μεγάλαις,
 ἀπάνωτους ἐβάσταναν, ὅλον τὸν οἶκον κείνον.
 Ἐκεῖδε τὴν βουρκότηταν, τὸν λογισμὸν ἐκείνων,
 ὀποκτὴν πόρταν βγένασι, ἄγροι καὶ θυμομένοι.
 Καὶ τὴν τυφλὴν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ καὶ ὄχου
 ἐκεῖσε ἐφαινόνησαν, ὅμοιον σὰν καὶ τ' ἄλλα.
 Καὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἐσκεύθηκεν, κόκιναις ὡς φωτία,
 τὸν φόβον εἶδε λόχλομον, ἐκεῖσε σμίαν μερία.
 Μετὰ κοιφὰ τὰ σίδηρα, εἶδε δημηγερσίαις,
 καὶ ταῖς φαλσίαις πουγίνονται, καὶ μοιάζουν δικαιοσούνες.
 Ἐκεῖτον ἀσυνηβασία, μεταῖς διαφωνίαις,
 ἐβάσα εἰς τὸ χέρητης, σίδηρα ματομένα.
 Ὅλος ὁ τόπος ἔδειχνε, ἄγριος καὶ χολιασμένος,
 ἀγρίους γὰρ φοβερισμοὺς, κιωμοτάτην μαλέαν.
 Μέσα στὸν τόπον τούτον, ἡ χάρη τυχεμένη,
 ἐκάθετον ὁ πόπρεπε, νὰ ἔναι παινεμένη.

In passing through Chaucer's hands, this poem has received many new beauties. Not only those capital fictions and descriptions, the

¹ From which it was thought proper to give one larger specimen, as the language is intelligible only to a very few curious scholars.

² L. vii. Sign. μ g.

temples of Mars, Venus, and Diana, with their allegorical paintings, and the figures of Lycurgus and Emetrius with their retinue, are so much heightened by the bold and spirited manner of the British bard, as to strike us with an air of originality¹. In the meantime it is to be remarked, that as Chaucer in some places has thrown in strokes of his own, so in others he has contracted the uninteresting and tedious prolixity of narrative, which he found in the Italian poet. And that he might avoid a servile imitation, and indulge himself as he pleased in an arbitrary departure from the original, it appears that he neglected the embarrassment of Boccaccio's stanza, and preferred the English heroic couplet, of which this poem affords the first conspicuous example extant in our language.

The situation and structure of the temple of Mars are thus described.

—————A forrest

In which there wonneth nether man ne best :
 With knotty knarry barrein treys old,
 Of stubbys sharpe, and hideous to behold,
 In which ther was a rombyll and a swough²,
 As though a storm shoulde burstein every bough.
 And downward from a hill, under a bent³,
 There stode the temple of Mars armipotent,

¹ Boccaccio's situations and incidents, respecting the lovers, are often inartificial and unaffecting. In the Italian poet, Emilia walking in the garden and singing, is seen and heard first by Arcite, who immediately calls Palamon. They are both equally, and at the same point of time, captivated with her beauty ; yet without any expressions of jealousy, or appearance of rivalry. But in Chaucer's management of the commencement of this amour, Palamon by seeing Emilia first, acquires an advantage over Arcite, which ultimately renders the catastrophe more agreeable to poetical justice. It is an unnatural and unanimated picture which Boccaccio presents, of the two young princes violently enamoured of the same object, and still remaining in a state of amity. In Chaucer, the quarrel between the two friends, the foundation of all the future beautiful distress of the piece, commences at this moment, and causes a conversation full of mutual rage and resentment. This rapid transition from a friendship cemented by every tie, to the most implacable hostility, is on this occasion not only highly natural, but produces a sudden and unexpected change of circumstances, which enlivens the detail, and is always interesting. Even afterwards, when Arcite is released from the prison by Perithous, he embraces Palamon at parting. And in the fifth book of the THESEIDE, when Palamon goes armed to the grove in search of Arcite, whom he finds sleeping, they meet on terms of much civility and friendship, and in all the mechanical formality of the manners of romance. In Chaucer, this dialogue has a very different cast. Palamon at seeing Arcite, feels a *colde swerde* glide throughout his heart : he starts from his ambuscade, and instantly salutes Arcite with the appellation of *false traitour*. And although Boccaccio has merit in discriminating the characters of the two princes, by giving Palamon the impetuosity of Achilles, and Arcite the mildness of Hector ; yet Arcite by Boccaccio is here injudiciously represented as too moderate and pacific. In Chaucer he returns the salute with the same degree of indignation, draws his sword, and defies Palamon to single combat. So languid is Boccaccio's plan of this amour, that Palamon does not begin to be jealous of Arcite, till he is informed in the prison, that Arcite lived as a favorite servant with Theseus in disguise, yet known to Emilia. When the lovers see Emilia from the window of their tower, she is supposed by Boccaccio to observe them, and not to be displeased at their signs of admiration. This circumstance is justly omitted by Chaucer, as quite unnecessary ; and not tending either to promote the present business, or to operate in any distant consequences. On the whole, Chaucer has eminently shewn his good sense and judgement in rejecting the superfluities, and improving the general arrangement, of the story. He frequently corrects or softens Boccaccio's false manners ; and it is with singular address he has often abridged the Italian poet's ostentatious and pedantic parade of ancient history and mythology.

² Sound.

³ Precipice.

Wrought all of burnyd¹ stele : of which th' entré
 Was long, and streight, and gastly for to se :
 And therout came such a rage and avyse²
 That it made al the gatys for to ryse³.
 The northern light in at the doris shone,
 For window on the wall ne was ther none,
 Throgh which men mightin any light dissern.
 The dore was al of adamant eterne,
 Yclenchid overthwart and endelong,
 With iron tough, for to makin it strong.
 Every pillar the tempyl to sustene
 Was tonne grete⁴ of yren bright and shene.

The gloomy sanctuary of this tremendous fane, was adorned with these characteristical imageries.

There saw I first the dark Ymagining
 Of Felony, and all the compassing :
 The cruell Ire, redde as any gleden⁵.
 The Pikpurse also, and eke the pale Drede⁶ ;
 The Smyter with the knife undir the cloke⁷ ;
 The shepyn brenning with the blake smoke⁸ ;
 The Treason of the murdering in the bedde⁹,
 The opin Warre with woundis all bebledde ;
 Conteke¹⁰ with bloodie knyves¹¹, and sharpe Menace,
 All full of chirking¹² was that sory place !
 The slear of himselfe yet saw I there,
 His herte blode hath bathid all his here,
 The naile ydryven in the shode¹³ anyght¹⁴,
 With the cold deth the mouth gapyng uprygh⁶.

¹ Burnished.

² Noise.

³ 'It strained the doors : Almost forced them from their hinges.'

⁴ A great ton. A ton-weight.

⁵ Coal.

⁶ Fear.

⁷ Dryden has converted this image into clerical hypocrisy, under which he takes an opportunity of gratifying his spleen against the clergy. Knight's Tale, B. ii. p. 56, edit 1713.

Next stood Hypocrisy with *holy* leer, Soft-smiling and demurely looking down,
 But hid the dagger underneath the *gown*.

⁸ Perhaps, for *shepyn* we should read *chepyn* or *cheping*, i. e. a town, a place of trade. This line is therefore to represent A City on fire. In Wickliffe's bible we have, 'It is lyk to children sittynge in CHEPYNGE.' Matt. xi. 16.

⁹ Dryden has lowered this image,

Th' assassinating wife. —

¹⁰ Strife.

¹¹ This image is likewise entirely misrepresented by Dryden, and turned to a satire on the church.

Contest with sharpened knives in *cloysters* drawn,
 And all with blood bespread the *holy lawn*.

¹² Any disagreeable noise or hollow murmur. Properly, the jarring of a door upon the hinges. Chaucer's Boeth. p. 364. b. Urr. edit. 'When the selde *cherkinge* agrisethe of the colde, by the fellnesse of the wind Aquilon.' The original is, 'Vento Campus inhorruit.'

¹³ Herd.

¹⁴ In the night.

¹⁵ This couplet refers to the suicide in the preceding one: who is supposed to kill himself by driving a nail into his head in the night, and to be found dead and cold in his bed, with his 'mouth gapyng upryght.' This is properly the meaning of his 'hair being 'bathed in blood.' *Shode*, in the text, is literally a *bush of hair*. Dryden has finely paraphrased this passage.

Amiddis of the temple fate Mischaunce,
 With discomfort, and sory countenance.
 Yet sawe I Wodeness¹ laughing in his rage.
 Armid complaint of Theft, with fers Corage ;
 The carrein in the bush with throte ycorve²,
 A thousand sleyne and not of qualme ystorve³.
 The tyrant with the prey by force yrefte,
 The town destroyid ther was nothing left.
 Yet saw I brent the ships upon steris,
 The hunter straunglid with the wild beris.
 The sow fretting⁴ the chyld right in the cradel,
 The coke scaldid for all his longe ladel.
 Nought was forgott the infortune of Mart ;
 The cartir⁵ overridden by his cart⁶,
 Under the whele he lay full lowe adowne.
 There were also of Marts divisoune,
 The Barbour, and the Butcher, and the Smith
 That forgoth sharpe swerdis on the stith⁷.
 And all above, depeintid in a towr,
 Saw I Conquest sitting in grete honour,
 With the sharpe swerde right ovir his hed,
 Hanging but by a subtill-twined thred⁸.

This groupe is the effort of a strong imagination, unacquainted with selection and arrangement of images. It is rudely thrown on the canvas without order or art. In the Italian poets, who describe every thing, and who cannot, even in the most serious representations, easily suppress their natural predilection for burlesque and familiar imagery, nothing is more common than this mixture of sublime and comic ideas⁹. The form of Mars follows, touched with the impetuous dashes of a savage and spirited pencil.

The¹⁰ statue of Mars upon a cart¹¹ stode,
 Armid, and lokid grym as he were wode¹².
 A wolfe ther stod before him at his fete
 With eyin red, and of a man he etc.

¹ Madness.

² Throat cut.

³ 'Slain, not destroyed by sickness, or dying a natural death.'

⁴ Devouring

⁵ Charioteer.

⁶ Chariot.

⁷ Anvil.

⁸ v. 1998, p. 16, Urr.

⁹ There are many other instances of this mixture, v. 1179. 'We strive as did the houndis for the bone,' v. 1264. 'We fare as he that dronk is as a mouse, &c.' v. 2762. 'Farewel physick! Go bere the corse to church,' v. 2521. 'Some said he lokid grim and he wolde fight, &c.'

¹⁰ Form, or figure. Statuary is not implied here. Thus he mentions the statue of Mars on a banner, supr. v. 977. I cannot forbear adding in this place these fine verses of Mars arming himself in haste, from our author's *Complaint of Mars and Venus*, v. 99.

He throwith on his helme of huge weight ;
 And girt him with his sworde, and in his hond
 His mighty spere, as he was wont to feight,
 His shekith so, that it almost to wonde.

Here we see the force of description without a profusion of idle epithets. These verses are all sinew : they have nothing but verbs and substantives.

¹¹ Chariot.

¹² Mad.

With sotill pensil was the storie,
In¹ redoubting Mars and of his glorie².

But the ground-work of this whole description is in the Thebaid of Statius. I will make no apology for transcribing the passage at large, that the reader may judge of the resemblance. Mercury visits the temple of Mars, situated in the frozen and tempestuous regions of Thrace³.

Hic steriles delubra notat Mavortia sylvas
Horrescitque tuens : ubi mille furoribus illi
Cingitur, adverso domus immansueta sub Æmo.
Ferre compago laterum, ferro arcta teruntur
Limina, ferratis incumbent tecta columnis.
Læditur adversum Phœbi jubar, ipsaque sedem
Lux timet, et dirus contristat sydera fulgor.
Digna loco statio. Primis subit impetus amens
E foribus, cæcumque Nefas, Iræque rubentes,
Exanguesque Metus ; occultisque ensibus astant
Infidiæ, geminumque tenens Discordia ferrum.
Innumeris strepit aula minis. Tristissima Virtus
Stat medio, lætusque Furor, vultuque cruento
Mors armata sedet. Bellorum solus in aris
Sanguis, et incensis qui raptus ab urbibus ignis.
Terrarum e uviæ circum, et fastigia templi
Captæ insignibant gentes, cœlataque ferro
Fragmina portarum, bellatricesque carinæ,
Et vacui currus, protritaque curribus ora⁴.

Statius was a favourite writer with the poets of the middle ages. His bloated magnificence of description, gigantic images, and pompous diction, suited their taste, and were somewhat of a piece with the romances they so much admired. They neglected the gentler and genuine graces of Virgil, which they could not relish. His pictures were too correctly and chastly drawn to take their fancies : and truth of design, elegance

¹ Recording.

² v. 2043.

³ Chaucer points out this very temple in the introductory lines, v. 1981.

Like to the estries of the grisly place
That hight the *grete temple of Mars in Thrace*.
In thilke cold and frosty region,
Ther as Mars has his sovran mansion.

⁴ Stat. Theb. vii. 4to. And below we have Chaucer's *Doors of adamant eterne*, viz. v. 68.

—— Clausæque adamante perenni

Dissiluere fores. ———

Statius also calls Mars, *Armipotens*, v. 78. A sacrifice is copied from Statius, where says Chaucer, v. 2296.

And did her thingis as men might behold

It *Stace of Thebes*. ———

I think Statius is copied in a simile. v. 1640. The introduction of this poem is also taken from the Thebaid, xii. 545, 481. 797. Compare Chaucer's lines, v. 870, seq. v. 917, seq. v. 996, seq. The funeral pyre of Arcite is also translated from Theb. vi. 195, seq. See Ch. v. 2940, seq. I likewise take this opportunity of observing, that Lucretius and Plato are imitated in this poem. Together with many passages from Ovid and Virgil.

of expression, and the arts of composition were not their objects¹. In the mean time we must observe, that in Chaucer's Temple of Mars many personages are added : and that those which existed before in Statius have been retouched, enlarged, and rendered more distinct and picturesque by Boccaccio and Chaucer. Arcite's address to Mars, at entering the temple, has great dignity, and is not copied from Statius.

O stronge god, that in the reignis cold
Of Thrace honourid art, and God yhold !
And hast in everie reign, and everie lond,
Of armis al the bridil in thy hond ;
And them fortunist, as they lest devise,
Accept of me my pitous sacrifice².

The following pourtrait of Lycurgus, an imaginary king of Thrace, is highly charged, and very great in the gothic style of painting.

Ther mayst ou³ see, commyng with Palamon,
Lycurgus himself, the grete king of Thrace ;
Blake was his berde, and manly was his face :
The circles of his eyin in his hede
They glowdin betwixte yalowe and rede :
And like a lyon lokid he about,
With kempid heris on his browis stout :
His limis grete, his brawn is herd and strong,
His shulderes brode, his armis round and long.
And as the guise ywas in his contre
Full high upon a char of gold stode he :
With four grete white bullis in the traxis.
Instead of cote armur, on his harneis
With yalowe nailes, and bright as any gold,
He hath a beris⁴ skinn cole-blak for old.
His long here was kemped behind his bak,
As any raven's fether't shone for blak.
A wrethe of golde armgrete⁵, of huge weight,
Upon his hed, sett full of stonis bright,
Of fine rubies, and clere diamondes.
About his char ther wentin white alandes⁶,
Twentic and more, as grete as any stere,
To huntin at the lyon or wild bere ;

¹ In *Troilus and Cresside* he has translated the arguments of the twelve books of the Thebaid of Statius. See B. v. p. 1479, seq.

² V. 2375.

⁴ A bear's.

³ You.

⁵ As big as your arm.

⁶ Greyhounds. A favourite species of dogs in the middle ages. In the ancient pipe-rolls, payments are frequently made in greyhounds. Rot. Pip. an. 4. Reg. Johann. [A.D. 1203.] 'Rog. Constabul. Cestrie debet D. Marcas, ex X. palfridos et X. laissas *Leporariorum* pro habenda terra Vidonis de Loverell de quibus debet reddere per ann. c. m.' *Ten leashes of greyhounds*. Rot. Pip. an. 9. Reg. Johann. [A.D. 1208.] 'SUTHANT. Johan. Teingre debet c. m. et X. *leporarios magnos, pulchros, et bonos, de redemptione sua, &c.*' Rot. Pip. an. 11. Reg. Johan. [A.D. 1210.] 'EVERVECSIRE. Rog. de Mallvell redd. comp. de I. palefrido velociter currente, et II. *laisis leporariorum* pro habendis literis deprecatoriis ad Matildam de M.' I could give a thousand instances of this sort.

And folowid him with mosil¹ fast ybound,
Coleres of gold² and torretes³ filid⁴ round.
A hundrid lordis had he in his rout,
Armid ful wele, with hertis stern and stout⁵.

The figure of Emetrius king of India, who comes to the aid of Arcite, is not inferior in the same style, with a mixture of grace.

With Arcite, in storys as men find,
The grete Emetrius, the king of Ind

¹ Muzzle.

² In Hawes's PASTIME OF PLEASURE, [written temp. Hen. vii.] Fame is attended with two greyhounds; on whose golden collars Grace and *Gouvernaunce*, are inscribed in diamond letters. See next note.

³ Rings. The fastening of dogs collars. They are often mentioned in the INVENTORY of furniture, in the royal palaces of Henry VIII., above cited. MSS. Harl. 1419. In the *Castle of Windsor*. Article COLLARS. f. 409. 'Two greyhounds collars of crimson velvet and cloth of gold, lacking *torrettes*.'—'Two other collars with the kings armes, and at the ende portcullis and rose.'—'Item, a collar embrowdered with pomegranates and roses with *turrets* of silver and gilt.'—'A collar garnished with stoleworke with one shallop shelle of silver and gylte, with *torrettes* and pendauntes of silver and guilte.'—'A collar of white velvet, embrowdered with perles, the swivels of silver.'—'But to be more particular as to these imitations.'

Ver. 900. p. 8. Urr. edit.

A company of ladys twey and twey, &c.

Thus Theseus, at his return in triumph from conquering Scythia, is accosted by the dames of Thebes, Stat. THEB. xii. 519.

Jamque domos patrias, Scythicæ post aspera gentis
Prælia, laurigero subeuntem Thesea curru
Lætifici plausus, &c. &c.
Paulum et ab inessis mœstæ Pelopeides aris
Promovere gradum, seriemque et dona triumphî
Mirantur, victique animo rediere mariti.
Atque ubi tardavit currus, et ab axe superbo
Explorat causas victor, poscitque benigna
Aure preces; orsa ante alias Capanea conjux,
Belliger Ægide, &c.

Chaucer here copies Statius, (v. 861,—966.) KN. T. from v. 519. to v. 600. THEB. See also *ibid.* 465. seq.

V. 930. p. 9.—Here in the Temple of the goddess Clemence, &c.

Statius mentions the temple of Clemency as the asylum where these ladies were assembled THEB. xii. 481.

Urbe fuit media, nulli concessa potentum
Ara deum, mitis posuit Clementia sedem, &c.

V. 2947.—Ne what jewillis men into the fire cast, &c.

Literally from Statius, THEB. vi. 206.

Ditantur flammæ, non unquam opulenter illa
Ante cinis; crepitant gemmæ, &c.

But the whole of Arcite's funeral is minutely copied from Statius. More than a hundred parallel lines on this subject might be produced from each poet. In Statius the account of the trees felled for the pyre, with the consternation of the Nymphs, takes up more than twenty-four lines. v. 84,—116. In Chaucer about thirteen, v. 2922.—2937. In Boccaccio, six stanzas. B. xi. Of the three poets, Statius is most reprehensible, the first author of this ill-placed and unnecessary description, and who did not live in a Gothic age. The statues of Mars and Venus I imagined had been copied from Fulgentius, Boccaccio's favorite mythographer. But Fulgentius says nothing of Mars: and of Venus, that she only stood in the sea on a couch, attended by the Graces. It is from Statius that Theseus became a hero of romance.

⁴ Filed. Highly polished.

Upon a stede bay, trappid in stele,
 Coverid with clothe of gold diaprid wel,
 Cam riding like the god of armis Mars :
 His cote armure was of the clothes of Tars¹,
 Couchid with perles white and round and grete ;
 His sadill was of brent² gold new ybete,
 And mantlet upon his shulderes hanging,
 Bretfull³ of rubies redde as fire sparkling.
 His crispe here like ringes⁴ was yronne,
 And yt was yalowe, glittering as the sonne.
 His nose was high, his eyin bright citryn⁵,
 Ruddy his lippes, his colour was sangyn.
 And a fewe frekles in his face yspreint⁶,
 Betwixt yalowe and somedele blak ymeint⁷.
 And as a lyon he his eyis kest⁸.
 Of five and twenty yere his age I ghest.
 His berde was well beginning for to spring
 His throte was as a trompet thondiring.
 Upon his hede he wered, of laurer grene
 A garloud freshe, and lustie for to sene.
 Upon his honde he bore for his delite
 An egle tame, as ony lilie white.
 An hundrid lordis had he with them there,
 All armid, saaf their heddis, in their gere⁹.
 About this king ther ran on every part
 Full many a tame lyon, and libart¹⁰.

The banner of Mars displayed by Theseus, is sublimely conceived.

The red statue of Mars, with spere and targe,
 So shineth in his white banner large
 That all the feldis glittrin up and down¹¹

This poem has many strokes of pathetic description, of which these specimens may be selected.

Upon that other side when Palamon
 Wist that his cosin Arcite was ygon,
 Such sorowe makith he, that the grete tour
 Resoundid of his yelling and clamour :
 The fetteris upon his shinnis grete
 Werin of his bitter salt teris wete¹²,

¹ Not of Tarsus in Cilicia. It is rather an abbreviation for *Tartarin*, or *Tartarium*. See Chaucer's *Floure and Leafe*, v. 212.

On every trumpe hanging a brode bannere

Of fine *Tartarium* full richely bete.

That it was a costly stuff appears from hence. 'Et ad faciendum unum Jupoun de *Tartaryn* blu pouderat. cum garteris blu paratis cum boucles et pendants de argento *'deaurato.'* Com. J. Coke Provisoris Magn. Garderob. temp. Edw. iii. ut supr. It often occurs in the wardrobe accounts for furnishing tournaments. Du Cange says, that this was a fine cloth manufactured in Tartary. Gloss. *Tartarium*. But Skinner in V. derives it from Tortona in the Milanese. He cites Stat. 4. Hen. viii. c. vi.

² Burnt. Burnished.

³ Quite full.

⁴ Rings.

⁵ Lemon-colour. Lat. *Citrinus*.

⁶ Sprinkled.

⁷ 'A mixture of black and yellow.'

⁸ Cast. Darted.

⁹ Armour.

¹⁰ Libbard. v. 2157.

¹¹ V. 977.

¹² V. 1277.

Arcite is thus described, after his return to Thebes, where he despairs of seeing Emilia again.

His slepe, his mete, his drink, is hym byreft ;
 That lene he waxith, and drie as a sheft :
 His eyin hollow, grislie to behold
 His hew sallowe, and pale as ashin¹ cold :
 Solitary he was, evir alone,
 And wayling all the night making his mone.
 And if he herde song or instrument,
 Than would he wepin, he might not be stent²
 So febyll were his spirits and so low,
 And chaungid so that no man might him know³.

Palamon is thus introduced in the procession of his rival Arcite's funeral.

Tho gan this wofull Theban Palamon
 With slotery⁴ berde, and ruggy ashey heres,
 In clothis blak bedropped all with teres,
 And, passing ovir weping Emily,
 Was rufullist of all the company⁵.

To which may be added the surprise of Palamon, concealed in the forest, at hearing the disguised Arcite, whom he supposes to be the squire of Theseus, discover himself at the mention of the name of Emilia.

————— Through his herte
 He felt a cold swerde suddenly to glide :
 For ire he quoke, no longer wold he bide,
 And whan that he had heard Arcitis tale,
 As he were wode, wyth face al dede and pale,
 He sterte him up out of the bushis thick, &c⁶.

A description of the morning must not be omitted ; which vies, both in sentiment and expression, with the most finished modern poetical landscape, and finely displays our author's talent at delineating the beauties of nature.

The mery lark, messengere of the day,
 Salewith⁷ in her song the morowe gray ;
 The fire Phebus rysith up so bright,
 That all the orient laughith at the sight⁸ :
 And with his stremis dryeth in the greves⁹
 The silver dropis hanging in the leves¹⁰.

Nor must the figure of the blooming Emilia, the most beautiful object of this vernal picture, pass unnoticed.

¹ Ashes. ² Stayed. ³ V. 1363. ⁴ Squallid. ⁵ V. 2884. ⁶ V. 1576.

⁷ Saluteth.

⁸ In the Greek,

ili. Signat. ie iii.

etc. See Dante,

Purgat. c. i. p. 234. For *Orient*, perhaps *Orisount*, or the *horison*, is the true reading. So the edition of Chaucer in 1561. So also the barbarous-Greek poem on this story,

Dryden seems to have read, or to have made out of this misspelling of *Horison*, *ORIENT*. ⁹ Groves. Bushes. ¹⁰ 1493.

——— Emilie, that fairir was to sene
 Than is the lillie upon the stalk grene;
 And freshir than the May with flouris newe,
 For with the rosy colour strofe hir hewe¹.

In other parts of his works he has painted morning scenes *con amore*: and his imagination seems to have been peculiarly struck with the charms of a rural prospect at sun-rising.

We are surprised to find, in a poet of such antiquity, numbers so nervous and flowing: a circumstance which greatly contributed to render Dryden's paraphrase of this poem the most animated and harmonious piece of versification in the English language. I cannot leave the KNIGHT'S TALE without remarking, that the inventor of this poem, appears to have possessed considerable talents for the artificial construction of a story. It exhibits unexpected and striking turns of fortune; and abounds in those incidents which are calculated to strike the fancy by opening resources to sublime description, or interest the heart by pathetic situations. On this account, even without considering the poetical and exterior ornaments of the piece, we are hardly disgusted with the mixture of manners, the confusion of times, and the like violations of propriety, which this poem, in common with all others of its age, presents in almost every page. The action is supposed to have happened soon after the marriage of Theseus with Hippolita, and the death of Creon in the siege of Thebes: but we are soon transported into more recent periods. Sunday, the celebration of matins, judicial astrology, heraldry, tilts and tournaments, knights of England, and targets of Prussia², occur in the city of Athens under the reign of Theseus.

SECTION XIII.

CHAUCER'S ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE is translated from a French poem entitled, LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE. It was begun by William of Lorris, a student in jurisprudence, who died about the year 1260³. Being left unfinished, it was completed by John of Meun, a native of a little town of that name, situated on the river Loire near Orleans, who seems to have flourished about the year 1310⁴. This poem is esteemed by the

¹ V. 1037.

² The knights of the Teutonic order were settled in Prussia, before 1300. Ch. Prol. v. 53. Where tournaments in Prussia are mentioned: Arcite quotes a fable from Æsop, v. 1179:

³ Fauchet, p. 198,

⁴ Id. *ibid.* p. 200. He also translated Boethius *De Consolatione*, and *Abelard's Letters*, and wrote *Answers of the Sybils*, &c.

French the most valuable piece of their old poetry. It is far beyond the rude efforts of all their preceding romancers : and they have nothing equal to it before the reign of Francis I., who died in the year 1547. But there is a considerable difference in the merit of the two authors. William of Lorris, who wrote not one quarter of the poem, is remarkable for his elegance and luxuriance of description, and is a beautiful painter of allegorical personages. John of Meun is a writer of another cast. He possesses but little of his predecessor's inventive and poetical vein ; and in that respect was not properly qualified to finish a poem begun by William of Lorris. But he has strong satire, and great liveliness¹. He was one of the wits of the court of Charles le Bel.

The difficulties and dangers of a lover, in pursuing and obtaining the object of his desires, are the literal arguments of this poem. This design is couched under the allegory of a Rose, which our lover after frequent obstacles gathers in a delicious garden. He traverses vast ditches, scales lofty walls and forces the gates of adamantine and almost impregnable, castles. These enchanted fortresses are all inhabited by various divinities ; some of which assist, and some oppose, the lover's progress².

Chaucer has luckily translated all that was written by William of Lorris³ : he gives only part of the continuation of John of Meun⁴. How

¹ The poem consists of 22,734 verses. William of Lorris's part ends with v. 4149.

'A peu que je ne m'en desespoir.'

² In the preface of edit. printed in 1538, all this allegory is turned to religion. The Rose is proved to be a state of grace, or divine wisdom, or eternal beatitude, or the Holy Virgin, to which heretics cannot gain access. It is the white Rose of Jericho, *Quasi plantatio Rosæ in Jericho, &c., &c.* The chemists, in the mean time, made it a search for the philosopher's stone : and other professions, with laboured commentaries, explained it into their own respective sciences.

³ Occleve's *Letter of Cupide*, written 1402. Urry's *Chaucer*, p. 536. v. 283. Who calls John of Meun the author of the *Romaunt of the Rose*.

⁴ Chaucer's poem consists of 7,699 verses : and ends with this verse of the original, viz., v. 13,105.

'Vous aurez absolution.'

But Chaucer has made several omissions in John of Meun's part, before he comes to this period. He has translated all William of Lorris's part, as I have observed ; and his translation of that part ends with v. 4432. viz.

'Than shuldin I fallin in wanhope.'

Chaucer's cotemporaries called his *Romaunt of the Rose*, a translation. Lydgate says that Chaucer

—————Notably did his business
By grete avyse his wittes to dispose,
To translate the ROMANS OF THE ROSE.

Prol. Boch. st. vi. It is manifest that Chaucer took no pains to disguise his translation. He literally follows the French, in saying, that a river was lesse than '*Saine*,' i.e. the Seine at Paris. v. 118. 'No wight in all Paris.' v. 7157. A grove has more birds 'than ben in all 'the relme of *Fraunce*, v. 495. He calls a pine, 'A tree in *France* men call a pine.' v. 1457. He says of roses, 'so faire werin nevir in *Rone*. v. 1674. 'That for Paris ne for 'Pavie,' v. 1654. He has sometimes reference to French ideas, or words, not in the original. As 'Men clepin hem Sereins in France.' v. 684. 'From Jerusalem to Burgoine.'

far he has improved on the French original, the reader shall judge. I will exhibit passages selected from both poems; respectively placing the French under the English, for the convenience of comparison. The renovation of nature in the month of May is thus described.

That it was May, thus dremed me¹, In time of love and jollite,
That all thing ginnith waxin gay, For theris neither buskenor hay²
In May that it n'ill shroudid bene, And it with newe levis wrene³:
These wooddis eke recoverin grene, That drie in winter ben to sene:
And the erth waxith proude withall
For sote dewis that on it fall,

Amid the povir estate forgette In whiche that winter had it sette:
And than becometh the grounde so proude,
That it will have a newe shroud;
And make so quaynt his robe and fayre,
That it had hewes an hundred payre,
Of grasse and flowris Inde and Pers: And many hewis ful divers
That is the robe I mene iwis, Through which the ground to praisin is,
The birdis, that han leftethir songe While they han suffrid cold ful stronge,
In wethers grille⁴ and darketo sight, Ben in May, for the sunne bright
So glad, &c.⁵

In the description of a grove, within the garden of Mirth, are many

v. 554. 'Grein de Paris.' v. 1369. Where Skinner says, *Paris* is contracted for *Paradise*. In mentioning minstrels and jugglers, he says, that some of them 'Songin songes of 'Loraine.' v. 776. He adds,

For in Loraine there notis be
Full swetir than *in this contre*.

There is not a syllable of these songs, and singers, of Loraine, in the French. By the way, I suspect that Chaucer translated this poem while he was at Paris. There are also many allusions to English affairs, which I suspected to be Chaucer's; but they are all in the French original. Such as, 'Hompipis of Cornevaile.' v. 4250. These are called in the original, 'Chalemeaux de Cornouaille.' v. 3991. A knight is introduced, allied to king 'Arthour of 'Bretaigne.' v. 1199. Who is called, 'Bon roy Artus de Bretaigne.' Orig. v. 1187. Sir Gawin, and Sir Kay, two of Arthur's knights, are characterised, v. 2206. seq. See Orig. v. 2124. Where the word *Keulx* is corrupt for *Keie*. But there is one passage, in which he mentions a *Bachelere* as fair as 'The Lordis sonne of Windisore.' v. 1250. This is added by Chaucer, and intended as a compliment to some of his patrons. In the *Legende of good Women*, Cupid says to Chaucer, v. 329:

For in plain text, withoutin nede of glose,
Thou hast *translatid* the *Romaunt of the Rose*:

1 Qu'on joli moys de May songeoye
Que toute chose si s'esgaye,
Qui en May parer ne se vueille,
Les boys recouvrent leur verdure,
La terre mesmes s'en orgueille
En oublian la povrete
Lors devient la terre si gobe,
Si scet si cointe robe faire,
D'herbes, de fleures Indes and Perses:
Est la robe que je devise
Les oiseaulx qui tant se sont teuz
Et pour le froit et divers temps,

Ou temps amoureux plein de joye,
Si qu'il n'y a buissons ne haye
Et couvrir de nouvelle sueille:
Qui sont scees tant qui l'hiver dure;
Pour la rougee qui ta mouille,
Ou elle a tout l'hiver este;
Qu'elle veult avoir neusve robe;
Que de couleurs y a cent paire,
Et de maintes couleurs diverses
Parquoy la terre mieulx se prise.
Pour l'hiver qu'ils ont tous sentuz,
Sont en May, et par la printemps,

Si liez, &c. v. 51.

2 Bush, or hedge-row. Sometimes wood. Rot. Pip. an. 17; Hen. iii. 'Et Heremita
sancti Edwardi in *haga* de Birchenwude, xl. sol.'

3 Hide. From *wrie*, or *wrey*, to *cover*.

4 Cold.

natural and picturesque circumstances, which are not yet got into the storehouse of modern poetry.

These trees were sett as I devise¹. One from another in a toise,
 Five fadom or sixe, I trowe so, But they were hie and gret also ;
 And for to kepe out wel the sunne, The croppis were so thik yrunne²,
 And everie branch in othir knitte And ful of grene levis sitte³,
 That sunnemight thernonediscende Lest the tendir grassis shende⁴.
 Ther might men does and roes ise⁵, And of squirels ful grete plente,
 From bow to bow alwaie lepinge ; Connis⁶ ther were also playing⁷.
 That comin out of ther clapers⁸, Of sondrie colors and maners ;
 And madin many a turneyng Upon the freshe grasse springing⁹.

Near this grove were shaded fountains without frogs, running into murmuring rivulets, bordered with the softest grass enamelled with various flowers.

In placis sawe I wellis there¹⁰ In whiche ther no froggis were,
 And faire in shadow was eche wel ; But I ne can the nombre tel
 Of stremis smale, that by devise
 Mirth had don com thorough condise¹¹,
 Of which the watir in renning, Gan makin a noise ful liking.
 About the brinkis of these wellis, And by the stremes ovir al ellis
 Sprange up the grasse as thick isett And soft eke as any velvett.
 On which man might his leman ley
 As softe as fetherbed to pley.—
 There sprange the violet all newe,
 And fresh perwinke¹² riche of hewe ;
 And flouris yalowe white and rede,
 Such plenti grew ther ner in mede :
 Full gaie was al the grounde and queint
 And poudrid, as men had it peint,

¹ Mais sachiez que les arbres furent
 L'ung fut de l'autre loing assis
 Mais moult furent fueilluz et haulx
 Et si espis par dessus furent
 Ne ne povoient bas descendre
 Au vergier eut dains & chevreleux,
 Qui par dessus arbres sailloyent ;
 Bien souvent hors de leurs tanieres,

² 'The tops, or boughs, were so thickly twisted together.'

³ Set.

⁴ Be hurt.

Si loing a loing comme estre durent
 De cinque toises voyre de six,
 Pour gardir de l'este le chaulx,
 Que chaleurs percer ne lis peuvent
 Ne faire mal a l'erbe tendre.
 Et aussi beaucoup d'escureux,
 Conuins y avoit qui yssoient
 En moult de diverses manieres, v. 1368.

⁵ See.

⁶ Conies.

⁷ Chaucer imitates this passage in the *Assemble of Foules*, v. 190, seq. Other passages of
 that poem are imitated from *Roman de la Rose*.

⁸ Burroughs.

¹⁰ Par lieux y eut cleres fontaines,
 Qui des arbres estoient umbrez,
 Et petit ruisseaulx, que Deduit
 L'eau alloit aval faisant
 Aux bortz des ruisseaulx et des rives,
 Poignoit l'erbe dru et plaisant
 Amy pouvoit avec sa mye
 Violette y fut moult belle
 Fleurs y eut blanches et vermeilles,
 De toutes diverses couleurs,
 Si estoit soef flairans

¹¹ Conduits.

⁹ v. 1391.
 Sans barbelotes¹ and sans raines,
 Par moy ne vous seront nombrez,
 Avoit la trouves par conduit ;
 Son melodieux et plaisant.
 Des fontaines cleres et vives
 Grant soulas et plaisir faisant.
 Soy deporter ne'r doubtiez mye.—
 Et aussi parvenche nouvelle ;
 Ou ne pourroit trouver pareilles,
 De haulx pris et de grans valeurs,
 Et reflagrans et odorans, v. 1348.

¹² Periwinkle.

¹ A species of insect often found in stagnant water.

With many a fresh and sondry floure
That castin up ful gode savoure¹.

But I hasten to display the peculiar powers of William de Lorris in delineating allegorical personages ; none of which have suffered in Chaucer's translation. The poet supposes, that the garden of Mirth, or rather Love, in which grew the Rose, the object of the lover's wishes and labours, was enclosed with embattled walls, richly painted with various figures, such as Hatred, Avarice, Envy, Sorrow, Old Age, and Hypocrisy. Sorrow is thus represented.

SORROWE was pantid next ENVIE² Upon that wal of masonrie.
But wel was seen in her colour, That she had livid in languour ;
Her seemid to have the jaundice, Not half so pale was AVARICE.
Ne nothing alike of lenesse
For sorowe, thought, and grete distresse.
A s'rowful thing wel semid she ; Nor she had nothing slow ybe
For to bescrachin of hir face, And for to rent in many place
Hir clothes, and for to tere her swire³,
As she that was fulfilled of ire :
And al to torn lay eke hir here :
About hir shoulders, here and there ;
As she that had it all to rent For angre and for male talent⁴.

Nor are the images of HATRED and AVARICE inferior.

Amiddis sawe I HATE ystynde⁵.—

And she was nothing wel araide But like a wode woman afraide :
Yfrownid foule was hir visage, And grinning for dispiteous rage,
Her nose ysnortid up for tene⁶ Full hideous was she fortosene,
Full foul and rustey was she this, Her hed iwritthin was iwis,
Full grimly with a grete towaile, &c⁷.

The design of this work will not permit me to give the portrait of Idleness, the portress of the garden of Mirth, and of others, which form the groupe of danciers in the garden : but I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing those of Beauty, Franchise, and Richesse, three capital figures in this genial assembly,

¹ v. 1411.

² De les ENVIE estoit TRISTESSE
Et bien paroit a sa couleur
Et sembloit avoir la jaunice,
Le palisseur ne de maigresse
Moult sembloit bien que fust dolente :
D'esgratignier toute sa chiere ;
En mains lieux l'avoit dessiree,
Ses cheveulx derompus estoient,
Presque les avoit tous desroux

³ Neck.

⁵ Au milieu de mur je vy HAYNE.
Si n'estoit pas bien atounee,
Rechignee estoit et fronce
Moult hydeuse estoit et souillee
Tres ordement d'un touaille,

⁶ Anger.

Peinte aussi et garnye d'angoisse.
Qu'elle avoit a cuer grant douleur :
La n'y faisoit riens AVARICE,
Car le travaille et la destresse, &c.
Car el n'avoit pas este lente
Sa robe ne luy estoit chiere
Comme culle qui fut yree.
Qu'autour de son col pendoient,
De maltalent et de corroux, v. 300.

⁴ v. 300.

Ains sembloit estre forcence.
Avoit le nez et rebourse.
Et fut sa teste entortillee
Qui moult estoit d'horrible taille.

⁷ v. 147.

The God of love, jolife and light¹, Ladde on his hande a ladie bright,
 Of high prise, and of gret degre This ladie called was BEAUTIE.
 And an arowe, of which I told, Full well ythewid² was she holde :
 Ne was she darke ne browne, but bright,
 And clere as is the mone light.—
 Her fleshe was tendre as dewe of floure,
 Her chere was simple as birde in boure :
 As white as lillie, or rose in rise³, Her face was gentil and tretise⁴ ;
 Fetis⁵ she was, and smal to se, No wintrid⁶ browis hedde she ;
 Nopopped⁷ here, for't neded nought To windir⁸ her or to peint ough.
 Her tresses yalowe and long straughten⁹
 Unto her helis down the ¹⁰raughten¹¹.

Nothing can be more sumptuous and superb than the robe, and other ornaments, of RICHESSE, or Wealth. They are imagined with great strength of fancy. But it should be remembered, that this was the age of magnificence and shew ; when a profusion of the most splendid and costly materials were lavished on dress, generally with little taste and propriety, but often with much art and invention.

RICHESSE a robe of purple on had¹²,
 Ne trow not that I lie or mad¹³,

¹ Le Dieu d'amours si s'estoit
 Pres se tenoit de son coste
 Ainsi comme une des cinque flesches
 Point ne fut obscur, ne brun,
 Tendre eut la chair comme rousee,
 Et blanch comme fleur de lis,
 Elle estoit gresle et alignee
 Car elle n'avoit pas mestier
 Les cheueulx ent blons et si longs

A une dame de hault pris,
 Celle dame eut nom BEAULTE.
 En ille aut toutes bonnes taiches :
 Mais fut clere comme la lune.—
 Simple fut comme une espousee.
 Visage eut bel doulx et alis,
 N'estoit fardie ne pignee
 De soy farder et affaictier.
 Qu'ils batoient aux talons, v. 1004.

² Having good qualities. See *supr.* v. 939, seq.

³ On the bush. Or, In perfection. Or, A budding rose.

⁴ Well proportioned.

⁵ *Feitous.* Handsome.

⁶ Contracted.

⁷ Affectedly dressed. Properly, dressed up like a *puppet*.

⁸ To trim. To adorn.

⁹ *Stretched.* Spread abroad.

¹⁰ Reached.

¹¹ v. 1003.

¹² De pourpre fut le vestement
 Qu'en tout le monde n'eust plus bel,
 Pourtraictes y furent d'orfrois
 Et encores y avoit-il
 A noyaulx d'or au col fermoit,
 Noblement eut le chief pare
 Qui gettoient moult grant clarte,
 Puis eut une riche sainture
 Le boucle d'une pierre fu,
 Celluy qui sur soy le protoit
 D'autre pierre fut le mordans
 Cest pierre portoit bon cur,
 De sa sante et de sa vei,
 Les cloux furent d'or epure,
 Qui estoient grans et pesans,
 Si eut avecques a Richesse
 Si riche, si plaisant, et si bel,
 De pierres estoit fort garny,
 Qui bien en vouldroit deviser,
 Rubis, y eut saphirs, jagonces,
 Mais devant eut par grant maistrise,
 Et le pierre si clere estoit
 Si en povoit veoir au besoing
 Telle clarte si en yssoit
 Par tout le corps et par sa face

A RICHESSE, si noblement,
 Mieux fait, ne aussi plus nouvel :
 Hystories d'empereurs et roys.
 Un-ouvrage noble et sobtil ;
 Et a bendes d'azur tenoit :
 De riches pierres decore
 Tout-y estoit bien assortee.
 Sainte par dessus sa vesture :
 Grosse et de moult grant vertu
 De tous venins garde estoit.—
 Qui guerissoit du mal des dens.
 Qui l'avoit pouvoit estre asseur
 Quant a jeun il l'avoit vei :
 Par dessus le tissu dore,
 En chascun avoit deux besans.
 Uns cadre d'or mis sur la tresse,
 Qu'onques ou ne veit le pareil :
 Precieuses et aplanys,
 On ne les pouvroit pas priser
 Esmerandes plus de cent onces :
 Un escarboucle bien assise
 Que cil qui devant la mettoit
 A soy conduire une lieue loing,
 Que Richesse en resplandissoit
 Aussi d'autour d'elle la place, v. 1066.

¹³ That I lie, or am mad.'

For in this world is none it liche¹, Ne by a thousand dele² so riche,
 Ne none so faire : For it full wele With orfraies³ laid was everie dele,
 And purtraied in the ribaninges⁴ Of dukis stories and of kinges ;
 And with a bend⁵ of gold tassiled, And knoppis⁶ fine of gold amiled⁷.
 About her neck, of gentle entaile⁸, Was set the riche chevesaile⁹ ;
 In which ther was ful grete plente Of stonis clere and faire to se.
 RICHESE a girdle had upon The bokill¹⁰ of it was of ston
 Of vertu grete and mokill¹¹ might, For who so bare the ston so bright
 Ofvenimdurst him nothing doubt While he the ston had him about.—
 The mordaunt¹² wrought in noble guise
 Was of a ston ful precious, That was so fin and vertuous
 That whole a man it couth ymake Of palsie, and of the tothe ake :
 And yet the ston had soche a grace That he was sikre¹³ in evvrie place
 All thilke daie not blinde to bene That fasting might that ston sene.
 The barris¹⁴ were of gold full fine Upon a tissue of sattin,
 Full hevie, grete, and nothing light, In everiche was a besaunt wight¹⁵.
 Upon the tressis of RICHESE, Was sett a circle of noblesse,
 Of brende¹⁶ gold, that full light yshone,
 So faire, trowe I, was nevir none.

¹ Like.² Parts.³ Embroidery in gold.⁴ Laces laid on robes. Embroideries.⁵ Band. Knot.⁶ Knobbs. Buttons.

⁷ *Enameled*. Enameling, and perhaps pictures in enamel, were common in the middle ages. From the Testament of Joh. de Foxle, knight, Dat. apud Bramshill Co. Southampt. Nov. 5, 1378. 'Item lego domino abbati de Waltham unum annulum auri grossi, cum una saphiro infixa, et nominibus trium regum [of Cologne] sculptis in eodem annulo. Item lego Margite sorori mee unam tabulam argenti deaurati et *amelitam*, minorem de duabus quas habeo, cum diversis ymaginibus sculptis in eadem.—Item lego Margerie uxori Johannis de Wilton unum monile auri, cum S. litera sculpta et *amelita* in eodem.' Registr. Wykeham, Episc. Winton. P. ii. fol. 24. See also Dugd. Bar. i. 234, a. 'AMILED is from the French EMAIL, or ENAMEL. This art flourished most at Limoges in France. So early as the year 1197, we have 'Duas tabulas aeneas superauratas de labore *Limogiae*.' Chart. ann. 1197, apud Ughelin. tom. vii. ITAL. SACR. p. 1274. It is called *Opus Lemnoviticum*, in Dugdale's MON. iii. 310, 313, 331. And in Wilkin's CONCIL. i. 666, where two cabinets for the host are ordered, one of silver or of ivory, and the other de *opere Lemovicino*. SYNOD. WIGORN. A.D. 1240. And in many other places. I find it called *Limaise*, in a metrical romance, the name of which I have forgot, where a tomb is described,

And yt was, the Romans sayes,

All with golde and *limaise*.

Carpentier [V. LIMOGIA.] observes, that it was anciently a common ornament of sumptuous tombs. He cites a Testament of the year 1327, '*Je lais huit cent livres pour faire deux tombes hautes et levees de l'ŒUVRE DE LIMOGES.*' The original tomb of Walter de Merton, bishop of Rochester, erected in his cathedral about the year 1276, was made at Limoges. This appears from the accompts of his executors, viz. 'Et computant xl l. v s. vi d. liberat. Magistro Johanni Linnomcensi, pro tumba dicti Episcopi Roffensis, scil. pro Constructione et carriagio de Lymoges ad Roffam. Et xl s. viii d. cuidam Executori apud Lymoges ad ordinandum et providendum Constructionem dictæ Tumbæ. Et x s. viii. d. cuidam garcioni eunti apud Lymoges quærenti dictam tumbam constructam, et ducenti eam cum dicto Mag. Johanne usque Roffam. Et xxii l. in materialibus circa dictam tumbam defricandam. Et vii marcas, in ferramento ejusdem, et carriagio a Londin. usque ad Roff. et aliis parandis ad dictam tumbam. Et xi s. cuidam vitriario pro vitris fenestrarum emptarum juxta tumbam dicti Episcopi apud Roffam.' Ant. Wood's MSS. MERTON PAPERS, Bibl. Bodl. Cod. BALLARD. 46.

⁸ Of good workmanship, or carving. From *Intagliare*, Ital.⁹ Necklace.¹⁰ Buckle.¹¹ Muckel. Great.¹² Tongue of a buckle. *Mordeo*. Lat.¹³ Certain.

¹⁴ I cannot give the precise meaning of *Barris*, nor of *Cloux* in the French. It seems to be part of a buckle. In the wardrobe-roll, quoted above, are mentioned, 'One hundred garters cum boucles, barris, et pedentibus argento.' For which were delivered, 'ccc barrs argenti.' An. 21, Edw. iii.

¹⁵ 'The weight of a besant.' A byzant was a species of gold-coin, stamped at *Byzantium*. A wedge of gold.

¹⁶ Burnished.

But hewere konning for thenones¹ That could devisin all the stones,
That in the circle shewin clere, It is a wonder thing to here :

For no man could or preis², or gesse,
Of hem the value or richesse :
Rubies ther were, saphirs, ragounces³,
And emeraudes more than two ounces :

But all before full subtilly A fine carboncle set sawe I :

The stone so clear was and so bright,
That al so sone as it was night,

Men mightin se to go for nede, A mile or two, in length or brede ;
Soche light ysprang out of the stone,
That RICHESSE wondir bright yshone

Both on her hedde and all hir face And eke about her all the place⁴.

The attributes of the portrait of MIRTH are very expressive.

Of berde unnethe had he nothing⁵, For it was in the firste spring :

Ful young he was and merie' of thought,
And in samette⁶ with birdis wrought,

And with golde bete ful fetously, His bodie was clad full richely ;
Wrought was his robe in straunge gise,

¹ 'Well-skilled in these things.'

² Appraise. Value.

³ The gem called a *Jacinth*. We should read in Chaucer's text, *Jagonces* instead of *Ragounces*, a word which never existed ; and which Speght, who never consulted the French *Roman de la Rose*, interprets merely from the sense of the context, to be 'A kind of precious stone.' Gloss. Ch. in V. The knowledge of precious stones was a grand article in the natural philosophy of this age : and the medical virtue of gems, alluded to above, was a doctrine much inculcated by the Arabian naturalists. Chaucer refers to a treatise on gems, called the *LAPIDARIY*, famous in that time. *House of Fame*, L. ii. v. 260.

And thei were sett as thicke of ouchis

Fine, of the finist stonis faire

That men *redin* in the *LAPIDAIRE*.

Montfaucon, in the royal library at Paris, recites 'LE LAPIDAIRE, de la vertu des pierres.' Catal. MSS. p. 794. This I take to be the book referred to by Chaucer. Henry of Huntingdon wrote a book *De Gemmis*. He flourished about 1145. Tann. Bibl. p. 395. Greek Treatise, Du Cange, Gloss. Gr. Barb. ii. Ind. Auctor, p. 37, col. 1. In the Cottage library is a Saxon Treatise on precious stones. TIEBER. A 3, liii. fol. 98. The writing is more ancient than the con quest. Pellouter mentions a Latin poem of the eleventh century on Precious Stones, written by Marbode bishop of Rennes, and soon afterwards translated into French verse. Mem. Lang. Celt. part i. vol. i. ch. xiii. p. 26. The translation begins,

Evax fut un mult riche reis

Lu reigne tint d'Arabeis.

It was printed in *OEUVRES* de Hildebert Eveque du Mons, edit. Ant. Beaugendre, col. 1638. This may be reckoned one of the oldest pieces of French versification. A manuscript *De Speciebus Lapidum*, occurs twice in the Bodleian library, falsely attributed to one Adam Nidzarde, Cod. Digb. 28, f. 169.—Cod. Laud. C. 3, *Princ*. 'Evax rex Arabum legitur scripsisse.' But it is, I think, Marbode's book above-mentioned. Evax is a fabulous Arabian king, said to have written on this subject. Of this Marbode, or Marbodæus, see Ol. Borrich. Diss. Acad. de Poet. pag. 87. § 78, edit. Francof. 1683, 4to. His poem was published, with notes, by Lampridius Alardus. The eastern writers pretend, that king Solomon, among a variety of physiological pieces, wrote a book on Gems : one chapter of which treated of those precious stones, which resist or repel evil Genii. They suppose that Aristotle stole all his philosophy from Solomon's books. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xiii. 387, seq. And i. p. 71. Compare Herbelot, Bibl. Oriental, p. 962, b. Artic. *KETAB alahgiar*, seq.

⁴. v. 1071

⁵ Et si n'avoit barbe a menton
Il estoit jeune damoysaulx
Qui tout estoit e or batu,
D'un robe moult desgysee,
Et decoupee par quointise,
D'un souliers decoupees a las
Et sa neye luy fist chapeau

Si non petit poil follaton ;
Son bauldrier sut portrait d'oiseaulx
Tres richement estoit vestu
Qui fut en maint lieu incisee,
Et fut chausse par mignotise
Par joyeuse et soulas,
De roses gracieux et beau. v. 832.

⁶ *Samite*. Sattin. Explained above.

And all to slittered¹ for quientise,
 In many a place lowe and hie, And shod he was, with grete maistrice,
 With shone decopid² and with lace, By drurie³ and eke by solace ;
 His lefe⁴ a rosin chapelet Had made and on his hedde it set⁵.

FRANCHISE is a no less attractive portrait, and sketched with equal grace and delicacy.

And next him daunsid dame FRANCHISE⁶,
 Arayid in ful noble guise.
 Shen'as not brounene dunne of hewe, But white as snowe ifallin newe,
 Hernose was wrought at point devise⁷, For it was gentill and tretise ;
 With eyin glad and browis bent, Her hare down to her helis went⁸ :
 Simple she was as dove on tre, Ful debonaire of hart was she⁹.

The personage of DANGER is of a bolder cast, and may serve as a contrast to some of the preceding. He is supposed suddenly to start from an ambuscade ; and to prevent Bialcoil, or *Kind Reception*, from permitting the lover to gather the rose of beauty.

With that anon out start DANGERE¹⁰,
 Out of the place where he was hidde ;
 His malice in his chere was kidde¹¹ ;
 Full grete he was, and blacke of hewe,
 Sturdie and hideous whoso him knewe ;
 Like sharpe urchons¹² his heere was grov
 His eyes red sparcling as fire glow,
 His nose frouncid¹³ full kirkid¹⁴ stoode,
 He come criande¹⁵ as he were woode¹⁶.

¹ Cut and slashed.

² Cut or marked with figures. From *Decouper*, Fr. To cut. Thus the parish clerk Absolon, in the *Miller's Tale*, v. 210. p. 26, Urr.

With Poulis windowes carven on his shose.

I suppose *Poulis windowes* was a cant phrase for a fine device or ornament.

³ Modesty.

⁴ Mistress.

⁵ v. 833.

⁶ Apres tous ceulx estoit FRANCHISE,
 Ains fut comme la neige blanche
 Le nez avoit long et tretis,
 Les cheveulx eut tres-blons et longs,
 Le cueur eut doulx et debonnaire, v. 1190.

Que ne fut ne brune ne bise ;
 Courtoise estoit, joyeuse et franche,
 Yeulx vers rins, soureils saitis,
 Simple feut comme les coulons.

⁷ With the utmost exactness.

⁸ All the females of this poem have grey eyes and yellow hair. One of them is said to have 'Her eyen graie as is a faucon.' v. 546. Where the original word, translated *graie*, is *vers*. v. 546. We have this colour again, Orig. v. 822. 'Les yeulx eut *vers*.' This too Chaucer translates, 'Her eyin graie,' 862. The same word occurs in the French text before us, v. 1193. This comparison was natural and beautiful, as drawn from a very familiar and favourite object in the age of the poet. Perhaps Chaucer means 'grey as a falcon's eyes.'

⁹ v. 1211

¹⁰ A tant saillit villain DANGERE,
 Grant fut, noir et tout herice
 Les vis frounce, le nez hydeux

De la on il estoit muee ;
 S'ot, les yeulx rouges comme feux,
 Est scerie tout forcenez. v. 2959.

¹¹ 'Was discovered by his behaviour, or countenance.' Perhaps we should read *cheke*, for *chere*.

¹² Contracted.

¹³ 'Crying as if he was mad.'

¹⁴ *Urchins*. Hedge-hogs.

¹⁵ *Crooked*. Turned upwards.

¹⁶ v. 3130.

Chaucer has enriched this figure. The circumstance of DANGER's hair standing erect like the prickles on the urchin or hedge-hog, is his own, and finely imagined.

Hitherto specimens have been given from that part of this poem which was written by William de Lorris, its first inventor. Here Chaucer was in his own walk. One of the most striking pictures in the style of allegorical personification, which occurs in Chaucer's translation of the additional part, is much heightened by Chaucer, and indeed owes all its merit to the translator; whose genius was much better adapted to this species of painting than that of John of Meun, the continuator of the poem.

With her, Labour and eke Travaile¹,
Lodgid bene, with Sorowe and Wo, That nevir out of her court go,
Pain and Distresse, Sicknesse and Ire,
And Melanc'ly that angry sire,
Ben of her palais² senators;
Groning and Grutching her herbegeors³;
The day and night her to tourment, With cruill deth their he present,
And tellin her erliche⁴ and late,
That DETH stondith armid at her gate.
Then bring they to remembraunce, The foly dedes of hir enfance⁵.

The fiction that Sickness, Melancholy, and other beings of the like sort, were counsellors in the palace of OLD AGE, and employed in telling her day and night, that 'DEATH stood *armed* at her gate,' was far beyond the sentimental and satirical vein of John of Meun, and is conceived with great vigour of imagination.

Chaucer appears to have been early struck with this French poem. In his DREME, written long before he began this translation, he supposes, that the chamber in which he slept was richly painted with the story of the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE⁶. It is natural to imagine, that such a poem must have been a favourite with Chaucer. No poet, before William of Lorris, either Italian or French, had delineated allegorical personages in so distinct and enlarged a style, and with such a fullness of characteristical attributes: nor had descriptive poetry selected such a variety of circumstances, and disclosed such an exuberance of embellishment, in forming agreeable representations of nature. On this account, we are surprised that Boileau should mention Villon as the first poet of France who drew form and order from the chaos of the old French romancers.

¹ Travaile et douleur la hebergent,
Que mort prochaine luy presentent,
Tant luy sont de fleaux sentir;
En cest tardive presence,

Mais il le lient et la chargent,
Et talent de seq repentir;
Adonc luy vient en remembraunce,
Quant et se voit foible et chenuë. v. 4733.

² Palace.

³ Chamberlains.

⁴ Early.

⁵ v. 4994.

⁶ v. 322. Chaucer alludes to this poem in The MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1548. p. 72. Urr.

Villon sceut le PREMIER, dans ces siecles grossiers
Debrouiller l'ART CONFUS de nos vieux ROMANCIERS¹.

But the poetry of William of Lorris was not the poetry of Boileau.

That this poem should not please Boileau, I can easily conceive. It is more surprising that it should have been censured as a contemptible performance by Petrarch, who lived in the age of fancy. Petrarch having desired his friend Guy de Gonzague to send him some new piece, sent the ROMAN DE LA ROSE. With the poem, instead of an encomium, he returned a severe criticism; in which he treats it as a cold, inartificial, and extravagant composition: as a proof, how much France, who valued this poem as her chief work, was surpassed by Italy in eloquence and the arts of writing². In this opinion we must attribute something to jealousy. But the truth is, Petrarch's genius was too cultivated to relish these wild excursions of imagination: his favourite classics, whom he revived, and studied with so much attention, ran in his head. Especially Ovid's ART OF LOVE, a poem of another species, and evidently formed on another plan; but which Petrarch had been taught to venerate, as the model and criterion of a didactic poem on the passion of love reduced to a system. We may add, that although the poem before us was founded on the visionary doctrines and refinements concerning love invented by the Provencal poets, and consequently less unlikely to be favourably received by Petrarch, yet his ideas on that delicate subject were much more Platonic and more metaphysical.

SECTION XIV.

CHAUCER'S poem of TROILUS and CRESSEIDE is said to be formed on an old history, written by Lollius, a native of Urbino in Italy³. Lydgate says, that Chaucer, in this poem,

————— made a translacion
Of a boke which called is TROPHE
Of Lumbarde tongue, &c⁴.

¹ Art. Poet. ch. i. He died about the year 1456.

² See Petrarch. Carm. L. i. Ep. 30.

³ Petrus Lambecius enumerates Lollius Urbicus among the *Historici Latini profani* of the third century. Prodrum. p. 246, Hamb. 1659. See also Voss. Historic. Latin, ii, 2, p. 163. edit. Ludg. Bat. But this could not be Chaucer's Lollius. Chaucer places Lollius among the historians of Troy, in his house of Fame, iii. 380. It is extraordinary, that Du Fresne, in the *Index Auctorum*, used by him for his Latin glossary, should mention this Lollius Urbicus of the third century. Tom. i, p. 141, edit. i. As I apprehend, none of his works remain. A proof that Chaucer translated from some Italian original is, that in a MSS. which I have seen of this poem, I find, *Monesteo* for *Menestes*, *Rupheo* for *Ruphes*, *Phebuseo* for *Phebuses*, lib. iv, 50, seq. Where, by the way, Xantippe, a Trojan chief, was perhaps corruptly written for Xantippo, i. e. Xantippus. As Joseph. Iscan. iv. 10. In Lydgate's Troy, *Zantiphus*, iii. 26. All corrupted from Antiphus, Dict. Cret. p. 105. In the printed copies we have *Ascalapho* for *Ascalaphus*. lib. v. 319.

⁴ Profl. Boch. st. iii.

It is certain that Chaucer, in this piece, frequently refers to 'MYNE AUCTOR LOLLIVS¹.' But he hints, at the same time, that Lollius wrote in Latin². I have never seen this history, either in the Lombard or the Latin language. I have before observed, that it is mentioned in Boccaccio's Decameron, and that a translation of it was made into Greek verse by some of the Greek fugitives in the fourteenth century. Du Fresne, if I mistake not, somewhere mentions it in Italian. In the royal library at Paris it occurs often as an ancient French romance. 'Cod. 7546. Roman de Troilus.'—'Cod. 7564. Roman de Troilus et de Briseida ou Criseida.'—Again, as an original work of Boccaccio. 'Cod. 7757. Philostrato dell' amorese fatiche de Troilo per GIOVANNI 'BOCCACCIO³. 'Les suivans (adds Montfaucon⁴) contiennent *les autres œuvres* de Boccace.' Much fabulous history concerning Troilus, is related in Guido de Columna's Destruction of Troy. Whatever were Chaucer's materials, he has on this subject constructed a poem of considerable merit, in which the vicissitudes of love are depicted in a strain of true poetry, with much pathos and simplicity of sentiment⁵. He calls it, 'a litill tragedie⁶.' Troilus is supposed to have seen Cresside in a temple; and retiring to his chamber, is thus naturally described, in the critical situation of a lover examining his own mind after the first impression of love.

¹ lib. i. vi. 395

² Lib. ii. v. 10.

³ 'Boccaccio's FILOSTRATO was printed in qto. at Milan, in 1488. The title is, 'Il FILOSTRATO, che tracta de lo innamoramento de TROILO a GRyseida: et de molte altre infinite battaglie. Impresso nella incilita cita de Milano par magistro Uldericho Scinzenzeler nell' anno 'M. CCCCLXXXVIII. a di xxvii di mese Septembre.' It is in the octave stanza. The editor of the CANTERBURY TALES informs me, that Boccaccio himself, in his DECAMERON, has made the same honourable mention of this poem as of the THESEIDA: although without acknowledging either for his own. In the introduction to the Sixth Day, he says, that 'Dioneo insieme con 'Lauretta de TROILE ET DI CRyseida cominciarono cantare.' Just as, afterwards, in the conclusion of the Seventh Day he says, that the same 'Dioneo et Fiametta gran pezzi cantarono insieme d'ARCITA ET DI PALAMOE.' CANTORT. T. vol. iv. p. 85. iii. p. 311. Chaucer appears to have been as much indebted to Boccaccio in his TROILUS AND CRESSEIDE, as in his KNIGHTES TALE. At the same time we must observe, that there are several long passages, and even episodes, in TROILUS, of which no traces appear in the FILOSTRATO. Chaucer speaks of himself as a translator *out of Latin*, B. ii. 14. And he calls his author LOLLIVS, B. i. 394.—421, and B. v. 1652. The latter of these two passages is in the PHILOSTRATO: but the former, containing Petrarch's sonnet, is not. And when Chaucer says, he *translates from Latin*, we must remember, that the Italian language was called *Latino volgare*. Shall we suppose, that Chaucer followed a more complete copy of the FILOSTRATO than that we have at present, or one enlarged by some officious interpolator? The Parisian MSS. might perhaps clear these difficulties. In Bennet library at Cambridge, there is a MSS. of Chaucer's TROILUS, elegantly written, with a frontispiece beautifully illuminated, Lxi.

⁴ Bibl. p. 793. col. 2. Compare Lengl. Bibl. Rom. ii. p. 253.

⁵ Chaucer however claims no merit of invention in this poem. He invokes Clio to favour him with rhymes only; and adds,

—To everie lover I me' excuse

That of no *sentiment* I this endite

But *out of Latin* in my tongue it write.

L. ii. v. 10. seq. But Sir Francis Kinaston who translated TROILUS AND CRESSIDE [1635.] into Latin rhymes, says, that Chaucer in this poem 'has taken the liberty of his own inventions.' in the mean time, Chaucer, by his own references, seems to have been studious of seldom departing from Lollius. In one place, he pays him a compliment, as an author whose excellencies he could not reach. L. iii. v. 1330.

Bot sothe is, though I can not tellen all,

As can mine author of *his excellence*.

See also L. iii. 546, 1823.

⁶ L. ult. v. 1785.

And whan that he in chambre was alone,
 He down upon his beddis fete him sette,
 And first he gan to sihe¹, and then to grone,
 And thought aie on her so withoutin lette :
 That as he satte and woke, his spirit mette²
 That he her saugh, and temple, and all the wise³
 Right of her loke, and gan it newe avise⁴.

There is not so much nature in the sonnet to Love, which follows. It is translated from Petrarch ; and had Chaucer followed his own genius, he would not have disgusted us with the affected gallantry and exaggerated compliments which it extends through five tedious stanzas. The doubts and delicacies of a young girl disclosing her heart to her lover, are exquisitely touched in this comparison :

And as the newe abashid nightingale
 That stintith⁵ first, when she beginith sing,
 When that she herith any herdis⁶ tale,
 Or in the hedgis anie wight stirring,
 And after sikir⁷ doth her voice outring ;
 Right so Cresseide when that her drede stent⁸
 Opened her herte and told him her intent⁹.

The following pathetic scene may be selected from many others. Troilus seeing Cresside in a swoon, imagines her to be dead. He unsheaths his sword with an intent to kill himself, and utters these exclamations.

And thou, cite, in which I live in wo,
 And thou, Priam, and brethren al ifere¹⁰,
 And thou, my mother, farwel, for I go :
 And, Atropos, make ready thou my bere :
 And thou, Creseide, O sweet herte dere,
 Receive thou now my spirit, would he say,
 With swerd at hert all redy far to dey.
 But as god would, of swough¹¹ she tho abraide¹²,
 And gan to sighe, and TROILUS she cride ;
 And he answerid, Lady mine Creseide,
 Livin ye yet ? And let his sword doun glide.
 Yes, herte mine, that thankid be Cupide,
 Quoth she : and therwithall she sore sight¹³
 And he began to glad her as he might.
 Toke her in armis two, and kist her oft,
 And her to glad he did all his entent :
 For which her ghost, that flickered aie alofte
 Into her woefull breast aien it went :

¹ Sigh.³ Manner.⁵ Stops.⁸ Her fears ceased.¹¹ Swoon.² Thought. Imagined.⁴ L. i. v. 359.⁶ Herdsman. A Shepherd.⁹ L. iii. v. 1239.¹² Then awaked.⁷ With confidence.¹⁰ Together.¹³ Sighed.

But at the last, as that her eyin glent¹
 Aside, anon she gan his swerde aspie,
 As it lay bere, and gan for fere to crie :

And askid him why he had it outdrawe?
 And Troilus anon the cause hir tolde,
 And how therwith himself he would have slawe :
 For which Creseide upon him gan behold,
 And gan him in her armis fast to fold ;
 And said, O mercy, God, to whiche a dede
 Alas ! how nere we werin bothe dede² !

Pathetic description is one of Chaucer's peculiar excellencies.

In this poem are various imitations from Ovid, which are of too peculiar and minute a nature to be pointed out here, and belong to the province of a professed and formal commentator on the piece. The Platonic notion in the third book³ about universal love, and the doctrine that this principle acts with equal and uniform influence both in the natural and moral world, are a translation from Boethius⁴ And in the KNIGHT'S TALE he mentions, from the same favorite system of philosophy, the FAIRE CHAINE OF LOVE⁵. It is worth observing, that the reader is referred to Dares Phrygius, instead of Homer, for a display of the achievements of Troilus.

His worthi dedis who so lift him here,
 Rede DARES, he can tel hem all ifere⁶.

Our author, from his excessive fondness of Statius, has been guilty of a very diverting, and what may be called a double anachronism. He represents Cresside, with two of her female companions, sitting in a *pavid parlour*, and reading the THEBAID of Statius⁷, which is called *the Geste of the Siege of Thebes*⁸, and *the Romance of Thebis*⁹. In another place, Cassandra translates the arguments of the twelve books of the THEBAID¹⁰. In the fourth book of this poem, Pandarus endeavours to comfort Troilus with arguments concerning the doctrine

¹ Glanced.

² L. iv. v. 1205.

³ v. 1750.

⁴ Consolat. Philosoph. L. ii. Met. ult. iii. Met. 2. Spenser is full of the same doctrine. See Fairy Queen, iix. i. iv. x. 34, 35, &c. &c. I could point out many other imitations from Boethius in this poem.

⁵ v. 2990. Urr.

⁶ L. iv. v. 1770.

⁷ L. ii. v. 81.

⁸ L. ii. v. 84.

⁹ L. ii. v. 100. *Bishop Amphiorax* is mentioned, ib. v. 104. Pandarus says, v. 106.

— All this I know my selve,
 And all the assiege of Thebes, and all the care ;
 For herof ben ther makid *bokis twelve*.

In his *Dreme*, Chaucer, to pass the night away, rather than play at chess, calls for a *Romance* ; in which 'were written fables of quenis livis and of kings, and many other thingis smale.' This proves to be Ovid. v. 52. seq. See Man. of L. T. v. 55. Urr. There was an old French Romance called PARTONEPEX, often cited by Du Cange and Carpentier. Gl. Lat. This is Parthenopeus, a hero of the Theban story. It was translated into English, and called PERTONAPE. See p. 123. *supr*.

L. v. v. 1490. I will add here, that Cresside proposes the trial of the Ordeal to Troilus. L. iii. v. 1048. Troilus, during the times of truce, amuses himself with hawking. L. iii. v. 1785.

of predestination, taken from Bradwardine, a learned archbishop and theologist, and nearly Chaucer's cotemporary¹.

This poem, although almost as long as the *Æneid*, was intended to be sung to the harp, as well as read.

And redde where so thou be, or ellis *songe*².

It is dedicated to the *morall* Gower, and to the *philosophical* Strode. Gower will occur as a poet hereafter. Strode was eminent for his scholastic knowledge, and tutor to Chaucer's son Lewis at Merton college in Oxford.

Whether the HOUSE OF FAME is Chaucer's invention, or suggested by any French or Italian poet, I cannot determine. But I am apt to think it was originally a Provencal composition, among other proofs, from this passage.

And ther came out so gret a noise, That had it standin upon OYSE,
Men might have herd it esily, I trow, to ROME sikerly³.

The Oyse is a river in Picardy, which falls into the river Seine, not many leagues from Paris. An Englishman would not have expressed distance by such an unfamiliar illustration. Unless we reconcile the matter, by supposing that Chaucer wrote this poem during his travels. There is another passage where the ideas are those of a foreign romance. To the trumpeters of renown the poet adds,

——All that usid clarion In Casteloigne or Arragon⁴.

Casteloigne is Catalonia in Spain⁵. The martial musicians of English tournaments, so celebrated in story, were a more natural and obvious allusion for an English poet⁶.

This poem contains great strokes of Gothic imagination, yet bordering often on the most ideal and capricious extravagance. The poet, in a vision, sees a temple of glass,

In which were more images, Of god stondinge in sundrie stages,
Sette in more riche tabernacles, And with perre⁷ more pinnacles,
And more curious pourtraituris, And quaint manir of figuris,
Of golde work than I sawe evir⁸.

On the walls of this temple were engraved stories from Virgil's *Eneid*⁹,

¹ In his book *DE CAUSA DEI*, published by Sir Henry Savile, 1617. He touches on this controversy, Nonne's Pr. T. v. 1349. Urr. See also Tr. Cr. L. iv. v. 961. seq.

² L. ult. v. 1796.

³ L. ii. v. 838.

⁴ B. iii. v. 157.

⁵ *MARCHAUNT'S TALE*, 1231. p. 70. Urr. He mentions a rock higher than any in Spain, B. iii. v. 27. But this I believe was an English proverb.

⁶ He mentions a plate of gold, 'As fine as *duckett* in *Venise*.' B. iii. v. 258. But he says, that the Galaxy is called *Watlyng strete*. B. ii. v. 431. He swears by Thomas Beckett, B. iii. v. 41. In one place he is addressed by the name of GEOFFREY. B. ii. v. 221. But in two others by that of PETER. B. i. v. 526. B. iii. v. 909. Among the musicians, he mentions 'Pipirs of all the Duche tong.' B. iii. v. 144.

⁷ Jewels.

⁸ B. i. v. 120.

⁹ Where he mentions Virgil's hell, he likewise refers to Claudian *De Raptu Proserpinæ*, and Dante's *Inferno*. v. 450. There is a translation of a few lines from Dante, whom he calls 'the wise poet of Florence,' in the *WIFE OF BATH'S TALE*, v. 1125. p. 84. Urr. The story of

and Ovid's Epistles¹. Leaving this temple, he sees an eagle with golden wings soaring near the sun.

——Faste by the sonne on hie, As kennyng smyght I with mine eie
Methought I sawe an eagle sore ; But that it semid mochil more²,
Then I had any egle sene³.——
It was of gold, and shone so bright,
That nevir man saw suche a sight⁴, &c.

The eagle descends, seizes the poet in his talons, and mounting again, conveys him to the House of Fame ; which is situated, like that of Ovid, between earth and sea. In their passage thither, they fly above the stars ; which our author leaves, with clouds, tempests, hail, and snow, far beneath him. This aerial journey is partly copied from Ovid's Phaeton in the chariot of the sun. But the poet apologises for this extravagant fiction, and explains his meaning, by alledging the authority of Boethius ; who says, that Contemplation may soar on the wings of Philosophy above every element. He likewise recollects, in the midst of his course, the description of the heavens, given by Marcius Capella in his book *De Nuptiis Philologie et Mercurii*⁵, and Alanus in his *Anticlaudian*⁶. At his arrival in the confines of the House of Fame, he is alarmed with confused murmurs issuing from thence, like distant thunders or billows. This circumstance is also borrowed from Ovid's temple⁷. He is left by the eagle near the house, which is built of materials bright as polished glass, and stands on a rock of ice of excessive height, and almost inaccessible. All the southern side of this rock was covered with engravings of the names of famous men, which were perpetually melting away by the heat of the sun. The northern side of the rock was alike covered with names ; but being here shaded from the warmth of the sun, the characters remained unmelted and un-effaced. The structure of the house is thus imagined.

——Me thoughtin by saint Gile, That all was of stone of berille,
Both the castle and the toure, And eke the hall and everie boure⁸;
Without pecis or joynnynges, And many subtyll compassyngs,

Hugolin of Pisa, a subject which Sir Joshua Reynolds has lately painted in a capital style, is translated from Dante, 'the grete poete of Italie that hight Dante,' in the *MONKES TALE*, v. 877. A sentence from Dante is cited in the *LEGENDE OF GOOD WOMEN*, v. 360. In the *FREERE'S TALE*, Dante is compared with Virgil, v. 256.

¹ It was not only in the fairy palaces of the poets and romance-writers of the middle ages, that Ovid's stories adorned the walls. In one of the courts of the palace of Nonesuch, all Ovid's Metamorphoses were cut in stone under the windows. Hearne, Coll. MSS. 55. p. 64. But the Epistles seems to have been the favorite work, the subject of which coincided with the gallantry of the times.

² Greater.

³ The eagle says to the poet, that this house stands

'Right so as *thine awne boke* tellith.'

B. ii. v. 204. This is, Ovid's Metamorphoses. See Met. L. xii. v. 40, &c.

⁴ B. i. v. 496. seq.

⁵ The *MARCHAUNT'S TALE*, v. 1248, p. 70. Urr. And Lidg. Stor. Theb. fol. 357.

⁶ A famous book in the middle ages. There is an old French translation of it. Bibl. Reg. Paris. MSS. Cod. 7632.

⁷ See Met. xii. 39. And Virg. *Æn.* iv. 173. Val. Flacc. ii. 117. Lucan. i. 469.

⁸ Chamber.

As barbicans¹ and pinnacles, Imageries and tabernacles
I sawe, and full eke of windowis As flakis fallin in grete snowis.

In these lines, and in some others which occur hereafter², the poet perhaps alludes to the many new decorations in architecture, which began to prevail about his time, and gave rise to the florid Gothic style. There are instances of this in his other poems. In his DREAME, printed 1597³.

And of a sute were al the touris, Subtily carven aftir flouris.—
With many a smal turret hie.

And in the description of the palace of PLEASAUNT REGARDE, in the ASSEMBLIE OF LADIES⁴.

Fairir is none, though it were for a king,
Devisid wel and that in every thing ;
The towris hie, ful plesante shal ye finde,
With fannis fresh, turning with everie winde.
The chambris, and the parlirs of a sorte,
With bay windows, goodlie as may be thought :
As for daunsing or other wise disporte,
The galleries be al right wel ywrought.

In Chaucer's Life, by William Thomas⁵, it is not mentioned that he was appointed clerk of the king's works, in the palace of Westminster, in the royal manors of Shene, Kensington, Byfleet, and Clapton, and in the Mews at Charing⁶. Again in 1380, of the works of St. George's chapel at Windsor, then ruinous⁷. But to return.

Within the niches formed in the pinnacles stood all round the castle,

—— Al manir of minstrelis, And jestours⁸ that tellyn tales
Both of weping and eke of game.

That is, those who sung or recited adventures either tragic or comic, which excited either compassion or laughter. They were accompanied with the most renowned harpers, among which were Orpheus, Arion, Chiron, and the Briton Glaskerion⁹. Behind these were placed, 'by many a thousand time twelve,' players on various instruments of music. Among the trumpeters are named Joab, Virgil's Misenus, and Theodamas¹⁰. About these pinnacles were also marshalled the most famous magicians, jugglers, witches, prophetesses, sorceresses, and professors of natural magic¹¹, which ever existed in ancient or modern

¹ Turrets.

² B. iii. v. 211.

³ V. 81. p. 572. Urr.

⁴ V. 158.

⁵ Chaucer's Life in Urry's edition. William Thomas digested this Life from collections by Dart. His brother, Dr. Timothy Thomas, wrote or compiled the Glossary and Preface to that edition. Dart's WESTMINST. ABBEY, i. 86. Timothy Thomas was of Christ Church Oxford, and died in 1751.

⁶ Claus. 8. Ric. ii.

⁷ Pat. 14. Ric. ii. Apud Tanner, Bibl. p. 166. Not. e.

⁸ This word is above explained.

⁹ Concerning this harper, see Percy's Ballads.

¹⁰ The MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1236. seq. p. 70. Urr.

¹¹ FRANKLEIN'S TALE, where several feats are described, as exhibited at a feast done by

times : such as Medea, Circe, Calliope, Hermes¹, Limotheus, and Simon Magus². At entering the hall he sees an infinite multitude of heralds, on the surcoats of whom were richly embroidered the armorial ensigns of the most redoubted champions that ever tourneyed in Africa, Europe, or Asia. The floor and roof of the hall were covered with thick plates of gold, studded with the costliest gems. At the upper end, on a lofty shrine, made of carbuncle, sate Fame. Her figure is like those in Virgil and Ovid. Above her, as if sustained on her shoulders, sate Alexander and Hercules. From the throne to the gates of the hall, ran a range of pillars with respective inscriptions. On the first pillar made of lead and iron³, stood Josephus, the Jewish historian, 'That of the [Jewis gestis told,' with seven other writers on the same subject. On the second pillar, made of iron, and painted all over with the blood of tigers, stood Statius. On another higher than the rest stood Homer, Dares Phrygius, Livy⁴, Lollius, Guido of Columna, and Geoffry of Monmouth, writers of the Trojan story. On a pillar of 'tinnid iron clere,' stood Virgil ; and next him, on a pillar of copper, appeared Ovid. The figure of Lucan was placed on a pillar of iron 'wrought full sternly,' accompanied with many Roman historians⁵. On a pillar

natural magic, a favorite science of the Arabians. Chaucer there calls it 'An art which sotill 'tragetoris plaie,' v. 2696. p. 110. Urr. Of this more will be said hereafter.

¹ None of the works of the first Hermes Trismegistus now remain. Cornel. Agripp. Van. Scient. cap. xlviii. The astrological and other philosophical pieces under that name are superstitious. Fabr. Biblioth. Gr. xii. 708. And Chan. YEM. TALE, v. 1455. p. 126. Urr. Some of these pieces were published under the fictitious names of Abel, Enoch, Abraham, Solomon, Saint Paul, and of many of the patriarchs and fathers. Cornel. Agripp. de Van. Scient. cap. xlv. Who adds, that these *trifles* were followed by Alphonsus king of Castile, Robert Grosthead, Bacon, and Apponus. He mentions Zabulus and Barnabas of Cyprus as famous writers in magic. Gower's Confess. Amant. p. 134. b. 146. edit. 1554. fol. per Berthelette. In speaking of ancient authors, who were known or celebrated in the middle ages, it may be remarked, that Macrobius was one. He is mentioned by William de Lorris in the ROMAN DE LA ROSE, v. 9. 'Ung aucteur qui ot nom *Macrobe*.' A line literally translated by Chaucer. 'An author that hight *Macrobes*.' v. 7. Chaucer quotes him in his DREME, v. 284. In the NONNES PRIEST'S TALE, v. 1238. p. 171. Urr. In the ASSEMBLE OF FOWLES, v. III. see also *ibid.* v. 31. He wrote a comment on Tully's SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS, and in these passages he is referred to on account of that piece. Petrarch, in a letter to Nicolas Sigeros, a learned Greek of Constantinople, quotes Macrobius, as a Latin author of all others the most familiar to Nicolas. It is to prove that Homer is the fountain of all invention. This is in 1354. Famil. Let. ix. 2. There is a MSS. of the first, and part of the second book of Macrobius, elegantly written, as it seems, in France, about the year 800. MSS. Coton. VITELL. C. iii. Cod. Membr. fol. viii. fol. 138. M. Planudes, a Constantinopolitan monk of the fourteenth century, is said to have translated Macrobius into Greek. But see Fabric. Bibl. Gr. x. 534. It is remarkable, that in the above letter, Petrarch apologises for calling Plato the Prince of Philosophers, after Cicero, Seneca, Apuleius, Plotinus, St. Ambrose, and St. Austin.

² Among these he mentions *Juglers*, that is, in the present sense of the word, those who practised Legerdemain : a popular science in Chaucer's time. Thus in Squ. T. v. 239. Urr.

As jugelours playin at these festis grete.

It was an appendage of the occult sciences studied and introduced into Europe by the Arabians.

³ In the composition of these pillars, Chaucer displays his chemical knowledge.

⁴ Dares Phrygius and Livy are both cited in Chaucer's DREME, v. 1070. 1084. Chaucer is fond of quoting Livy. He was also much admired by Petrarch ; who, while at Paris, assisted in translating him into French. This circumstance might make Livy a favorite with Chaucer. Vie de Petrarque, iii. p. 547.

⁵ Was not this intended to characterise Lucan ? Quintilian says of Lucan, '*Oratoribus magis quam poetis annumerandus.*' Instit. Orat. L. x. c. i.

of sulphur stood Claudian, so symbolised, because ~~he~~ wrote of Pluto and Proserpine.

That bare up all the fame of hell :
Of Pluto and of Proserpine That queen is of the darke pine'.

The hall was filled with the writers of ancient tales and romances, whose subjects and names were too numerous to be recounted. In the mean time crowds from every nation and of every condition filled the hall, and each presented his claim to the queen. A messenger is dispatched to summon Eolus from his cave in Thrace ; who is ordered to bring his two clarions called SLANDER and PRAISE, and his trumpeter Triton. The praises of each petitioner are then resounded, according to the partial or capricious appointment of Fame ; and equal merits obtain very different success. There is much satire and humour in these requests and rewards, and in the disgraces and honours which are indiscriminately distributed by the queen, without discernment and by chance. The poet then enters the house or labyrinth of RUMOUR. It was built of sallow twigs, lik a cage, and therefore admitted every sound. Its doors were also more numerous than leaves on the trees, and always stood open. These are romantic exaggerations of Ovid's inventions on the same subject. It was moreover sixty miles in length, and perpetually turning round. From this house, says the poet, issued tidings of every kind, like fountains and rivers from the sea. Its inhabitants, who were eternally employed in hearing or telling news, together with the rise of reports, and the formation of lies are then humourously described : the company is chiefly composed of sailors, pilgrims, and pardoners. At length our author is awakened at seeing a venerable personage of great authority : and thus the Vision abruptly concludes.

Pope has imitated this piece, with his usual elegance of diction and harmony of versification. But in the meantime, he has not only misrepresented the story, but marred the character of the poem. He has endeavoured to correct it's extravagancies, by new refinements and additions of another cast : but he did not consider, that extravagancies are essential to a poem of such a structure, and even constitute its beauties. An attempt to unite order and exactness of imagery with a subject formed on principles so professedly romantic and anomalous, is like giving Corinthian pillars to a Gothic palace. When I read Pope's elegant imitation of this piece, I think I am walking among the modern monuments unsuitably placed in Westminster-abbey.

¹ B. iii. v. 419. Chaucer alludes to this poem of Claudian in the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, where he calls Pluto, the king of 'fayrie.' 1744. p. 73. Urr.

SECTION XV.

NOTHING can be more ingeniously contrived than the occasion on which Chaucer's CANTERBURY TALES are supposed to be recited. A company of pilgrims, on their journey to visit the shrine of Thomas a Beckett at Canterbury, lodge at the Tabarde-inn in Southwark. Although strangers to each other, they are assembled in one room at supper, as was then the custom; and agree, not only to travel together the next morning, but to relieve the fatigue of the journey by telling each a story¹. Chaucer undoubtedly intended to imitate Boccacio, whose DECAMERON was then the most popular of books, in writing a set of tales. But the circumstance invented by Boccacio, as the cause which gave rise to his DECAMERON, or the relation of his hundred stories, is by no means so happily conceived as that of Chaucer for a similar purpose. Boccacio supposes, that when the plague began to abate at Florence, ten young persons of both sexes retired to a country house, two miles from the city, with a design of enjoying fresh air, and passing ten days agreeably. Their principal and established amusement, instead of playing at chess after dinner, was for each to tell a tale. One superiority which, among others, Chaucer's plan afforded above that of Boccacio, was the opportunity of displaying a variety of striking and dramatic characters, who would not have easily met but on such an expedition. A circumstance which also contributed to give a variety to the stories. And for a number of persons in their situation, so natural, so practicable, so pleasant, I add so rational, a mode of entertainment could not have been imagined.

The CANTERBURY TALES are unequal, and of various merit. Few, if any, of the stories are perhaps the invention of Chaucer. I have already spoken at large of the KNIGHT'S TALE, one of our author's noblest compositions². That of the CANTERBURY TALES, which deserves the next place, as written in the higher strain of poetry, and the poem by which Milton describes and characterises Chaucer, is the SQUIER'S TALE. The imagination of this story consists in Arabian fiction engrafted on Gothic chivalry. Nor is this Arabian fic-

¹ There is an inn at Burford in Oxfordshire, which accommodated pilgrims on their road to Saint Edward's shrine in the abbey of Gloucester. A long room, with a series of Gothic windows, still remains, which was their refectory. Leland mentions such another, Itin. ii. 70.

² It is remarkable, that Boccacio chose a Greek title, that is, *Δεκαήμερον*, for his Tales. He has also given Greek names to the ladies and gentlemen who recite the tales. His Eclogues are full of Greek words. This was natural at the revival of the Greek language.

³ The reader will excuse my irregularity in not considering it under the CANTERBURY TALES. I have here given the reason, which is my apology, in the text.

tion purely the sport of arbitrary fancy : it is in great measure founded on Arabian learning. Cambuscan, a king of Tartary, celebrates his birth-day festival in the hall of his palace at Sarra, with the most royal magnificence. In the midst of the solemnity, the guests are alarmed with a miraculous and unexpected spectacle : the minstrells cease on a sudden, and all the assembly is hushed in silence, surprise, and suspense.

While that the king sate thus in his noblay,
 Herkining his minstrelis ther thingis play,
 Beforn him at his bord deliciously :
 In at the halle dore, ful sodeinly,
 There came a knight upon a stede of brass ;
 And in his honde a brode mirrour of glass :
 Upon his thombe he had of gold a ring,
 And by his side a nakid sword hanging.
 And up he rideth to the hie bord : :
 In all the hall ne was there spoke a word,
 For marveile of this knight him to behold¹.

These presents were sent by the king of Araby and Inde to Cambuscan in honour of his feast. The horse of brass, on the skilful movement and management of certain secret springs, transported his rider into the most distant region of the world in the space of twenty-four hours ; for, as the rider chose, he could fly in the air with the swiftness of an eagle : and again, as occasion required, he could stand motionless in opposition to the strongest force, vanish on a sudden at command, and return at his master's call. The Mirrour of glass was endued with the power of shewing any future disasters which might happen to Cambuscan's kingdom, and discovered the most hidden machinations of treason. The Naked Sword could pierce armour deemed impenetrable,

‘ Were it as thik as is a branchid oke.’

And he who was wounded with it could never be healed, unless its possessor could be entreated to stroke the wound with its edge. The Ring was intended for Canace, Canbuscan's daughter ; and while she bore it in her purse, or wore it on her thnmb, enabled her to understand the language of every species of birds, and the virtues of every plant.

And whan this knight hath first his tale ytold,
 He ridd out of the hall and down he light :
 His Stede, which that shone as the sunne bright,

¹ v. 96. See a fine romantic story of a Count de Macon : who, while revelling in his hall with many knights, is suddenly alarmed by the entrance of a gigantic figure of a black man, mounted on a black steed. This terrible stranger, without receiving any obstruction from guards or gates, rides directly forward to the high table ; and, with an imperious tone, orders the count to follow him, &c. Nic. Gillos, chron. ann. 1120. OBS. FAIR. QU. § v. p. 146.

Stant in the court as still as any stone.
 The knight is to his chamber lad anon,
 He is unarmed and to the mete ysette :
 And all these presents full riche bene yfette,
 That is to saine, the Sword and the Mirrour,
 All born anon was unto the high tour,
 With certayn officers ordayned therefore :
 And under Canace the Ring is bore
 Solemnly ther as she sate at the table¹.

I have mentioned, in another place, the favorite philosophical studies of the Arabians. In this poem the nature of those studies is displayed, and their operations exemplified : and this consideration, added to the circumstances of Tartary being the scene of action, and Arabia the country from which these extraordinary presents are brought, induces me to believe this story to be one of the many fables which the Arabians imported into Europe. At least it is formed on their principles. Their sciences were tinctured with the warmth of their imaginations ; and consisted in wonderful discoveries and mysterious inventions.

This idea of a horse of brass took its rise from their chemical knowledge and experiments in metals. The treatise of Jeber, a famous Arab chemist of the middle ages, called LAPIS PHILOSOPHORUM, contains many curious and useful processes concerning the nature of metals, their fusion, purification, and malleability, which still maintain a place in modern systems of that science². The poets of romance, who deal in Arabian ideas, describe the Trojan horse as made of brass³. These sages pretended the power of giving life or speech to some of their compositions in metal. Bishop Grossthead's speaking brazen head, sometimes attributed to Bacon, had its foundation in Arabian philosophy⁴. In the romance of VALENTINE and ORSON, a brazen head fabricated by a necromancer in a magnificent chamber of the castle of Clerimond, declares to those two princes their royal parentage.⁵ We are told by William of Malmesbury, that Pope Sylvester the second, a profound mathematician, who lived in the eleventh century, made a brazen head, which would speak when spoken

¹ v. 188.

² The Arabians call chemistry, as treating of minerals and metals, SIMIA. From SIM, a word signifying the veins of gold and silver in the mines. Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 810. b. Hither, among many other things, we might refer Merlin's two dragons of gold finished with most exquisite workmanship, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, l. viii. c. 17. Ibid. vii. c. 3. Where Merlin prophesies that a brazen *man* on a brazen horse shall guard the gates of London.

³ Lydgate's TROYE BOKE, B. iv. c. 35. And Gower's CONF. AMANT. B. i. f. 13. b. edit. 1554. 'A horse of brasse thei lette do forge.'

⁴ Gower, Confes. Amant. ut supr. L. iv. fol. lxiii. a. edit. 1554.

For of the greate clerke Groostest
 Upon clergy a HEAD of BRASSE

I red, how redy that he was
 To make, and forge it for to telle
 Of such things as befell, &c.

⁵ Ch. xxviii. seq.

to, and oracularly resolved many difficult questions¹. Albertus Magnus, who was also a profound adept in those sciences which were taught by the Arabian schools, is said to have framed a man of brass; which not only answered questions readily and truly, but was so loquacious, that Thomas Aquinas while a pupil of Albertus Magnus, afterwards a seraphic doctor, knocked it in pieces as the disturber of his abstruse speculations. This was about the year 1240.² Much in the same manner, the notion of our knight's horse being moved by means of a concealed engine, corresponds with their pretences of producing preternatural effects, and their love of surprising by geometrical powers. Exactly in this notion, Rocail, a giant in some of the Arabian romances, is said to have built a palace, together with his own sepulchre, of most magnificent architecture, and with singular artifice: in both of these he placed a great number of gigantic statues or images, figured of different metals by talismanic skill, which in consequence of some occult machinery, performed actions of real life, and looked like living men³. We must add, that astronomy, which the Arabian philosophers studied with a singular enthusiasm, had no small share in the composition of this miraculous steed. For, says the poet,

He that it wrought couth many a gin,
He waitid many a constellation Ere he had don this operation⁴

Thus the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, as famous among the orientals as that of Achilles among the Greeks, was fabricated by the powers of astronomy.⁵ And Pope Sylvester's brazen head, just mentioned, was prepared under the influence of certain constellations.

Natural magic, improperly so called, was likewise a favorite pursuit of the Arabians, by which they imposed false appearances on the spectator. This was blended with their astrology. Our

¹ De Gest. Reg. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 10. Compare Majer. Symbolor. Aureæ Mensæ, lib. x.

p. 453.

² Delrio, Disquis. Magic. lib. i. cap. 4.

³ Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. V. RORAIL. p. 717. a.

⁴ v. 149. I do not precisely understand the line immediately following.

And knew ful many sele and many a bond.

Sele, i.e. *Seal*, may mean a talismanic sigil used in astrology. Or the Hermetic seal used in chemistry. Or, connected with *Bond*, may signify contracts made with spirits in chemical operations. But all these belong to the Arabian philosophy, and are alike to our purpose. In the Arabian books now extant, are the alphabets, out of which they formed Talismans to draw down spirits or angels. The Arabian word KIMIA, not only signifies chemistry, but a magical and superstitious science, by which they bound spirits to their will, and drew from them the information required. Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 810. 1005. The curious and more inquisitive reader may consult Cornelius Agrippa, De Van. Scient. cap. xlv. xlv.

⁵ Many mysteries were concealed in the composition of this shield. It destroyed all the charms and enchantments which either demons or giants could make by *goetic* or magic art. Herbelot ubi supr. V. GIAN. p. 396. a.

author's FRANKELEIN'S TALE is entirely founded on the miracle of this art,

For I am sikers¹ ther be science,
By which men maken divers appearances
Soche as these sotill tragetories² plaie :
For oft at festis, I have herde saie
That tragetors, within a halle large,
Have made to comin watir in a barge,
And in the halle rowin up and down :
Sometime hath semid come a grim liown,
And sometime flouris spring as in a maede ;
Sometimes a vine, and grapis white and rede ;
Sometimes a³ castill, &c³.

Afterwards a magician in the same poem shews various specimens of his art in raising such illusions: and by way of diverting king Aurelius before supper, presents before him parks and forests filled with deer of vast proportion, some of which are killed with hounds and others with arrows. He then shews the king a beautiful lady in a dance. At the clapping of the magician's hands all these deceptions disappear⁴. These feats are said to be performed by consultation of the stars⁵. We frequently read in romances of illusive appearances framed by magicians⁶, which by the same power are made suddenly to vanish. To trace the matter home to its true source, these fictions have their origin in a science which professedly made a considerable part of Arabian learning⁷. In the twelfth century the number of magical and astrological Arabic books translated into Latin was prodigious⁸. Chaucer, in the fiction before us, supposes that some of the guests in Cambuscan's hall believed the Trojan horse to be a temporary illusion effected by the power of magic⁹.

¹ Sure.

² Juglers.

³ v. 2700. Urr.

⁴ But his most capital performance is to remove an immense chain of rocks from the sea-shore: this is done in such a manner, that for the space of one week, 'it semid all the rockis 'were away,' *ibid.* 2849. By the way, this tale appears to be a transaction. He says, 'As 'the boke doth me remember.' v. 2799. And 'From Garumne to the mouth of the Seine.' v. 2778. The Garonne and Seine are rivers in France.

⁵ Frankel. T. v. 2820. p. 111. Urr. The Christians called this one of the diabolical arts of the Saracens or Arabians. And many of their own philosophers, who afterwards wrote on the subject or performed experiments on its principles, were said to deal with the devil. Witness our Bacon, &c. From Sir John Maundeville's Travels it appears, that the sciences were in high request in the court of the Cham of Tartary about the year 1340. He says, that, at a great festival, on one side of the Emperor's table, he saw placed many philosophers skilled in various sciences, such as astronomy, necromancy, geometry, and pyromancy: that some of these had before them astrolabes of gold and precious stones, others had horologes richly furnished, with many other mathematical instruments, &c., chap. lxxi. Sir John Maundeville began his travels into the East in 1322, and finished his book in 1364. chap. cix. Johannes Sarisb. L. i. cap. xi. fol. 10. b.

⁶ See what is said of Spenser's FALSE FLORIMEL, OBS. SPENS. §. xi. p. 123.

⁷ Herbelot mentions many oriental pieces, 'Qui traittent de cette art pernicleu. et de 'fendu.' Dict. Orient. V. SCHR. Compare Agrippa, ubi sup. cap. xlii. seq.

⁸ 'Irrepsit hac etate etiam turba astrologorum et magorum, ejus farinae libris una cum aliis 'de Arabico in Latinum conversis.' Conring. Script. Comment. Sæc. xiii. cap. 3. p. 125. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. V. KETAB. passim.

⁹ John of Salisbury says, that magicians are those who, among other deceptions, 'Rebus 'adimunt species suas.' Polycrat. i. 10. fol. 10. b. Agrippa mentions one Pasetes a

An appearaunce ymade by some magike,
As jogleurs playin at these festis grete¹.

In speaking of the metallurgy of the Arabians, I must not omit the sublime imagination of Spencer, or rather some British bard, who, feigns that the magician Merlin intended to build a wall of brass about Cairmardin, or Carmarthen; but that being hastily called away by the lady of the Lake, and slain by her perfidy, he has left his fiends still at work on this mighty structure round their brazen cauldrons, under a rock among the neighbouring woody cliffs of Dynevaure, who dare not desist till their master returns. At this day says the poets if you listen at a chink or cleft of the rock.

—Such gastly noyse of yron chaines
And brasen cauldrons thou shalt rombling heare,
Which thousand sprights with long enduring paines
Do tosse, that it will stunn thy feeble braines,
And oftentimes great grones and grievous stowndes
When too huge toile and labour them constraines,
And oftentimes loud strokes and ringing sowndes
From under that deepe rock most horribly reboundes.

X. The cause some say is this : a little while
Before that Merlin dyde, he dyd intend
A BRAZEN WALL in compasse to compyle
About Cairmardin, and did it commend
Unto those sprights to bring to perfect end :
During which work the Lady of the Lake,
Whom long he lov'd for him in haste did send,
Who thereby forst his workemen to forsake,
Them bounde, til his returne, their labour not to slake.

XI. In the mean time, through that false ladies traine,
He was surprizd, and buried under beare,
Ne ever to his work returnd againe :
Nathlesse those feends may not their worke forbear,
So greatly his commandment they feare,
But there do toyle and travayle night and day.
Until that BRAZEN WALL they up do reare².

This story Spenser borrowed from Giraldus Cambrensis, who during his progress through Wales, in the twelfth century, picked it up among other romantic traditions propagated by the British bards³. I have

jugler, who 'was wont to shewe to strangers a very sumptuous banquet, and when it pleased him, to cause it vanish away, al they which sate at the table being disapointed both of 'meate and drinke, &c.' Van. Scient. cap. xlviii. p. 62. b. Engl. Transl. ut infr. Du Halde mentions a Chinese enchanter, who, when the Emperour was inconsolable for the loss of his deceased queen, caused her image to appear before him. Hist. Chin. iii. §. iv. See the deceptions of Hakem an Arabian jugler, in Herbelot, in V. p. 412. See supr. p. 393. 394.

¹ v. 238.

² Fairy Queen, iii. 3. 9. seq.

³ Girald. Cambrensis. Itin. Cambr. i. c. 6. Hollingsh. Hist. i. 129. And Camden's Brit. p. 734. Drayton has this fiction, which he relates somewhat differently. Polyolb. lib. iv. p. 62. edit. 1613. Hence Bacon's wall of brass about England.

before pointed out the source from which the British bards received most of their extravagant fictions.

Optics were likewise a branch of study which suited the natural genius of the Arabian philosophers, and which they pursued with incredible delight. This science was a part of the Aristotelian philosophy: which, as I have before observed, they refined and filled with a thousand extravagancies. Hence our strange knight's MIRROR OF GLASS, prepared on the most profound principles of art, and endued with preternatural qualities.

And some of them wondrin on the mirroure,
That born was up into the master tour :
How men mightin in it such thingis se.
And othir seid, certis it well might be
Naturally by compositiouns :
Of angles, and of sly reflectiouns :
And saide, that at Rome was soche an one
Thei spak of Alcen and Vitellion,
And Aristote, that writith in their lives
Of queint MIRROURIS, and of PERSPECTIVES¹.

And again

The mirroure eke which I have in my hand,
Hath such a might, that men may in it se
When there shall fall any adversite
Unto your reigne, &c².

Alcen, or Alhazen, mentioned in these lines, an Arabic philosopher, wrote seven books of perspective, and flourished about the eleventh century. Vitellio, formed on the same school, was likewise an eminent mathematician of the middle ages, and wrote ten books of Perspective. The Roman mirroure here mentioned by Chaucer, as similar to this of the strange knight, is thus described by Gower.

When Rome stooode in noble plite	Virgile, which was the parfite
A mirroure made of his clergie ³	And sette it in the townes eie
Of marbre on a pillar without,	That thei be thyрте mile aboute
By daie and eke also bi night	In that mirroure behold might
Her enemies if any were, &c ⁴ .	

The oriental writers relate that Giamschid, one of their kings, the Solomon of the Persians and their Alexander the Great, possessed, among his inestimable treasures, cups, globes, and mirroures, of metal, glass, and crystal, by means of which, he and his people knew all natural as well as supernatural things. A title of an Arabian book, translated from the Persian, is 'The Mirroure which reflects the World.' There is this passage in an ancient Turkish poet, 'When I am purified by the light of heaven my soul will become the *mirroure*

¹ v. 244.

² v. 153.

³ Learning. Philosophy.

Confess. Amant. l. v. fol. xciv. 6. edit. Berth. 1554. ut supr.

'*of the world*, in which I shall discern all *abstruse secrets*." Monsieur l'Herbelot is of opinion, that the orientals took these notions from the patriarch Joseph's cup of divination, and Nestor's cup in Homer, on which all nature was symbolically represented¹. Our great countryman Roger Bacon, in his *OPUS MAJUS*, a work entirely formed on the Aristotelian and Arabian philosophy, describes a variety of *Specula*, and explains their construction and uses². This is the most curious and extraordinary part of Bacon's book, which was written about the year 1270. Bacon's optic tube, with which he pretended to see *future events*, was famous in his age, and long afterwards, and chiefly contributed to give him the name of a magician³. This art, with others of the experimental kind, the philosophers of those times were fond of adapting to the purposes of thaumaturgy; and there is much occult and chimerical speculation in the discoveries which Bacon affects to have made from optical experiments. He asserts, and I am obliged to cite the passage in his own mysterious expressions. '*Omnia sciri per Perspectivam, quoniam omnes actiones rerum fiunt secundum specierum et virtutum multiplicationem ab agentibus hujus mundi in materias patientes, &c*'⁴. Spenser feigns, that the magician Merlin made a *glassie globe*, and presented it to king Ryence, which shewed the approach of enemies and discovered treasons⁵. This fiction, which exactly corresponds with Chaucer's *Mirroure*, Spenser borrowed from some romance, perhaps of king Arthur, fraught with oriental fancy. From the same sources came a like fiction of Camoens, in the *Lusiad*⁶, where a globe is shewn to Vasco de Gama, representing the universal fabric or system of the world, in which he sees future kingdoms and future events. The Spanish historians report an American tradition, but more probably invented by themselves, and built on the Saracen fables, in which they were so conversant. They pretend that some years before the Spaniards entered Mexico, the inhabitants caught a monstrous fowl, of unusual magnitude and shape, on the lake of Mexico. In the crown of the head of this wonderful bird, there was a mirroure or plate of glass, in which the Mexicans saw their future invaders the Spaniards, and all the disasters which afterwards happened to their kingdom. These superstitions remained, even in

¹ Herbelot. Dict. Oriental. V. GIAM. p. 392. col. 2. John of Salisbury mentions a species of diviners called *SPECULARII*, who predicted future events, and told various secrets, by consulting mirroures, and the surfaces of other polished reflecting substances. Polycrat. i. 12. p. 32. edit. 1595.

² Edit. Jebb. p. 253. Bacon, in one of his manuscripts, complains, that no person read lectures in Oxford *DE PERSPECTIVA*, before the year 1267. He adds, that in the university of Paris, this science was quite unknown. In *Epist. ad OPUS MINUS*. Clementi iv. Et *ibid.* *OP. MIN.* iii. cap. ii. *MSS. Bibl. Coll. Univ. Oxon.* c. 20. In another he affirms, that Julius Cesar, before he invaded Britain, viewed our harbours and shores with a telescope from the British coast. *MSS. lib. DE PERSPECTIVIS*. He accurately describes reading glasses or *spectacles*, *Op. Maj.* p. 236. And the *Camera Obscura*, I believe, is one of his discoveries.

³ Wood, Hist. Antiquit. Uni. Oxon. i. 122.

⁵ Fairy Queen, iii. ii. 21.

⁴ *Op. Min.* *MSS.* ut *supr.*

⁶ *Cant.* x.

the doctrines of philosophers, long after the darker ages. Cornelius Agrippa, a learned physician of Cologne, about the year 1520, author of a famous book on the Vanity of the Sciences, mentions a species of mirror which exhibited the form of persons absent at command¹. In one of these he is said to have shewn to the poetical earl of Surrey, the image of his mistress, the beautiful Geraldine, sick and reposing on a couch². Nearly allied to this, was the infatuation of *seeing things* in a beryl, which was very popular in the reign of James I., and is alluded to by Shakespeare. The Arabians were also famous for other machineries of glass, in which their chemistry was more immediately concerned. The philosophers of their school invented a story of a magical steel-glass, placed by Ptolemy on the summit of a lofty pillar near the city of Alexandria, for burning ships at a distance. The Arabians called this pillar *Hemadeflaeor*, or the pillar of the Arabians³. I think it is mentioned by Sandys. Roger Bacon has left a manuscript tract on the formation of burning-glasses⁴: and he relates that the first burning-glass which he constructed cost him sixty pounds of Parisian money⁵. Ptolemy, who seems to have been confounded with Ptolemy the Egyptian astrologer and geographer, was famous among the eastern writers and their followers for his skill in operations of glass. Spenser mentions a miraculous tower of glass built by Ptolemy, which concealed his mistress the Egyptian Phao, while the invisible inhabitants viewed all the world from every part of it.

Great Ptolomee it for his leman's sake
Ybuided *all of glass* by magicke power,
And also it impregnable did make⁶.

But this magical fortress, although impregnable, was easily broken in pieces at one stroke by the builder, when his mistress ceased to love. One of Boyardo's extravagancies is a prodigious wall of glass built by

¹ It is diverting in this book to observe the infancy of experimental philosophy, and their want of knowing how to use or apply the mechanical arts which they were even actually possessed of. Agrippa calls the inventor of magnifying glasses, 'without doubt the beginner of all dishonestie.' He mentions various sorts of diminishing, burning, reflecting, and multiplying glasses, with some others. At length this profound thinker closes the chapter with this sage reflection, 'All these things are vaine and superfluous, and invented to no other end but for pompe and idle pleasure.' Chap. xxvi. p. 36. A translation by James Sandford, Lond. 1569. 4to. Bl. Let.

² Drayton's Heroical Epist. p. 87. b. edit. 1598.

³ The same fablers have adapted a similar fiction to Hercules: that he erected pillars at Cape Finesterra, on which he raised magical looking-glasses. In his eastern romance, called the SEVEN WISE MASTERS, of which more will be said hereafter, at the siege of Hur in Persia, certain philosophers terrified the enemy by a device of placing a habit (says an old English translation) 'of a giant-like proportion, on a tower, and covering it with burning-glasses, looking-glasses of crystal, and other glasses of several colours, wrought together in a marvellous order, &c.' ch. xvii. p. 182. edit. 1674. The Constantinopolitan Greeks possessed these arts in common with the Arabians. See Morisotus, ii. 3. Who says, that in the year 751, they set fire to the Saracen fleet before Constantinople by means of burning-glasses.

⁴ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Digb. 183. And Arch. A. 149. But I think it was printed at Frankfurt, 1614. 4to.

⁵ Twenty pounds sterling. Compend. Stud. Theol. c. i. p. 5. MS.

⁶ Fairy Queen, iii. ii. 20.

some magician in Africa, which obviously betrays its foundation in Arabian fable and Arabian philosophy¹.

The Naked Sword, another of the gifts presented by the strange knight to Cambuscan, endued with medical virtues, and so hard as to pierce the most solid armour, is likewise an Arabian idea. It was suggested by their skill in medicine, by which they affected to communicate healing qualities to various substances², and from their knowledge of tempering iron and hardening all kinds of metal³. It is the classical spear of Peleus, perhaps originally fabricated in the same regions of fancy.

And othir folk han wondrid on the Sworde,
That wold so percin thorow everie thing ;
And fell in speche of Telephus the king,
And of Achilles for his quynte spere
For he couth with it bothe hele and dere⁴
Right in soche wise as men may by that sworde,
Of which right now you have your selfis harde.
Thei spake of sundri harding of metall
And spake of medicinis ther withall,
And how and when it sholdin hardin be, &c⁵.

The sword which Berni in the ORLANDO INNAMORATO, gives to the hero Ruggiero, is tempered by much the same sort of magic.

Quel brando con tal tempra fabbricato,
Che taglia incanto ad ogni fatatnra⁶.

So also his continuator Ariosto,

Non vale incanto, ov'elle mette il taglio⁷.

And the notion that this weapon could resist all incantations, is like the fiction above-mentioned of the buckler of the Arabian giant Ben Gian, which baffled the force of charms and enchantments made by giants or demons⁸. Spenser has a sword endued with the same efficacy, the metal of which the magician Merlin mixed with the juice of meadow-wort, that it might be proof against enchantment ; and afterwards, having forged the blade in the flames of Etna, he gave it hidden virtue by dipping it seven times in the bitter waters of Styx⁹. From

¹ Hither we might also refer Chaucer's House of Fame, which is built of glass, and Lydgate's TEMPLE OF GLASS. It is said in some romances written about the time of the Crusades, that the city of Damascus was walled with glass. See Hall's VIRGIDEM. or Satyres, &c. B. iv. §. 6. written in 1597.

Or of Damascus magicke wall of glasse, Or Solomon his sweeting piles of brasse, &c.

² The notion. mentioned before, that every stone of Stone-henge was washed with juices of herbs in Africa, and tintured with healing powers, is a piece of the same philosophy.

³ Montfaucon cites a Greek chemist of the dark ages, 'CHRISTIANI LABYRIATHUS SALOMONIS, de temperando ferro, conficiendo crystallo, et de aliis naturæ arcanis.' Palæogr Gr. p. 375.

⁴ Hurt. Wound.

⁵ v. 256.

⁶ Orl. Innam. ii. 17. st. 13.

⁷ Orl. Fur. xii. 83.

⁸ Amadis de Gaul has such a sword, See Don Quixote, B. iii. Ch. iv.

⁹ Fairy Queen, ii. viii. 20. See also Ariost. xix. 84

the same origin is also the golden lance of Berni, which Galafron king of Cathaia, father of the beautiful Angelica and the invincible champion Argalia, procured for his son by the help of a magician. This lance was of such irresistible power, that it unhorsed a knight the instant he was touched with its point.

————— Una lancia d'oro,
Fatto con arte, e con sottil lavoro.
E quella lancia di natura tale,
Che resister non puossi alla sua spinta ;
Forza, o destruezza contra lei non vale,
Convien che l'una, e l'altra resti vinta :
Incanto, a cui non e nel monde eguale,
L'ha di tanta possanza intorno cinta,
Che ne il conte di Brava, ni Rinaldo,
Ne il mondo al colpo suo starebbe saldo¹.

Britomart in Spenser is armed with the same enchanted spear, which was made by Bladud an ancient British king skilled in magic².

The Ring, a gift to the king's daughter Canace, which taught the language of birds, is also quite in the style of some others of the occult sciences of these inventive philosophers³: and it is the fashion of the oriental fabulists to give language to brutes in general. But to understand the language of birds, was peculiarly one of the boasted sciences of the Arabians; who pretend that many of their countrymen have been skilled in the knowledge of the language of birds, ever since the time of king Solomon. Their writers relate, that Balkis the queen of Sheba, or Saba, had a bird called *Hudbud*, that is, a lapwing, which she dispatched to king Solomon on various occasions; and that this trusty bird was the messenger of their amours. We are told, that Solomon having been secretly informed by this winged confidant, that Balkis intended to honour him with a grand embassy, enclosed a spacious square with a wall of gold and silver bricks, in which he ranged his numerous troops and attendants in order to receive the ambassadors, who were astonished at the suddenness of these splendid and unexpected preparations⁴. Monsieur l'Herbelot tells a curious story of an Arab feeding his camels in a solitary wilderness, who was accosted for a draught of water by Alhejaj a famous Arabian commander, and who had been separated from his retinue in hunting. While they were talking together, a bird flew over their heads, making at the same time an unusual sort of noise; which the camel-feeder hearing, looked sted-

¹ Orl. Innam. i. i. st. 43. See also, i. ii. st. 20, &c. And Ariosto, viii. 17. xviii. 118. xxiii. 15.

² Fairy Queen, iii. 3. 60. iv. 6. 6. iii. 1. 4.

³ Rings are a frequent implement in romantic enchantment. Among a thousand instances, see Orland. Innam. i. 14. Where the palace and gardens of Dragontina vanish at Angelica's ring of virtue.

⁴ Herbelot, Dict. Oriental. V. BALKIS, p. 182. 'Mahomet believed this foolish story, at least thought it fit for a popular book, and has therefore inserted it in the Alcoran. See Grey on HUDIBRAS, part i. cant. i. v. 547.

fastly on Alhejaj, and demanded who he was. Alhejaj, not choosing to return him a direct answer, desired to know the reason of that question. 'Because, replied the camel-feeder, this bird assured me, that a company of people is coming this way, and that you are the chief of them.' While he was speaking, Alhejaj's attendants arrived¹.

This wonderful ring also imparted to the wearer a knowledge of the qualities of plants, which formed an important part of the Arabian philosophy.

The vertues of this ring if ye woll here
Are these, that if she list it for to were,
Upon her thomb, or in her purse it bere,
There is no fowle that fleith undir heven
That she ne shal wele understand his steven²,
And know his mening opiny and plain,
And answeere him in his language againe.
And everie grasse that growith upon rote,
She shal wele knowe, and whom it woll do bote:
All be his woundis never so depe and wide³.

Every reader of taste and imagination must regret, that instead of our author's tedious detail of the quaint effects of Canace's ring, in which a falcon relates her amours, and talks familiarly of Troilus, Paris, and Jason, the notable achievements we may suppose to have been performed by the assistance of the horse of brass, are either lost, or that this part of the story, by far the most interesting, was never written. After the strange knight has explained to Cambuscan the management of this magical courser, he vanishes on a sudden, and we hear no more of him.

And aftir suppir goth this nobil king
To sene this Horse of Brass, with all his rout
Of lordis and of ladies him about :
Soch wondering was ther on this Horse of Brass⁴,
That sithin the grete siege of Troye was,
Ther as men wondrid on an horse also,
Ne was ther soch a wondering as was tho⁵.
But finally the king askith the knight
The vertue of this coursere and the might ;
And prayid him to tell his governaunce :
The hors anon gan forth to trip and daunce,
When that the knight laid hold upon his reine.—

¹ Herbal. ubi. supr. V. HEGIAGE EBN YUSEF AL THAKEFI. p. 442. This Arabian commander was of the eighth century. In the SEVEN WISE MASTERS, one of the tales is founded on the language of birds. Ch. xvi.

² Language.

³ v. 166.

⁴ Cervantes mentions a horse of wood, which, like this of Chaucer, on turning a pin in his forehead, carried his rider through the air. This horse, Cervantes adds, was made by Merlin for Peter of Provence : with which that valorous knight carried off the fair Magalona. From what romance Cervantes took this I do not recollect : but the reader sees its correspondence with the fiction of Chaucer's horse, and will refer it to the same original. See Don Quixote, B. iii. ch. 8. We have the same thing in VALENTINE and ORSON, ch. xxxi.

⁵ Then.

Enfourmid when the king was of the knight,
 And hath conceived in his wit aright,
 The mannir and the form of all the thing,
 Full glad and blyth, this nobil doubtly king
 Repairith to his revell as beforne:
 The brydil is into the Toure yborn,
 And kept among his jewels¹ lefe and dere:
 The horse vanishith: I'not in what manere².

By such inventions we are willing to be deceived. These are the triumphs of deception over truth.

Magnanima mensogna, hor quando e al vero
 Si bello, che si possa a te preporre?

THE CLERKE OF OXENFORDES TALE, or the story of Patient Grisilde, is the next of Chaucer's Tales in the serious style which deserves mention. The Clerke declares in his Prologue, that he learned this tale of Petrarch at Padua. But it was the invention of Boccaccio, and is the last in his DECAMERON³. Petrarch, although most intimately connected with Boccaccio for near thirty years, never had seen the Decameron till just before his death. It accidentally fell into his hands, while he resided at Arque between Venice and Padua, in the year 1374. The tale of Grisilde struck him the most of any: so much, that he got it by heart to relate it to his friends at Padua. Finding that it was the most popular of all Boccaccio's tales, for the benefit of those who did not understand Italian, and to spread its circulation, he translated it into Latin with some alterations. Petrarch relates this in a letter to Boccaccio: and adds, that on shewing the translation to one of his Paduan friends, the latter, touched with the tenderness of the story, burst into such frequent and violent fits of tears, that he could not read to the end. In the same letter he says, that a Veronese having heard of the Paduan's exquisiteness of feeling on this occasion, resolved to try the experiment. He read the whole aloud from the beginning to the end, without the least change of voice or countenance; but on returning the book to Petrarch, confessed that it was an affecting story: 'I should have wept, added he, like the Paduan, had I 'thought the story true. But the whole is a manifest fiction. There

¹ *Yocalia*. Precious things.

² v. 322. seq. 355, seq.

³ 'The bridle of the enchanted horse is carried into the tower, which was the treasury of Cambuscan's castle, to be kept among the *jewels*. Thus when king Richard I., in a crusade, took Cyprus, among the treasures in the castles are recited precious stones, and golden cups, together with '*Sillis aureis frenis et calcaribus*.' Galfr. Vinesauf. ITER. HIERESEL. cap. xli. p. 328. YET. SCRIPT. ANGL. tom ii.

⁴ Giorn. x. Nov. 10. Dryden, in the superficial but lively Preface to his Fables, says, 'The Tale of Grisilde was the invention of Petrarch: by him sent to Boccaccio, from whom it came 'to Chaucer,' 'It may be doubted whether Boccaccio invented the story of Grisilde. For, as the late inquisitive and judicious editor of THE CANTERBURY TALES observes, it appears by a Letter of Petrarch to Boccaccio, [OPP. Petrarch. p. 540—7. edit. Basil. 1581.] sent with his Latin translation, in 1373, that Petrarch had *heard the story with pleasure*, many years before he saw the Decameron, vol. iv. p. 157.

'never was, nor ever will be, such a wife as Grisilde¹.' Chaucer, as our Clerke's declaration in the Prologue seems to imply, received this tale from Petrarch, and not from Boccacio: and I am inclined to think, that he did not take it from Petrarch's Latin translation, but that he was one of those friends to whom Petrarch used to relate it at Padua. This too seems sufficiently pointed out in the words of the Prologue.

I wolle you telle a tale which that I
Lernid at Padow of a worthie clerke:—
Frauncis Petrarke, the laureate poete,
Hightin this clerke, whose rhetorike so swete
Enluminid Italie of poetrie².

Chaucer's tale is also much longer, and more circumstantial, than Boccacio's. Petrarch's Latin translation from Boccacio was never printed. It is in the royal library at Paris, and in that of Magdalene college at Oxford³, 'And in Bennet college library with this title. 'HISTORIA sive FABULA de nobili Marchione WALTERIO domino 'terræ Saluciarum, quomodo duxit in uxorem GRISILDEM pauperculam, 'et ejus constantiam et patientiam mirabiliter et acriter comprobavit: 'quam de vulgari sermone Saluciarum in Latinum transtulit D. Franciscus Petrarca.' CLXXVII. 10. fol. 76. Again, *ibid.* CCLXXV. 14. fol. 163. Again, *ibid.* CCCCLVIII. 3. with the date 1476, I suppose, from the scribe. And in *Bibl. Bodl. MSS. LAUD. G. 80*.

The story soon became so popular in France, that the comedians of Paris represented a Mystery in French verse entitled, *LE MYSTERE DE GRISEILDIS MARQUIS DE SALUCES*, in the year 1393⁴. Lydgate, almost Chaucer's cotemporary, in his manuscript poem entitled, the *TEMPLE OF GLASS*⁵, among the celebrated lovers painted on the walls of the temple⁶, mentions Dido, Medea and Jason, Penelope, Alcestis,

¹ Vie de Petrarch, iii. 797.

² v. 1057. p. 96. Urr. Afterwards Petrarch is mentioned as dead. He died of an apoplexy, *Jul. 18. 1374*. See v. 2168.

³ Viz. 'Vita Grisildis per Fr. Petrarcam de vulgari in Latinam linguam traducta.' But Rawlinson cites, 'Epistola Francisci Petrarchæ de insigni obedientia et fide uxoria Griseldis 'in Waltherum Ulme, impress.' per me R. . . . A.D. 1843. MSS. Not. in Mattairii Typogr. Hist. i. 1. p. 104. In *Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.* Among the royal manuscripts, in the British Museum, there is, 'Fr. Petrarchæ super Historiam Walterii Marchionis et 'Griseldis uxoris ejus.' 8. B. vi. 17.

⁴ It was many years afterwards printed at Paris, by Jean Bonnefons. This is the whole title. 'LE MYSTERE de Griseldis, Marquis de Saluces, mis en rime françoise et par person- 'naiges.' Without date, in quarto, and in the Gothic type. In the colophon, *Cy finist la vie de Griseldis, &c.* The writers of the French stage do not mention this piece. See p. 246. Their first theatre is that of Saint Maur, and its commencement is placed five years later, in the year 1398. Afterwards Apostolo Zeno wrote a theatrical piece on this subject in Italy. I need not mention that it is to this day represented in England, on a stage of the lowest species, and of the highest antiquity: I mean at a puppet-show. The French have this story in their *PAREMENT DES DAMES*, *Mem. Lit. Tom. ii. p. 743. 4to*.

⁵ And in a *Balade*, translated by Lydgate from the Latin, 'Grisilde's humble patience,' is recorded. Urr. Ch. p. 550. v. 108.

⁶ There is a more curious mixture in *Chaucer's Balade to King Henry iv.* Where Alexander, Hector, Julius Cesar, Judas Maccabeus, David, Joshua, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bolloign, and king Arthur, are all thrown together as ancient heroes. v. 281. seq. But it is to be observed, that the French had a metrical romance called *Judas Macchabee*, begun

PATIENT GRISILDE, Bel Isoulde and Sir Tristram¹, Pyramus and Thisbe, Theseus, Lucretia, Canace, Palamon and Emilia².

The pathos of this poem, which is indeed exquisite, chiefly consists in invention of incidents, and the contrivance of the story, which cannot conveniently be developed in this place: and it will be impossible to give any idea of its essential excellence by exhibiting detached parts. The versification is equal to the rest of our author's poetry.

SECTION XVI.

THE TALE of the NONNES PRIEST is perhaps a story of English growth. The story of the cock and the fox is evidently borrowed from a collection of Esopean and other fables, written by Marie a French poetess, whose LAIS are preserved in MSS. HARL. ut infr. see f. 139. Beside the absolute resemblance, it appears still more probable that Chaucer copied from Marie, because no such fable is to be found either in the Greek Æsop, or in any of the Latin Esopean compilations of the dark ages. See MSS. HARL. 978. f. 76. All the manuscripts of Marie's fables in the British Museum prove, that she translated her work 'de l'Anglois en Roman.' Probably her English original was Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Esop modernised, and still bearing his name. She professes to follow the version of a king; who, in the best of the Harleian copies, is called LI REIS ALURED. MSS. HARL. 978. supr. citat. She appears, from passages in her LAIS, to have understood English. See Chaucer's CANTERB. TALES, vol. iv. p. 179. I will give her Epilogue to the Fables from MSS. JAMES. viii. p. 23. Bibl. Bodl.

Al finement de cest escrit	Qu' en romanz ai treite e dit
Me numerai pour remembraunce	Marie ai nun sui de France

by Gualtier de Belleperche, before 1240. It was finished a few years afterwards by Pierros du Riez. Fauch. p. 197. See also Lydgate, Urr. Chauc. p. 550. v. 89. M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, has given us an extract of an old Provincial poem, in which, among heroes of love and gallantry, are enumerated Paris, Sir Tristram, Ivaine the inventor of gloves, and other articles of elegance in dress, Apollonius of Tyre, and king Arthur. Mem. Chev. Extr. de Poes. Prov. ii. p. 154. In a French romance, *Le livre de cuer d'amour espris*, written 1457, the author introduces the blasoning of the arms of several celebrated lovers: among which are king David, Nero, Mark Antony, Theseus, Hercules, Eneas, Sir Lancelot, Sir Tristram, Arthur duke of Bretagne, Gaston du Foix, many French dukes, &c. Mem. Lit. viii. p. 592. edit. 4to. The chevalier Bayard, who died about the year 1524, is compared to Scipio, Hannibal, Theseus, king David, Samson, Judas Maccabeus, Orlando, Godfrey of Boloigny, and monsieur de Palisse, marshal of France. LA VIE ET LES GESTES DU PREUX CHEVALIER BAYARD, &c. Printed 1525.

¹ From MORTE ARTHUR. They are mentioned in Chaucer's ASSEMBLIE OF FOWLES, v. 290. Compl. Bl. Kn. v. 367.

² MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 16.

Pur cel estre que clerlc plusur	Prendreient sur eus mun labeur
Ne voit que nul sur li sa die	Eil feit que fol que sei ublie
Pur amur le cunte Wllame	Le plus vaillant de nul realme
Meinlemir de ceste livre feire	E des Engleis en romanz treire
Esop apelum cest livre	Quil translata e fist escrire
Del Gru en Latin le turna	Le Reiz Alurez que mut lama
Le translata puis en Engleis	E jeo lai rimee en Franceis
Si cum jeo poi plus proprement	Ore pri a dieu omnipotent, &c.

The figment of Dan Burnell's Ass is taken from a Latin poem entitled, SPECULUM STULTORUM¹, written by Nigellus de Wireker, monk and precentor of Canterbury cathedral, a profound theologian, who flourished about the year 1200². The narrative of the two pilgrims is borrowed from Valerius Maximus³. It is also related by Cicero, a less known and a less favorite author⁴. There is much humour in the description of the prodigious confusion which happened in the farm-yard after the fox had conveyed away the cock.

—————Aftir him they ran,
And eke with stavis many anothir man.
Ran Coll our dogge, Talbot, and eke Garlond⁵,
And Malkin with her distaffe in her hond.
Ran cowe and calfe, and eke the very hogges.—
The duckis cryed as men would hem quell⁶,
The geese for fere flewin ovir the trees,
Out of the havis came the swarme of bees⁷.

Even Jack Strawe's insurrection, a recent transaction, was not attended with so much noise and disturbance.

So hidious was the noise, *ah Benedicite!*
Certes ne Jack Strawe, ne all his meine,
Ne madin nevir shoutis half so shrill, &c⁸.

The importance and affectation of sagacity with which dame Partlett communicates her medical advice, and displays her knowledge in physic, is a ridicule on the state of medicine and its professors⁹.

In another strain, the cock is thus beautifully described, and not without some striking and picturesque allusions to the manners of the times.

—————A cocke hight chaunticlere,
In al the land of crowing nas his pere.
His voice was merier than the merie¹⁰ organ
On masse-daies that in the churchis gon.
Wel sikerer¹¹ was his crowing in his loge¹²
Than is a clock, or abbey horologe.—

¹ v. 1427. p. 172. Urr.

³ v. 1100.

⁵ Names of dogs.

⁶ v. 1509. This is a proof that the CANTERBURY TALES were not written till after the year 1381.

⁹ v. 1070.

² Or John of Salisbury. Printed at Cologne in 1449.

⁴ See Val. Max. i. 7. And Cic. de Divinat. i. 27.

⁶ Kill.

⁷ v. 1496.

¹⁰ Organ.

¹¹ Clearer.

¹² Pen. Yard.

His comb was reddir than the fine corall,
 And battelled¹ as it were a castill wall,
 His bake was blacke as any get it shone,
 Like asure were his leggis, and his tone²:
 His nailis whiter than the lillie floure,
 And like the burnid golde was his colore³.

In this poem the fox is compared to the three arch-traitors Judas Iscariot, Virgil's Sinon, and Ganilion who betrayed the Christian army under Charlemagne to the Saracens, and is mentioned by archbishop Turpin⁴. Here also are cited, as writers of high note or authority, Cato, Physiologus or Pliny the elder, Boethius on music, the author of the legend of the life of St. Kenelme, Josephus, the historian of Sir Lancelot du Lake, St. Austin, bishop Bradwardine, Jeffrey Vinesauf who wrote a monody in Latin verse on the death of king Richard I., Ecclesiastes, Virgil, and Macrobius.

Our author's JANUARY and MAY, or the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, seems to be an old Lombard story. But many passages in it are evidently taken from the POLYCRATICON of John of Salisbury. *De molestiis et oneribus conjugiorum secundum Hieronymum et alios philosophos. Et de pernicie libidinis. Et de mulieris Ephesine et similiu fide*⁵. And by the way, about forty verses belonging to this argument are translated from the same chapter of the POLYCRATICON, in the WIFE OF BATH'S Prologue⁶. In the meantime it is not improbable, that this tale might have originally been oriental. A Persian tale is just published which it extremely resembles⁷, and it has much of the allegory of an eastern apologue.

The following description of the wedding-feast of January and May is conceived and expressed with a distinguished degree of poetical elegance.

Thus ben thei weddid with solempnite,
 And at the feste sittith both he and she,
 With othir worthy folk upon the deis⁸:

¹ Embattled.

² Toes.

³ v. 962.

⁴ v. 1341. Monk. T, v. 806.

⁵ L. viii. c. 11. fol. 193. b. edit. 1513.

⁶ Mention is made in this Prologue of St. Jerom and Theophrast, on that subject, v. 671. The author of the Polycraticon quotes Theophrastus from Jerom, viz. 'Fertur auctore Hieronimo aureolus Theophrasti libellus de non ducenda uxore.' fol. 194. a. Chaucer likewise, on this occasion, cites *Valerie*, v. 671. This is not the favourite historian of the middle ages, Valerius Maximus. It is a book written by Walter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, under the assumed name of Valerius, entitled, *Valerius ad Rusinum de non ducenda uxore*. This piece is in the Bodleian library with a large Gloss. MSS. Digb. 166. ii. 147. Mapes perhaps adopted this name, because one Valerius had written a treatise on the same subject, inserted in St. Jerom's Works. Some copies of this Prologue, instead of 'Valerie and Theophrast,' read *Paraphrast*. If that be the true reading, which I do not believe, Chaucer alludes to the gloss above-mentioned. *Helouis*, cited just afterwards, is the celebrated Eloisa. Trotulla is mentioned, v. 677. Among the MSS. of Merton College in Oxford, is, 'Trotulla Mulier Salernitana de passionibus mulierum.' There is also extant, 'Trotulla, seu potius Erotis medici muliebrium liber.' Basil. 1586, 4to. See also Montfauc. Catal. MSS. p. 385. And Fabric, Bibl. Gr. xiii. p. 439.

⁷ By Mr. Dow, ch. xv. p. 252. The ludicrous adventure of the Pear Tree, in JANUARY and MAY, is taken from a collection of Fables in Latin elegiacs, written by one Adolphus in the year 1315. Leyser. HIST. POET. MED. ÆVL. p. 2009. The same fable is among the *Fables of Alphonse*, in Caxton's ESOP.

⁸ I have explained this word. But will here add some new illustrations of it. Undoubtedly the high table in a public refectory, as appears from these words in Matthew

All ful of joye and bliss is the paleis,
 And ful of instruments and of vitaile,
 And the most dayntyist of al Italie.
 Before him stode soche instruments of soun,
 That Orpheus, ne of Thebis Amphioune
 Ne madin nevir soche a melodie ;
 At everie cours cam the loud minstralcie,
 That never Joab trompid¹, for to here,
 Neither Theodamas yet half so clere,
 At Thebis, when the cite was in dout².
 Bacchus the wine them skinkith³ al about,
 And Venus laugith blithe on everie wight,
 For January was become her knight,
 And wold in both assayin her corage
 In liberty and eke in marriage,
 And with her firebronde in her hond aboute
 Dauncith before the bride and al the route.
 And certainly I dare say wel right this,
 Hymeneus that god of wedding is
 Saw never so mery a wedded man.
 Hold thou thy peace, thou poet Marcian⁴,
 That writist us that ilk wedding merry
 Of Philology and of Mercury,
 And of the songis that the Muses song ;
 Too small is both thy pen, and eke thy tong,
 For to discrivin of his marriage,
 When tendir Youth has married stooping age.—
 MAY that sittin with so benign a chere
 That her to behold it semed a feirie⁵;
 Quene Hester lokid ner with soch an eye
 On Assuere, so meke a loke hath she:
 I may you not devis al her bewte,
 But thus much of her bewte tel I may
 That she was like the bright morowe of May,
 Fulfilled of all bewte and plesaunce.
 Tho JANUARY is ravished in a trance
 At everie time he lokid in her face,
 But in his hert he gan her to menace, &c⁶.

Dryden and Pope had modernised the two last mentioned poems. Dryden the tale of the NONNES PRIEST, and Pope that of JANUARY and MAY: intending perhaps to give patterns of the best of Chaucer's

Paris, 'Priore prandente ad MAGNAM MENNSM quam DAIS vulgo appellamus.' In Vit. Abbat. S. Albani, p. 92. And again the same writer says, that a cup, with a foot, or stand, was not permitted in the hall of the monastery, 'Nisi tantum in MAJORI MENSA quam DAIS appellamus.' Additam. p. 148. There is an old French word, DAIS, which signifies a throne, or canopy, usually placed over the head of the principal person at a magnificent feast. Hence it was transferred to the *table* at which he sate. In the ancient French *Roman de Garin*;

Au plus haut DAIS sist roy Anseis.

Either at the first table, or, which is much the same thing, under the highest canopy.

¹ Such as Joab never, &c.

² Danger.

³ Fill, pour.

⁴ See *supr.* p. 391.

⁵ A phantasy, enchantment.

⁶ v. 1225. Urr.

Tales in the comic species. But I am of opinion that the MILLER'S TALE has more true humour than either. Not that I mean to palliate the levity of the story, which was most probably chosen by Chaucer in compliance with the prevailing manners of an unpolished age, and agreeable to ideas of festivity not always the most delicate and refined. Chaucer abounds in liberties of this kind, and this must be his apology. So does Boccaccio, and perhaps much more, but from a different cause. The licentiousness of Boccaccio's tales, which he composed *per cacciare le malincolia delle femine*, to amuse the ladies, is to be vindicated, at least accounted for, on other principles: it was not so much the consequence of popular incivility, as it was owing to a particular event of the writer's age. Just before Boccaccio wrote, the plague at Florence had totally changed the customs and manners of the people. Only a few of the women had survived this fatal malady; who having lost their husbands, parents, or friends, gradually grew regardless of those constraints and customary formalities which before of course influenced their behaviour. For want of female attendants, they were obliged often to take men only into their service: and this circumstance greatly contributed to destroy their habits of delicacy, and gave an opening to various freedoms and indecencies unsuitable to the sex, and frequently productive of very serious consequences. As to the monasteries, it is not surprising that Boccaccio should have made them the scenes of his most libertine stories. The plague had thrown open their gates. The monks and nuns wandered abroad, and partaking of the common liberties of life, and the levities of the world, forgot the rigour of their institutions, and the severity of their ecclesiastical characters. At the ceasing of the plague, when the religious were compelled to return to their cloisters, they could not forsake their attachment to these secular indulgences; they continued to practise the same free course of life, and would not submit to the disagreeable and unsocial injunctions of their respective orders. Cotemporary historians give a shocking representation of the unbounded debaucheries of the Florentines on this occasion: and ecclesiastical writers mention this period as the grand epoch of the relaxation of monastic discipline. Boccaccio did not escape the censure of the church for these compositions. His conversion was a point much laboured; and in expiation of his follies, he was almost persuaded to renounce poetry and the heathen authors, and to turn Carthusian. But, to say the truth, Boccaccio's life was almost as loose as his writings: till he was in great measure reclaimed by the powerful remonstrances of his master Petrarch, who talked much more to the purpose than his confessor. This Boccaccio himself acknowledges in the fifth of his eclogues, which like those of Petrarch are enigmatical and obscure, entitled PHILOSOTROPHOS.

But to return to the MILLER'S TALE. The character of the Clerke of Oxford, who studied astrology, a science then in high repute, but

under the specious appearance of decorum, and the mask of the serious philosopher, carried on the intrigues, is painted with these lively circumstances.

This clerke yclepid was hend Nicholas¹,
Of derne² love he couth and of solas :
And thereto was he slie, and right prive,
And like unto a maidin for to se.
A chambre had he in that hostelrie³
Alone, withoutin any company,
Full fetously ydight with herbis sote⁴;
And he himself as swete as in the rote⁵
Of licoris, or any seduwall⁶.
His almagist⁷, and bokis grate and small,
His asterlagour⁸ longing for his art,
His augrim stonis⁹ lying feire apart,
On shelvis, al couchid at his beddis hede;
His presse¹⁰ ycoverid with a folding rede
And all above there lay a gay fautrie¹¹,
On which he made on nightis melodie
So swetely that at the chamber rung,
And *Angelus ad Virginem* he sung¹²

In the description of the young wife of our philosopher's host, there is great elegance with a mixture of burlesque allusions. Not to mention the curiosity of a female portrait, drawn with so much exactness at such a distance of time.

Faire was this yonge wife and therewithall
As a wesill¹³ her bodie gent and small,

¹ The gentle Nicholas.

² Secret.

³ *Hospitium*, one of the old hostels at Oxford, which were very numerous before the foundation of the colleges. This is one of the citizen's houses; a circumstance which gave rise to the story.

⁴ Sweet.

⁵ Root.

⁶ The herb Valerian.

⁷ A book of astronomy written by Ptolemy. It was in thirteen books. He wrote also four books of judicial astrology. He was an Egyptian astrologist, and flourished under Marcus Antoninus. He is mentioned in the *Sompnour's Tale*, v. 1025, and the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, v. 324.

⁸ Asterlabore. An astrolabe.

⁹ Stones for computation. Augrim is *Algorithm*, the sum of the principal rules of common arithmetic. Chaucer was himself an adept in this sort of knowledge. The learned Selden is of opinion, that his *Astrolabe* was compiled from the Arabian astronomers and mathematicians. See his Pref. to Notes on Drayt. Polyolb. p. 4, where the word *Dulcarnon*, (Troil. Cr. iii. 933, 935,) is explained to be an Arabic term for a root in calculation. His CHANON YEMAN'S TALE, proves his intimate acquaintance with the Hermetic philosophy, then much in vogue. There is a statute of Henry V., against the transmutation of metals, in Statut. an. 4 Hen. V. cap. iv. viz. A.D. 1416. Chaucer, in the *Astrolabe*, refers to two famous mathematicians and astronomers of his time, John Some, and Nicholas Lynne, both Carmelite friars of Oxford, and perhaps his friends, whom he calls 'reverent clerkes.' *Astrolabe*, p. 440, col. i. Urr. They both wrote calendars, which, like Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, were constructed for the meridian of Oxford. Chaucer mentions Alcabucius, an astronomer, that is, Abdilazi Alchabitius, whose *Isagoge in Astrologiam* was printed at Venice, 1485, 4to. 1b. fol. 440, col. ii. Compare Herbelot. Bibl. Oriental. p. 963, b. V. KETAB. *Alasthorlab*. p. 141, a. Nicholas Lynne above mentioned is said to have made several voyages to the most northerly parts of the world, charts of which he presented to Edward III. Perhaps to Iceland, and the coasts of Norway, for astronomical observations. These charts are lost. Hakluyt apud Anderson. Hist. Com. i. p. 191, sub. ann. 1360. (See Bakl. Voy. i. 121, seq. ed. 1598.)

¹⁰ Press.

¹¹ Psaltery. An instrument like a harp.

¹² v. 91, p. 24, Urr.

¹³ Weasle.

A seint she werid, barrid all with silk¹,
 A barmecloth² eke as white as morrow milk,
 Upon her lendis, full of many a gore³
 White was her smok, embroudid all bifore⁴,
 And eke behind, on her colere about,
 Of coleblak silk, within, and eke without.
 The tapis⁵ of her white volipere⁶
 Were of the same sute of her colere⁷.
 Her fillit⁸ brode of silke, and set ful hie,
 And sikerly⁹ she had a licorous eie.
 Full small ypullid¹⁰ wer her browis two,
 And tho¹¹ were bent¹² and blak as any slo.
 And she was moch more blisfull for to se
 Than is the newe perienet¹³ tre ;
 And softer than the wool is of a wether :
 And by her girdil hong a purse of lether,
 Tassid¹⁴ with silke, and parlid¹⁵ with latoun¹⁶.
 In all this world to sekin up and down,
 There nis no man so wise that couthe thence
 So gay a popelete¹⁷ or so gay a wench.
 Full brightir was the shining of her hewe
 Than in the Towre the noble¹⁸ forgid newe.
 But of her song she was so loud and yerne¹⁹,
 As any swallow sitting on a berne.
 Thereto she couthe skip, and make a game,
 As any kid or calfe foll'wing her dame.
 Hir mouth was swete as brackit²⁰ or the methe,
 Or hord of applis layd in hay or heth.
 Winsing she was as is a jolly colt,
 Long as a mast, and upright as a bolt²¹.
 A broche²² she bare upon her low collere
 As brode as is the bosse of a bokelere²³.
 Her shoe were lacid on her leggis hie, &c²⁴.

Nicholas, as we may suppose, was not proof against the charms of this blooming hostess. He has frequent opportunities of conversing with her: for her husband is the carpenter of Oseney Abbey near Oxford, and often absent in the woods belonging to the monastery²⁵. His

¹ 'A girdle edged with silk.' Bnt we have no exact idea of what is here meant by *barrid*. See supr. p. 377. The DOCTOR OF PHISICKE is 'girt with a *seint* of silk with *barris* smale.' Prol. v. 138. I once conjectured *barded*. See Hollingsh. Chron. iii. 84, col. ii. 850, col. i, &c., &c.

² Apron.

³ Plait. Fold.

⁴ Edged. Adorned.

⁵ Tapes. Strings.

⁶ Head-dress.

⁷ Collar.

⁸ Knot. Top-knot.

⁹ Certainly.

¹⁰ 'Made small or narrow, by plucking.'

¹¹ They.

¹² Arched.

¹³ A young pear-tree. Fr. *poir jeunet*.

¹⁴ Tasseled. Fringed.

¹⁵ I would read *purfid*.

¹⁶ Latoun, or chekelaton, is cloth of gold.

¹⁷ 'So pretty a puppet.'

¹⁸ A piece of money.

¹⁹ Shrill.

²⁰ Bragget. A drink made of honey, spices, &c.

²¹ 'Straight as an arrow.'

²² A jewel.

²³ Buckler.

²⁴ v. 125, Urr.

²⁵ See v. 557.

— I throw that he bewent
 For he is wont for timber for to go,

For timber, there our abbot hath him sent;
 And dwellin at the grange a day or two.

rival is Absalom a parish-clerk, the gaiest of his calling, who being amorously inclined, very naturally avails himself of a circumstance belonging to his profession : on holidays it was his business to carry the censer about the church, and he takes this opportunity of casting unlawful glances on the handsomest dames of the parish. His gallantry, agility, affectation of dress and personal elegance, skill in shaving and surgery, smattering in the law, taste for music, and many other accomplishments, are thus inimitably represented by Chaucer, who must have much relished so ridiculous a character.

Now was ther of the chirch a parish clerke,
 The which that was yclepid Absalon,
 Crull was his heere, and as the gold it shone,
 And stroutid as a fanne longe and brode,
 Ful straight and even lay his jolly shode¹,
 His rude² was redde, his eyin gray as gose
 With Poulis windows carvin on his shose³.
 In hosin red he went ful fetously :
 Yclad he was ful smale and properly
 Al in a kirtil⁴ of a light watchet,
 Ful fayre, and thicke be the pointis set :
 And thereuppon he hadde a gaie surplice
 As white as is the blosome on the rice⁵
 A merie child he was, so god me save,
 Well couth he lettin blode, and clip, and shave.
 Or make a chartre of land or acquittaunce :
 In twentie manir couth he trip and daunce,
 After the schole of Oxenforde tho,
 And with his leggis castin to and fro.
 And pleyin songis on a smale ribible⁶,
 Thereto he song sometime a loud quible⁷.

His manner of making love must not be omitted. He serenades her with his guitar.

He wakith al the night, and al the day,
 He kembith his lockes brode, and made him gay.
 He woith her by menis and brocage⁸,
 And swore that he would ben her owne page

¹ Hair.

² Complexion.

³ See p. 379, *supr.* '*Calce fenestrati* occur in ancient Injunctions to the clergy. In Eton-college statutes, given in 1446, the fellows are forbidden to wear, *sotularia rostrata*, as also *caligæ*, white, red, or green, CAP. xix. In a chantry, or chapel, founded at Winchester in the year 1318, within the cemetery of the Nuns of the Blessed Virgin by Roger Inkpenne, the members, that is, a warden, chaplain and clerk, are ordered to go 'in meris caligis, et sotularibus non rostratis, nisi forsitan *botis* uti voluerunt.' And it is added, 'Vestes deferant non *fibulatas*, sed desuper clausas, vel *brevitate* non notandas.' REGISTR. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. MSS. *supr.* citat. Quatern. 6. Compare Wilkins's CONCIL. iii. 670. ii. 4.

⁴ Jacket.

⁵ Hawthorn.

⁶ v. 224. A species of guitar. Lydgate, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Fairf. 16. In a poem never printed, called *Reason and Sensuallite*, compiled by John Lydgate.

Lutys, rubibis, (i. ribibles) and geternes,

More for estatys than tavernes.

⁷ Treble.

⁸ By offering money ; or a settlement.

He singith broking¹ as a nightingale.
 He sent her piment², methe, and spicid ale,
 And wafirs piping hot out of the gleden³,
 And, for she was of town, he proffred mede⁴.—
 Sometimes to shew his lightness and maistry
 He playith heraudes⁵ on a scaffold hie.

Again,

When that the firste cok hath crow anon,
 Uprist this jolly lovir Absolon;
 And him arrayith gay at point devise,
 But first he chewith greyns⁶ and licorice,
 To smellin sote, ere he had kempt his here.
 Under his tongue a true love knot he bare,
 For therby wend he to be graciouse;
 Then romith to the carpenteris house⁷.

¹ Quavering.

² Explained above.

³ The coals. The oven.

⁴ See RIME OF SIR THOPAS, v. 3357. p. 146. Urr. Mr. Walpole has mentioned some curious particulars concerning the liquors which anciently prevailed in England. Anecd. Paint. i. p. 11. I will add, that cyder was very early a common liquor among our ancestors. In the year, 1295, an. 23 Edw. I. the king orders the sheriff of Southamptonshire to provide with all speed four hundred quarters of wheat, to be collected in parts of his bailiwick nearest the sea, and to convey the same, being well winnowed, in good ships from Portsmouth to Winchelsea. Also to put on board the said ships, at the same time, two hundred tons of cyder. Test. R. apud Canterbury. The cost to be paid immediately from the king's wardrobe. The precept is in old French. Registr. Joh. Pontissar. Episc. Winton. fol. 172. It is remarkable that Wickliffe translates, Luc. i. 21. 'He schal not drinke wyn ne *sydyr*.' This translation was made about A.D. 1380. At a visitation of St. Swithin's priory at Winchester, by the said bishop, it appears that the monks claimed to have, among other articles of luxury, on many festivals, 'Vinum, tam album quam rubrum, claretum, medonem, burgarastrum, &c.' This was so early as the 1285. Registr. Priorat. S. Swith. Winton. MSS. supr. citat. quatern. 5. It appears also, that the *Hordarius* and *Camerarius* claimed every year of the prior ten *dolia vini*, or twenty pounds in money, A.D. 1337. Ibid. quatern. 5. A benefactor grants to the said convent on the day of his anniversary. 'unam pipam vini pret. xxs.' for their refectory, A.D. 1286. Ibid. quatern. 10. Before the year 1200, 'Vina et medones' are mentioned as not uncommon in the abbey of Evesham in Worcestershire. Stevens Monast. Append. p. 138. The use of mead, *medo*, seems to have been very ancient in England. See Mon. Angl. i. 26. Thorne, Chron. sub. ann. 1114. It is not my intention to enter into the controversy concerning the cultivation of vines, for making wine, in England. I shall only bring to light the following remarkable passage on that subject from an old English writer on gardening and farming. 'We might have a reasonable good wine growyng in many places of this realme: as undoubtedly wee had immediately after the Conquest; tyll partly by slouthfulness, not likely any thing long that is painefull, partly by civill discord long continuynge, it was left and so with tyme lost, as appeareth by a number of places in this realme that keepe still the name of Vineyardes: and upon many cliffes and hilles, are yet to be seene the rootes and olde remaynes of Vines. There is besides Nottingham, an auncient house called Chilwell, in which house remayneth yet, as an auncient monument, in a great Wyndowe of Glasse, the whole Order of planting, pruyning, [pruning,] stamping and pressing of vines. Beside, there [at that place] is yet also growing an old vine, that yields a grape sufficient to make a right good wine, as was lately proved.—There hath, moreover, good experience of late yeeares been made, by two noble and honourable barons of this realme, the lorde Cobham and the lorde Wylliams of Tame, who had both growyng about their houses, as good wines as are in many parts of Fraunce, &c.' Barnaby Googe's *FOURE BOOKES OF HUSBANDRY*, &c. Lond. 1578. 4to. TO THE READER.

⁵ Speght explains this 'feats of activity, furious parts in a play.' Gloss. Ch. Urr. Perhaps the character of HEROD in a MYSTERY.

⁶ Greyns, or grains, of Paris, or Paradise, occurs in the *ROMANT OF THE ROSE*. v. 1369. A rent of herring pies is an old payment from the city of Norwich to the king, seasoned among other spices with half an ounce of grains of Paradise. Blomf. Norf. ii. 264. 'It is entitled BURNELLUS, sive *Speculum stultorum*, and was written about the year 1190. Leyser. POET. MED. ÆVI. p. 752. It is a common manuscript. Burnell is a nick-name for Balaam's ass in the Chester WHITSUN PLAYS. MSS. HARL. 2013.

⁷ v. 579. It is to be remarked, that in this tale the carpenter swears, with great propriety, by the patroness saint of Oxford, saint Frideswide, v. 340.

This carpenter to blissin him began,

And seide now helpin us saint Frideswide.

In the mean time the scholar, intent on accomplishing his intrigue, locks himself up in his chamber for the space of two days. The carpenter, alarmed at this long seclusion, and supposing that his guest might be sick or dead, tries to gain admittance, but in vain. He peeps through a crevice of the door, and at length discovers the scholar, who is conscious that he was seen, in an effected trance of abstracted meditation. On this our carpenter, reflecting on the danger of being wise, and exulting in the security of his own ignorance, exclaims,

A man wott littil what shall him betide !
 This man is fallen with his astronomy
 In some wodeness, or in some agony.
 I thoughtin ay wele how it shulde be :
 Men shulde not know¹ of gods privite.
 Yea blessid be alway the lewde-man²,
 That nought but only his belefe can³.
 So farde another clerke with astronomy ;
 He walkid in the feldis for to pry
 Upon the starres to wate what shuld bifall
 Tyll he was in a marlepit yfall ;
 He saw not that. But yet, by seint Thomas
 Me ruith sore on hende Nicholas :
 He shall be ratid for his studying.

But the scholar has ample gratification for this ridicule. The carpenter is at length admitted ; and the scholar continuing the farce, gravely acquaints the former that he has been all this while making a most important discovery by means of astrological calculations. He is soon persuaded to believe the prediction : and in the sequel, which cannot be repeated here, this humourous contrivance crowns the scholar's schemes with success, and proves the cause of the carpenter's disgrace. In this piece the reader observes that the humour of the characters is made subservient to the plot.

I have before hinted, that Chaucer's obscenity is in great measure to be imputed to his age. We are apt to form romantic and exaggerated notions about the moral innocence of our ancestors. Ages of ignorance and simplicity are thought to be ages of purity. The direct contrary, I believe, is the case. Rude periods have that grossness of manners which is not less friendly to virtue than luxury itself. In the middle ages, not only the most flagrant violations of modesty were frequently practised and permitted, but the most infamous vices. Men are less ashamed as they are less polished. Great refinement multiplies criminal pleasures, but at the same time prevents the actual commission of many enormities : at least it preserves public decency, and suppresses public licentiousness.

¹ 'Pry into the secrets of nature.'

³ 'Who knows only what he believes.' Or, his Creed.

² Unlearned.

THE REVES TALE, or the MILLER of TROMPINGTON, is much in the same style, but with less humour¹. This story was enlarged by Chaucer from Boccacio². There is an old English poem on the same plan, entitled, *A right pleasant and merye history of the Mylner of Abington, with his Wife and faire Daughter, and two poore Scholars of Cambridge*³. It begins with these lines.

‘Faire lordinges, if you list to heere
‘A mery jest⁴ your minds to cheere.’

This piece is supposed by Wood to have been written by Andrew Borde, a physician, a wit, and a poet, in the reign of Henry VIII⁵. It was at least evidently written after the time of Chaucer. It is the work of some tasteless imitator, who has sufficiently disguised his original, by retaining none of its spirit. I mention these circumstances, lest it should be thought that this frigid abridgment was the ground-work of Chaucer's poem on the same subject. In the class of humorous or satirical tales, the SOMPNOUR'S TALE, which exposes the tricks and extortions of the mendicant friars, has also distinguished merit. This piece has incidentally been mentioned above with the PLOWMAN'S TALE, and Pierce Plowman.

Genuine humour, the concomitant of true taste, consists in discerning improprieties in books as well as characters. We therefore must remark under this class another tale of Chaucer, which till lately has

¹ See also THE SHIPMAN'S TALE, which was originally taken from some comic French troubadour. But Chaucer had it from Boccacio. The story of Zenobia, in the MONKES TALE, if from Boccacio's Cas. Vir. Illustr. (Lydg. Boch. viii. 7.) That of Hugolin of Pisa in the same Tale, from Dante. That of Pedro of Spain, from archbishop Turpin, *ibid.* Of Julius Cesar, from Lucan, Suetonius, and Valerius Maximus, *ibid.* The idea of this TALE was suggested by Boccacio's book on the same subject.

² Decamer. Giom. ix. Nov. 6. ‘But both Boccacio and Chaucer probably borrowed from an old CONTE, or FABLEU, by an anonymous French rhymmer, *De Combert et des deux Clercs*. FABLEUX et CONTES, Paris, 1756. tom. ii. p. 115.—124. The SHIPMAN'S TALE, as I have hinted, originally came from some such French FABLEOR, through the medium of Boccacio.

³ A manifest mistake for Oxford, unless we read Trumpington for Abingdon, or retaining Abingdon we might read Oxford for Cambridge. ‘There is, however, Abington, with a mill-stream, seven miles from Cambridge.’ Imprint. at London by Rycharde Jones, 4to. Bl. Let. It is in Bibl. Bodl. Selden, C. 39. 4to. This book was probably given to that library, with many other petty black letter histories, in prose and verse, of a similar cast, by Robert Burton, author of the ANATOMY of MELANCHOLY, who was a great collector of such pieces. One of his books now in the Bodleian is the HISTORY of TOM THUMB; whom a learned antiquary, while he laments that ancient history has been much disguised by romantic narratives, pronounces to have been no less important a personage than king Edgar's dwarf.

⁴ Story.

⁵ Wood's Athen. Oxon. BORDE. And Hearne's Bened. Abb. i. Præfat. p. xl. lv. I am of opinion that Solere-Hall, in Cambridge, mentioned in this poem, was Aula Solarii. The hall, with the upper story, at that time a sufficient circumstance to distinguish and denominate one of the academical hospitia. Although Chaucer calls it, ‘grete college.’ v. 881. Thus in Oxford we had Chimney-hall, Aula cum lamino an almost parallel proof of the simplicity of their ancient houses of learning. Twyne also mentions Solere-hall, at Oxford. Also Aula Selarii, which I doubt not is properly Solarii. Compare Wood. Ant. Oxon. ii. 11. col. i. 13. col. i. 12. col. 2. Caius will have it to be Clarehall, Hist. Acad. p. 57. Those who read Scholars-hall (of Edw. iii.) may consult Wacht. V. SOLLER. In the mean time for the reasons assigned, one of these two halls or colleges at Cambridge, might at first have been commonly called Soler-hall. A hall near Brazen-nose college, Oxford, was called Glazen-hall, having glass windows, anciently not common. Twyne Miscel. quædam, &c. ad calc. Apol. Antiq. Acad. Oxon.

been looked upon as a grave heroic narrative. I mean the RIME OF SIR THOPAS. Chaucer, at a period which almost realised the manners of romantic chivalry, discerned the leading absurdities of the old romances: and in this poem, which may be justly called a prelude to Don Quixote, has burlesqued them with exquisite ridicule. That this was the poet's aim, appears from many passages. But, to put the matter beyond a doubt, take the words of an ingenious critic. 'We are to observe, says he, that this was Chaucer's own Tale: and that, when in the progress of it, the good sense of the host is made to break in upon him, and interrupt him, Chaucer approves his disgust, and changing his note, tells the simple instructive Tale of MELIBOEUS, a moral tale vertuous, as he terms it; to shew what sort of fictions were most expressive of real life, and most proper to be put into the hands of the people. It is further to be noted, that the *Boke of The Giant Olyphant, and Chylde Thopas*, was not a fiction of his own, but a story of antique fame, and very celebrated in the days of chivalry: so that nothing could better suit the poet's design of discrediting the old romances, than the choice of this venerable legend for the vehicle of 'his ridicule upon them!'. But it is to be remembered, that Chaucer's design was intended to ridicule the frivolous descriptions, and other tedious impertinencies, so common in the volumes of chivalry with which his age is overwhelmed, not to degrade in general or expose a mode of fabling, whose sublime extravagancies constitute the marvellous graces of his own CAMBUSCAN; a composition which at the same time abundantly demonstrates, that the manners of romance are better calculated to answer the purposes of pure poetry, to captivate the imagination, and to produce surprise, than the fictions of classical antiquity.

SECTION XVII.

BUT Chaucer's vein of humour, although conspicuous in the CANTERBURY TALES, is chiefly displayed in the Characters with which they are introduced. In these his knowledge of the world availed him in a peculiar degree, and enabled him to give such an accurate picture of ancient manners, as no cotemporary nation has transmitted to posterity. It is here that we view the pursuits and employments, the customs and diversions, of our ancestors, copied from the life, and represented with equal truth and spirit, by a judge of mankind, whose penetration qualified him to discern their foibles or discriminating peculiarities:

¹ Dr. Hurd's LETTERS ON CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE. Dialogues, &c. iii. 218. edit. 1765.

and by an artist, who understood that proper selection of circumstances, and those predominant characteristics, which form a finished portrait. We are surprised to find, in so gross and ignorant an age, such talents for satire, and for observation on life; qualities which usually exert themselves at more civilised periods, when the improved state of society, by substituting our speculations, and establishing uniform modes of behaviour, disposes mankind to study themselves, and render deviations of conduct, and singularities of character, more immediately and necessarily the objects of censure and ridicule. These curious and valuable remains are specimens of Chaucer's native genius, unassisted and unalloyed. The figures are all British, and bear no suspicious signatures of classical, Italian, or French imitation. The characters of Theophrastus are not so lively, particular and appropriated. A few *traies* from this celebrated part of our author, yet too little tasted and understood, may be sufficient to prove and illustrate what is here advanced.

The character of the PRIORESSE is chiefly distinguished by an excess of delicacy and decorum, and an affectation of courtly accomplishments. But we are informed, that she was educated at the school of Stratford at Bow near London, perhaps a fashionable seminary for breeding nuns.

There was also a nonne a Prioressse
That of her smiling was simble and coy;
Her gretist othe was but by saint Eloye¹.
And French she spake full fayre and fetisly,
Aftir the schole at Stratford atte Bowe,
For French of Paris was to her unknowe.
At mete² was she well ytaught withall;
She let no morsell from her lippis fall,

¹ *Seynte Loy*, i. e. Saint Lewis. The same oath occurs in the FREER'S TALE, v. 300. p. 88. Urr.

² Dinner. 'The Prioressse's exact behaviour at table, is copied from ROM. ROSE, 14178.—14199.

Et bien se garde, &c.

To speak French is mentioned above, among her accomplishments. There is a letter in old French from queen Philppa, and her daughter Isabell, to the Priour of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, to admit one Agnes Patshull into an eleemosynary sisterhood belonging to his convent. The Priour is requested to grant her, 'Une Lyvere en votre Maison dieu de Wyn-
'cestere et estre un des soers,' for her life. Written at Windsor, Apr. 25. The year must have been about 1350. REGISTR. Priorat. MSS. supr. citat. Quatern. xix. fol. 4. I do not so much cite this instance to prove that the Priour must be supposed to understand French, as to shew that it was now the court language, and even on a matter of business. There was at least a great propriety, that the queen and princess should write in this language, although to an ecclesiastic of dignity. In the same Register, there is a letter in old French from the queen Dowager Isabell to the Priour and Convent of Winchester; to shew, that it was at her request, that king Edward III. her son had granted a church in Winchester diocese, to the monastery of Leedes in Yorkshire, for their better support, 'a trouver sis chagnoignes chantans
'tous les jours en la chapele du Chastel de Ledes, pour laime madame Alianore reyne d'Angleterre, &c.' A.D. 1341. Quatern vi.

The Prioressse's *greatest* oath is by Saint Ely. I will here throw together some of the most remarkable oaths in the Canterbury Tales. The Host, swears by *my father's soule*. Urr. p. 7. 783. Sir Thopas, by *ale and breade*. p. 146. 3377. Arcite by *my pan*, i.e. *head*.

No wet her fingris in the sauce depe ;
 Well couth she carry a morsel, and well kepe,
 That no drope ne fell upon her brest ;
 In curtesie was sett ful much her lest¹.
 Her ovirlippe wipid she so clene,
 That in her cup ther was no ferthing sene
 Of grece, when she dronkin had hir draught,
 Full semily aftir hir mete she raught².—
 And painid hir to counterfete chere
 Of court, and to ben stately of manere³.

She has even the false pity and sentimentality of many modern ladies.

She was so charitable and so pitous,
 She woulde wepe if that she sawe a mous
 Caught in a trapp, if it were ded or bled.
 Of smale houndis had she that she fed
 With rostid flesh, or milk, or wastell bred⁴ :
 But sore wept she if any of them were ded,
 Or if men smote them with a yarde⁵ smert :
 And all was conscience and tendir hert⁶.

The WIFE OF BATH is more amiable for her plain and useful qualifications. She is a respectable dame, and her chief pride consists in being a conspicuous and significant character at church on a Sunday.

Of clothmaking⁷ she hadde such a haunt
 She passid them of Ipre and of Gaunt.
 In all the parish, wife ne was there none
 That to the offryng was bifore her gone ;
 And if ther did, certain so wroth was she,
 That she was outin of all charite.
 Her coverchefes⁸ were large and fine of ground,
 I durst to swere that thei weyid three pound,
 That on a sonday were upon hir hedde :
 Her hoshin werin of fine scarlett redde,

p. 10. 1167. Theseus, by *mighte Mars the red.* p. 14. 1749. Again, *as he was a trew knight.* p. 9. 961. The Carpenter's wife, by St. Thomas of Kent. p. 26. 183. The Smith, by *Christes foote.* p. 29. 674. The Cambridge Scholar, by *my father's kinn.* p. 31. 930. Again, by *my crowne.* ib. 933. Again, for *godes benes*, or *benison.* p. 32. 965. Again, by *St. Cuthberde*, ib. 1019. Sir Johan of Boundis, by *St. Martyne.* p. 37. 107. Gamelyn, by *goddis boke.* p. 38. 181. Gamelyn's brother, by *St. Richere.* ibid. 273. Again, by *Cristis ore* ib. 279. A Frankeleyn, by *St. Jame that in Galis is*, i.e. St. James of Galicia, p. 40. 549. 1514. A Porter, by *Goddis berde.* ib. 581. Gamelyn, by *my hals*, or neck. p. 42. 773. The Maistir Outlawe, by the *gode rode.* p. 45. 1265. The Hoste, by the *precious corpis Madrian*, p. 160. 4. Again, by *St. Paulis bell* p. 168. 893. The Man of Lawe, *Depardeux.* p. 49. 39. The Marchaunt, by *St. Thomas of Inde.* p. 66. 743. The Sompnour, by *goddis armis two.* p. 82. 833. The Hoste, by *cockis bonis.* p. 106. 2235. Again, by *naylis* and by *blode*, i.e. of Christ, p. 130. 1802. Again, by *St. Damian.* p. 131. 1824. Again, by *St. Runion.* ib. 1834. Again, by *Corpus domini.* ib. 1838. The Riottour, by *Goddis digne bones.* p. 135. 2211. The Hoste, to the Monke, by *your father kin.* p. 160. 43. The Monke, by his *port hose*, or breviary. p. 139. 2639. Again, by *God and St. Martin.* ib. 2656. The Hoste, by *armis, blode and bonis.* p. 24. 17.

¹ Pleasure. Desire.

⁴ Bread of a finer sort.

² Literally, *Stretched.*

⁵ Stick.

⁶ v. 143.

³ Prol. v. 123.

⁷ It is to be observed, that she lived in the neighbourhood of Bath ; a country famous for clothng to this day.

⁸ Head-dress.

Full strait istreynid, and hir shoos ful newe:
 Bold was hir face, and fayr and redde hir hewe.
 She was a worthy woman all her life:
¹Husbandes at the chirche dore had she had five².

The FRANKLEIN is a country gentleman, whose estate consisted in free land, and was not subject to feudal services or payments. He is ambitious of shewing his riches by the plenty of his table: but his hospitality, a virtue much more practicable among our ancestors than at present, often degenerates into luxurious excess. His impatience if his sauces were not sufficiently poignant, and every article of his dinner in due form and readiness, is touched with the hand of Pope or Boileau. He had been a president at the sessions, knight of the shire, a sheriff, and a coroner³.

An housholder, and that a gret, was he:
 Saint Julian he was in his countre⁴.
 His brede, his ale, was alway aftir one:
 A bettir viendid⁵ man was no wher none.
 Withoutin bake mete never was his house
 Of fish and fleshe, and that so plenteouse,
 It snewid⁶ in his house of mete and drink,
 And of all dainties that men couth of think.
 Aftir the sondrie seasons of the yere,
 So chaungid he his mete⁷, and his suppre.
 Many a fat partriche had he in mewe,
 And many a breme, and many a luce⁸, in stewe.
 Woe was his cooke, but that his saucis were
 Poinant and sharpe, and redy all his gere!
 His table dormaunt⁹ in the halle alway,
 Stode redy coverid, all the longe day¹⁰.

The character of the Doctor of PHISICKE preserves to us the state of medical knowledge, and the course of medical erudition then in fashion. He treats his patients according to rules of astronomy: a science which the Arabians engrafted on medicine.

For he was groundid in astronomie:
 He kept his pacients a full gret dele
 In houris by his magike natural¹¹.

¹ At the southern entrance of Norwich cathedral, a representation of the ESPOUSALS, or sacrament of marriage, is carved in stone; for here the hands of the couple were joined by the priest, and great part of the service performed. Here also the bride was endowed with what was called *Dos ad optinum ecclesie*. This ceremony is exhibited in a curious old picture engraved by Mr. Walpole, where king Henry VII. is married to his queen, standing at the facade or western portal of a magnificent Gothic church. Anecd. Paint. i. 31. Compare Marten. Rit. Eccl. Anecd. ii. p. 630. And Hearne's Antiquit. Glastonb. Append. p. 310.

² v. 449.

³ An office anciently executed by gentlemen of the greatest respect and property.

⁴ Simon the leper, at whose house our Saviour lodged in Bethany, is called, in the Legends, *Julian the good herborow*, and bishop of Bethpage. In the TALE OF BERYN, St. Julian is invoked to revenge a traveller who had been traiterously used in his lodgings. See Urr. Ch. p. 599. v. 625.

⁵ Better vianded.

⁹ Never removed.

⁶ Snowed.

¹⁰ v. 356.

⁷ Dinner.

⁸ Pike.

¹¹ v. 416.

Petrarch leaves a legacy to his physician John de Dondi, of Padua, who was likewise a great astronomer, in the year 1370¹. It was a long time before the medical profession was purged from these superstitions. Hugo de Evesham, born in Worcestershire, one of the most famous physicians in Europe about the year 1280, educated in both the universities of England, and at others in France and Italy, was eminently skilled in mathematics and astronomy². Pierre d'Apono, a celebrated professor of medicine and astronomy at Padua, wrote commentaries on the problems of Aristotle, in the year 1310. Roger Bacon says, '*astronomiæ pars melior medicina*'³. In the statutes of New-college at Oxford, given in the year 1387, medicine and astronomy are mentioned as one and the same science. Charles V., king of France, who was governed entirely by astrologers, and who commanded all the Latin treatises which could be found relating to the stars, to be translated into French, established a college in the university of Paris for the study of medicine and astrology⁴. There is a scarce and very curious book, entitled '*Nova medicinæ methodus curandi morbos ex mathematica scientia deprompta, nunc denuo revisa, &c.* Joanne Hasfurto Virdungo, medico et astrologo doctissimo, auctore, Haganoæ, excus. 1518⁵.' Hence magic made a part of medicine. In the MARCHAUNTS second tale, or HISTORY OF BERYN, falsely ascribed to Chaucer, a surgical operation of changing eyes is partly performed by the assistance of the occult sciences.

—— The whole science of all surgery,
Was unyd, or the chaunge was made of both eye,
With many sotill enchantours, and eke nygrymauncers,
That sent wer for the nonis, maistris, and scoleris⁶.

Leland mentions one William Glatisaunt, an astrologer and physician, a fellow of Merton college in Oxford, who wrote a medical tract, which, says he, '*nescio quid MAGIÆ spirabat*'⁷. I could add many other proofs⁸.

The books which our physician studied are then enumerated.

Well knew he the old Esculapius, And Dioscorides, and eke Rufus,
Old Hippocrates, Haly, and Galen, Serapion, Rasis, and Avicen,
Averrois, Damascene, Constantine,
Bernard, and Gattisden, and Gilbertin.

Rufus, a physician of Ephesus, wrote in Greek, about the time of Trajan. Some fragments of his works still remain⁹. Haly was a

¹ See Acad. Inscript. xx. 443.

² Pits. p. 370. Bale, iv. 50. xiii. 86.

³ Bacon, Op. Maj. edit. Jebb, p. 158. See also p. 240. 247.

⁴ Montfaucon, Bibl. Manuscript. tom. ii. p. 791. b.

⁵ In quarto. ⁶ v. 2989. Urr. Ch.

⁷ Lel. apud Tann. Bibl. p. 262. And Lel. Script. Brit. p. 400.

⁸ Ames's Hist. Print. p. 147.

⁹ Conring. Script. Com. Sæc. i. cap. 4. p. 66. 67. The Arabians have translations of him. Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 972. b. 977. b.

famous Arabic astronomer, and a commentator on Galen, in the eleventh century, which produced so many famous Arabian physicians¹. John Serapion, of the same age and country, wrote on the practice of physic². Avicen, the most eminent physician of the Arabian school, flourished in the same century³. Rhasis, an Asiatic physician, practised at Cordova in Spain, where he died in the tenth century⁴. Averroes, as the Asiatic schools decayed by the indolence of the Caliphs, was one of those philosophers who adorned the Moorish schools erected in Africa and Spain. He was a professor in the university of Morocco. He wrote a commentary on all Aristotle's works, and died about the year 1160. He was styled the most *Peripatetic* of all the Arabian writers. He was born at Cordova of an ancient Arabic family⁵. John Damascene, secretary to one of the Caliphs, wrote in various sciences, before the Arabians had entered Europe, and had seen the Grecian philosophers⁶. Constantinus Afer, a monk of Cassino in Italy, was one of the Saracen physicians who brought medicine into Europe, and formed the Salernitan school, chiefly by translating various Arabian and Grecian medical books into Latin⁷. He was born at Carthage : and learned grammar, logic, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and natural philosophy, of the Chaldees, Arabians, Persians, Saracens, Egyptians, and Indians, in the schools of Bagdat. Being thus completely accomplished in these sciences, after thirty-nine years study, he returned into Africa, where an attempt was formed against his life. Constantine having fortunately discovered this design, privately took ship and came to Salerno in Italy, where he lurked some time in disguise. But he was recognised by the Caliph's brother then at Salerno, who recommended him as a scholar universally skilled in the learning of all nations, to the notice of Robert duke of Normandy. Robert entertained him with the highest mark of respect : and Constantine, by the advice of his patron, retired to the monastery of Cassino, where being kindly received by the Abbot Desiderius, he translated in that learned society the books above-mentioned, most of which he first imported into

¹ Id. *ibid.* Sæc. xi. cap. 5. p. 114. Haly, called Abbas, was likewise an eminent physician of this period. He was called, 'Simia Galeni.' Id. *ibid.*

² Id. *ibid.* p. 113, 114.

³ Id. *ibid.* See Pard. T. v. 2407. Urr. p. 136.

⁴ Conring ut supr. Sæc. x. cap. 4. p. 110. He wrote a large and famous work called *Continuus*. Rhasis and Almasor, (f. Albumasar, a great Arabian astrologer,) occur in the library of Peterborough Abby, *Matric. Libr. Monast. Burgi S. Petri*. Gunton, *Peterb.* p. 127. See Hearn, *Ben. Abb. Præf.* lix.

⁵ Conring. ut sup. Sæc. xii. cap. 2. p. 118.

6 Voss. Hist. Gr. L. ii. c. 24.

7 Petr. Diacon. de Vir. illustr. Monast. Cassin. cap. xxiii. See the DISSERTATIONS. He is again mentioned by our authority in the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, v. 1326. p. 71. Urr.

And lectuaries had he there full fine,Soche as the cursid monk *Dan Constantine*
Hath writtyn in his boke de Coitu.

The title of this book is, 'DE COITU, quibus prosit aut obsit, quibus medicaminibus et alimentis acuatur impediaturve.' Inter Op. Basil. 1536. fol.

Europe. These versions are said to be still extant. He flourished about the year 1086¹. Bernard, or Bernardus Gordonius, appears to have been Chaucer's cotemporary. He was a professor of medicine at Montpellier, and wrote many treatises in that faculty². John Gatisden was a fellow of Merton college, where Chaucer was educated, about the year 1320³. Pits says, that he was professor of physic in Oxford⁴. He was the most celebrated physician of his age in England; and his principal work is entitled, *ROSA MEDICA*, divided into five books, which was printed in Paris in the year 1492⁵. Gilbertine, I suppose is Gilbertus Anglicus, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and wrote a popular compendium of the medical art⁶. About the same time, not many years before Chaucer wrote, the works of the most famous Arabian authors, and among the rest those of Avicenne, Averroes, Serapion, and Rhasis above-mentioned, were translated into Latin⁷. These were our physician's library. But having mentioned his books, Chaucer could not forbear to add a stroke of satire so naturally introduced.

His studie was but litill in the bible⁸.

¹ Leo Ostiensis, or P. Diac. Auctar. ad Leon. Chron. Mon. Cassin. lib. iii. c. 35. p. 445. Scriptor. Italic. tom. iv. Murator. In his book *DD INCANTATIONIBUS*, one of his enquiries is, *An invenerim in libris GRÆCORUM hoc qualiter in INDORUM libris est invenire*, &c. Op. tom. i. ut supr.

² Petr. Lambec. Prodrum. Sæc. xiv. p. 274. edit. ut supr.

³ It has been before observed, that at the introduction of philosophy into Europe by the Saracens, the clergy only studied and practised the medical art. This fashion prevailed a long while afterwards. The Prior and Convent of S. Swithin's at Winchester granted to Thomas of Shaftesbury, clerk, a corrody, consisting of two dishes daily from the Prior's kitchen, bread, drink, robes, and a competent chamber in the monastery, for the term of his life. In consideration of all which concessions, the said Thomas paid them fifty marcs: and moreover is obligèd, 'deservire nobis in *Arte Medicinæ*. Dat. in dom. Capitul. Feb. 15. A.D. 1319.' Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MS. supr. citat. The most learned and accurate Fabricius has a separate article on *THEOLOGI MEDICI*. Bibl. Gr. xii. 739. seq. See also Gianon. Istori. Neapol. l. x. ch. xi. §. 491. In the romance of *SIR GUY*, a monk heals the knight's wounds. Signat. G. iiiii.

There was a *monke* beheld him well

That could of *leach crafte* some dell.

In G. of Monmouth, who wrote in 1128, Eopa intending to poison Ambrosius, introduces himself as a physician. But in order to sustain this character with due propriety, he first shaves his head, and assumes the habit of a monk. lib. viii. c. 14. John Arundale, afterwards bishop of Chichester, was chaplain and first physician to Henry VI., in 1458. Wharton. Angl. sacr. i. 777. Faricius abbot of Abingdon, about 1110, was eminent for his skill in medicine; and a great cure performed by him is recorded in the register of the abbey. Hearne's Hened. Abb. Præf. xlvii. King John, while sick at Newark, made use of William de Wodestoke, abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Croxton, as his physician. Bever. Chron. MSS. Harl. apud Hearne, Præf. ut Supr. p. xlix. Many other instances may be added. The physicians of the university of Paris were not allowed to marry till the year 1452. Menagian. p. 333. In the same university, anciently at the admission to the degree of doctor in physic, they took an oath that they were not married. MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. p. 249. 'See Friend's Hist. of Physick, ii. 257.

⁴ p. 414.

⁵ Tanner, Bibl. p. 312. Leland styles this work, 'opus luculentum juxta ac eruditum.' Script. Brit. p. 355.

⁶ Conring. ut supr. Sæc. xiii. cap. 4. p. 127. And Leland. Script. Brit. p. 291. Who says, that Gilbert's *Practica et Compendium Medicinæ* was most carefully studied by many 'ad quæstum properantes.' He adds, that it was common, about this time, for English students abroad to assume the surname *Anglicus*, as a plausible recommendation.

⁷ Conring. ut supr. Sæc. xiii. cap. 4. p. 126. About the same time, the works of Galen and Hippocrates were first translated from Greek into Latin: but in a most barbarous style. Id. ibid. p. 127.

⁸ v. 440.

The following anecdotes and observations may serve to throw general light on the learning of the authors who compose this curious library. The Aristotelian or Arabian philosophy continued to be communicated from Spain and Africa to the rest of Europe chiefly by means of the Jews about the tenth and eleventh centuries. About these periods, not only the courts of the Mahometan princes, but even that of the pope himself, were filled with Jews. Here they principally gained an establishment by the profession of physic; an art then but imperfectly known and practised in most parts of Europe. Being well versed in the Arabic tongue, from their commerce with Africa and Egypt, they had studied the Arabic translations of Galen and Hippocrates; which had become still more familiar to the great numbers of their brethren who resided in Spain. From this source also the Jews learned philosophy; and Hebrew versions made about this period from the Arabic, of Aristotle and the Greek physicians and mathematicians, are still extant in some libraries¹. Here was a beneficial effect of the dispersion and vagabond condition of the Jews: I mean the diffusion of knowledge. One of the most eminent of these learned Jews was Moses Maimonides, a physician, philosopher, astrologer, and theologist, educated at Cordova in Spain under Averroes. He died about the year 1208. Averroes being accused of heretical opinions, was sentenced to *live with the Jews in the street of the Jews* at Cordova. Some of these learned Jews began to flourish in the Arabian schools in Spain, as early as the beginning of the ninth century. Many of the treatises of Averroes were translated by the Spanish Jews into Hebrew: and the Latin pieces of Averroes now extant were translated into Latin from these Hebrew versions. I have already mentioned the school or university of Cordova. Leo Africanus speaks of "*Platea bibliothecariorum Cordouæ*." This, from what follows, appears to be a street of booksellers. It was in the time of Averroes, and about the year 1220. One of our Jew philosophers has fallen in love, turned poet, and his verses were publicly sold in this street². My author says, that on renouncing the dignity of the Jewish doctor, he took to the writing of verses³.

The SOMPNOUR, whose office it was to summon uncanonical offenders into the archdeacon's court, where they were very rigorously punished, is humourously drawn as counteracting his profession by his example: he is libidinous and voluptuous, and his rosy countenance belies his occupation. This is an indirect satire on the ecclesiastical proceedings of those times. His affectation of Latin terms, which he had picked up from the decrees and pleadings of the court, must have formed a character highly ridiculous.

¹ Euseb. Renaudot. apud Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xii. 254.

² Leo African. de Med. et Philosoph. Hebr. c. xxviii. xxix.

³ Leo, ibid. 'Amore capitur, et dignitate doctorum posthabita cœpit edere carmina. Simon. in Suppl. ad Leon. Musinens. de Ritib. Hebr. p. 104.

And when that he well dronkin had the wine,
 Then would he speke no word but Latine.
 A few schole termis couth he two or thre,
 That he had lernid out of some decre.
 No wonder is, he herd it all the day:
 And ye well knowin eke, how that a jay
 Can clepe watte as well as can the pope¹:
 But whoso couth in other things him grope²,
 Then had he spent al his philosophie,
 A *questio quid juris*³ would he crie⁴.

He is with great propriety made the friend and companion of the PARDONERE, or dispenser of indulgences, who is just arrived from the pope, 'brimful of pardons come from Rome al hote:' and who carries in his wallet, among other holy curiosities, the virgin Mary's veil, and part of the sail of Saint Peter's ship⁵.

The MONKE is represented as more attentive to horses and hounds than to the rigorous and obsolete ordinances of Saint Benedict. Such are his ideas of secular pomp and pleasure, that he is even qualified to be an abbot⁶.

An outrider that lovid venery⁷,
 A manly mon, to ben an abbot able:
 Many a dainty horse he had in stable.—
 This ilke⁸ monke let old thingis to pace,
 And heldin aftir the new world the trace.
 He gave not of the text a pullid hen⁹
 That faith, that hunters be not holy men¹⁰.

He is ambitious of appearing a conspicuous and stately figure on horse-back. A circumstance represented with great elegance.

And when he rode, men might his bridle here
 Gingiling in a whistling wind, as clere
 And eke as loud, as doth the chapel bell¹¹.

The gallantry of his riding-dress, and his genial aspect, is painted in lively colours.

I see his sleeves pursilid¹² at the hande,
 With gryns¹³, and that the finist in the lande.

¹ 'So edit. 1561.' See Johnson's Dictionary, in MAGPIE.

² Examine.

³ Read, Aye, *questio*, &c.

⁴ v. 639.

⁵ v. 670, seq.

⁶ There is great humour in the circumstances which qualify our monk to be an abbot. Some time in the thirteenth century, the prior and convent of Saint Swithin's at Winchester, appear to have recommended one of their brethren to the convent of Hyde as a proper person to be preferred to the abbacy of that convent, then vacant. These are his merits. 'Est enim confrater ille noster in glosanda sacra pagina bene callens, in scriptura [transcribing] peritus, 'in capitalibus literis appingendis bonus artifex, in regula S. Benedicti instructissimus, 'psallendi doctissimus, &c.' MSS. Registr. ut supr. quat. . . These were the ostensible qualities of the master of a capital monastery. But Chaucer, in the verses before us, seems to have told the real truth, and to have given the real character as it actually existed in life. I believe, that our industrious *confrere*, with all his knowledge of glossing, writing, illuminating, chanting, and Benedict's rules, would in fact have been less likely to succeed to a vacant abbey, than one of the genial complexion and popular accomplishments here imitatively described.

⁷ Hunting.

⁸ Same.

⁹ 'He did not care a straw for the text, &c.'

¹⁰ v. 176, seq.

¹¹ See supr. p. 164.

¹² Fringed.

¹³ Fur.

And to sustene his hode undir his chin
 He had of gold wrought a ful curious pin,
 A love-knot in the greter end ther was.
 His hed was bald, and shone as any glas,
 And eke his face as he had been anoint:
 He was a lorde ful fat, and in gode point.
 His eyin stepe, and rolling in his hed,
 That stemith as a furneis of led.
 His bootes souple, his hors in great estate,
 Now certainly he was a fayr prelate!
 He was not pale as a forpynid ghost;
 A fat swan lovde he best of any rost.
 His palfry was as brown as is the berry¹.

The FRERE, or friar, is equally fond of diversion and good living; but the poverty of his establishment obliges him to travel about the country, and to practice various artifices to provide money for his convent, under the sacred character of a confessor².

A frere there was, a wanton and a merry;
 A limitour³, and a ful solempne man:
 In all the orders four is none that can
 So much of daliaunce, and of faire langage.—
 Ful swetely herde he their confessioun:
 Ful plesant was his absolutioun.
 His tippit was aye farfid ful of knives
 And pinnis for to givin to faire wives.
 And certainly he had a merry note:
 Wele couthe he sing and playin on a rote⁴.
 Of yedding⁵ he bare utterly the price.
 Ther n'as no man no where so vertuose;
 He was the best beggare in all his house⁶.
 Somewhat he lipsid for his wantonnesse,
 To make his English swete upon his tonge;
 And in his harping, when that he had songe,
 His eyis twinkelid in his hede aright
 As donn the starris in a frostie night⁷.

¹ v. 193.

² A friar that had a particular grant for begging or hearing confessions within certain limits.

³ Of mendicants.

⁴ In Urry's Glossary this expression, *on a Rote*, is explained, *by Rote*. But a rote is a musical instrument. Lydgate, MSS. Fairfax, Bibl. Bodl. 16.

For ther was Rotys of Almayne, And eke of Arragon and Spayne.

Again, in the same manuscript,

Harpys, fithels, and eke rotys Wel acording to ther notys.

Where *fithels* is *fiddles*, as in the Prol. Cl. Oxenf. v. 590. So in the *Roman d'Alexandre*, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. fol. i. b. col. 2.

Rote, harpe, viole, et gigne, et siphonie.

I cannot help mentioning in this place, a pleasant mistake of bishop Morgan, in his translation of the New Testament into Welch, printed 1567. He translates the VIALS of *wrath*, in the Revelations, by *Crythan*, i.e. *Crouds* or *Fiddles*, Rev. v. 8. The Greek is *φιάλαι*. Now it is probable that the bishop translated only from the English, where he found VIALS, which he took for VIOLS.

⁵ Yielding, i.e. dalliance.

⁶ Convent.

⁷ v. 208.

With these unhallowed and untrue sons of the church is contrasted the PARSON, or parish-priest: in describing whose sanctity, simplicity, sincerity, patience, industry, courage, and conscientious impartiality, Chaucer shews his good sense and a good heart. Dryden imitated this character of the GOOD PARSON, and is said to have applied it to bishop Ken.

The character of the SQUIRE teaches us the education and requisite accomplishments of young gentlemen in the gallant reign of Edward III. But it is to be remembered, that our squire is the son of a knight, who has performed feats of chivalry in every part of the world; which the poet thus enumerates with great dignity and simplicity.

At Alistandre' he was whan it was won,
Full oft timis had he the bourd begon¹,
Abovin alle naciouns in Pruce².
In Lettow³ had he riddin and in Luce⁴.
No cristen man so oft of his degree
In Granada, and in the sege had he be
Of Algezir⁵, and ridd in Belmary⁶
At Leyis⁷ was he, and at Sataly⁸,
When they were won : and in the grete sea :
At many a noble army had he be :
At mortal batailles had he ben fiftene,
And foughtin for our faith at Tramisene⁹.
In lystis thrys, and alway slein his fo.
This ilke worthy Knight had ben also
Sometimis with the lod of Palathy¹⁰:
Ayens¹¹ another hethen in Turkey.

¹ I will here add a similar expression from Gower, Conf. Amant. lib. viii. fol. 177, b. edit Berthel. 1554.

— Bad his marshall of his hall

To setten him in such degre,	That he upon him myght se.
The kyng was soone sette and served :	And he which had his prise deserved,
After the kyngis own worde,	Was made <i>begyn</i> a middle borde.

That is, 'he was seated in the middle of the table, a place of distinction and dignity.'

² Prussia.

³ Lithuania.

⁴ Livonia.

⁵ A city of Spain. Perhaps Gibraltar.

⁶ Speght supposes it to be that country in Barbary which is called Benamarin. It is mentioned again in the KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 2632, p. 20, Urr.

Ne in *Balmarie* ther is no lion, That huntid is, &c.

By which at least we may conjecture it to be some country in Africa. Perhaps a corruption for *Barbarie*.

⁷ Some suppose it to be Laviosa, a city on the continent, near Rhodes. Others Lybissa, a city of Lithynia.

⁸ A city in Anatolia, called Atalia. Many of these places are mentioned in the history of the crusades. The gulf and castle of Satalia are mentioned by Benedictus Abbas, in the crusade under the year 1191. 'Et cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab Antiochet, statim intravit *gulfum SATHALIE*.—*SATHALIE Castellum* est optimum, unde gulfus ille nomen accepit; et *super gulfum illum sunt duo Castella et Villæ, et utrumque dicitur SATALIA*. Sed unum *illorum est desertum, et dicitur Vetus SATALIA quod piratæ destruxerunt, et alterum Nova SATALIA dicitur, quod Manuel imperator Constantinopolis firmavit.*' VIT. ET GEST. HENR. et RIC. ii. p. 680. Afterwards he mentions *Mare Græcum*, p. 683. That is, the Mediterranean from Sicily to Cyprus. I am inclined, in the second verse following, to read '*Creke sea*.' *Leyis* is the town of Layas in Armenia.

⁹ In the holy war, at Thrasimene, a city in Barbary.

¹⁰ Palathia, a city in Anatolia. Froissart, iii. 40.

¹¹ Against.

And evirmore he had a sovrane prize,
And thoug that ne was worthy he was wise¹.

The poet in some of these lines implies, that after the Christians were driven out of Palestine, the English knights of his days joined the knights of Livonia and Prussia, and attacked the pagans of Lithuania, and its adjacent territories. Lithuania was not converted to christianity till towards the close of the fourteenth century. Prussian targets are mentioned, as we have before seen, in the KNIGHT'S TALE. Thomas duke of Gloucester, youngest son of king Edward III., and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards king Henry IV., travelled into Prussia: and in conjunction with the grand Masters and Knights of Prussia and Livonia, fought the infidels of Lithuania. Lord Derby was greatly instrumental in taking Wilna, the capital of that county, in the year 1390². Here is a seeming compliment to some of these expeditions. This invincible and accomplished champion afterwards tells the heroic tale of PALAMON and ARCITE. His son the SQUIER, a youth of twenty years, is thus delineated.

And he had been sometime in³ chivauchie
In Flandris, in Artois, in Picardie;
And born him wele, as of so littill space,
In hope to standin in his ladies grace.
Embroudid was he as it were a mede
All ful of fresh flouris both white and rede.
Singing he was and floityng al the day,
He was as fresh as is the month of May.
Schort was his gown with slevis long and wide,
Wel couth he sit an hors, and faire yride.
And songis couth he make, and wel endite,
Just, and eke daunce, and wel portraie, and write⁴.

To this young man the poet, with great observance of decorum gives the tale of Cambuscan, the next in knightly dignity to that of Palamon and Arcite. He is attended by a yeoman, whose figure revives the ideas of the forest laws.

And he was clad in cote and hode of grene:
A sheff of pecocke arrows bright and kene⁵.

¹ v. 51.

² Hakluyt's Voyages, i. 122. seq. edit. 1598. Hakluyt's account of the conquest of Prussia by the Dutch Knights Hospitalaries of Jerusalem, *ibid*.

³ Chivauchie riding, exercises of horsemanship, Compl. Mar. Ven. v. 144.

Ciclinius riding in his *chivauchie*

From Venus. —————

⁴ v. 85.

⁵ Comp. Gul. Waynflete, *episc. Winton. an. 1471*, (*supr. citat.*) Among the stores of the bishop's castle at Farnham. '*Arcus cum chordis*. Et red. comp. de xxiv arcubus cum xxiv 'chordis de remanentia.—*Sagitta magna*. Et de cxliv sagittis magnis barbatis cum xxiv 'chordis de remanentia.—*Sagitta magna*. Et de cxli sagittis magnis barbatis cum pennis 'pavonum.' In a *computus* of bishop Gervays, *episc. Winton. an. 1266*, (*supr. citat.*) among the stores of the bishop's castle of Taunton, one of the heads or styles is, *Cauda pavonum*, which I suppose were used for feathering arrows. In the articles of *Arma*, which are part o

Undir his belt he bare ful thriftily :
 Wel couth he dress his tackle yomanly :
 His arrows droupid not with featheris low ;
 And in his hand he bare a mighty bow.
 Upon his arm he bare a gay bracer¹,
 And by his side a sword and bokeler.
 A Christopher² on his brest of silver shene :
 A horn he bare, the baudrick was of grene³.

The character of the REVE, an officer of much greater trust and authority during the feudal constitution than at present, is happily pictured. His attention to the care and custody of the manors, the produce of which was then kept in hand for furnishing his lord's table, perpetually employs his time, preys upon his thoughts, and makes him lean and choleric. He is the terror of bailiffs and hinds : and is remarkable for his circumspection, vigilance, and subtlety. He is never in arrears, and no auditor is able to over-reach or detect him in his accounts : yet he makes more commodious purchases for himself than for his master, without forfeiting the good will or bounty of the latter. Amidst these strokes of satire, Chaucer's genius for descriptive painting breaks forth in this simple and beautiful description of the REEVE's rural habitation.

His wonning⁴ was ful fayre upon a heth,
 With grene trees yshadowed was his place⁵.

In the CLERKE OF OXENFORDE our author glances at the inattention paid to literature, and the unprofitableness of philosophy. He is emaciated with study, clad in a threadbare cloak, and rides a steed lean as a rake.

For he had gotten him no benefice,
 Ne was so worldly for to have office :
 For him had lever⁶ han at his bedshed
 Twentie bokis, yclad with black or red,
 Of Aristotle and his philosophie,
 Then robis rich, fithell⁷, or gay sautrie :
 But albe that he was a philosopher,
 Yet had he but little gold in his coffer⁸.

His unwearied attention to logic had tintured his conversation with much pedantic formality, and taught him to speak on all subjects in a precise and sententious style. Yet his conversation was instructive :

the episcopal stores of the said castle, I find enumerated 1,421 great arrows for cross bows remaining over and above 371 delivered to the bishop's vassals *tempore guerre*. Under the same title occur cross-bows made of horn. Arrows with feathers of the peacock occur in Lydgate's Chronicle of Troy, B. iii. cap. 22, sign. O. iii. edit. 1555, fol.

— Many good archers
 Of Boeme, which with their arrows kene
 And with fethirs of pecocke freshe and shene, &c.

¹ Armour for the arms.

² A saint who presided over the weather. The patron of field sports.

⁴ Dwelling.

⁵ v. 608.

⁶ Rather.

³ v. 103.

⁷ Fiddle.

⁸ v. 293. Or it may be explained, Yet he could not find the philosopher's stone.

and he was no less willing to submit than to communicate his opinion to others.

Sowning in moral virtue was his speche,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teche¹.

The perpetual importance of the SERJEANT OF LAWE, who by habit or by affectation has the faculty of appearing busy when he has nothing to do, is sketched with the spirit and conciseness of Horace.

No where so busy'a man as he ther n'as,
And yet he semid busier than he was²,

There is some humour in making our lawyer introduce the language of his pleadings into common conversation. He addresses the hoste.

Hoste, quoth he, *de pardeux jeo assent*³.

The affectation of talking French was indeed general, but it is here appropriate and in character.

Among the rest, the character of the HOSTE, or master of the Tabarde inn where the pilgrims are assembled, is conspicuous. He has much good sense, and discovers great talents for managing and regulating a large company; and to him we are indebted for the happy proposal of obliging every pilgrim to tell a story during the journey to Canterbury. His interpositions between the tales are very useful and enlivening; and he is something like the chorus on the Grecian stage. He is of great service in encouraging each person to begin his part, in conducting the scheme with spirit, in making proper observations on the merit or tendency of the several stories, in settling disputes which must naturally arise in the course of such an entertainment, and in connecting all the narratives into one continued system. His love of good cheer, experience in marshalling guests, address, authoritative deportment, and facetious disposition, are thus expressively displayed by Chaucer.

Grete chere our Hoste made us everichone,
And to the suppre set he us anone;

¹ v. 300.

² v. 323. He is said to have 'often yben at the *parvis*.' v. 312. It is not my design to enter into the disputes concerning the meaning or etymology of *parvis*: from which *parvisia*, the name for the public schools in Oxford, is derived. But I will observe, that *parvis* is mentioned as a court or portico before the church of Notre Dame at Paris, in John de Meun's part of the Roman de la Rose, v. 12529.

A Paris n'eust hommes ne femme

Au *parvis* devant Nostre Dame.

The passage is thus translated by Chaucer Rom. R. v. 7137.

Ther n'as no wight in all Paris

Before our Ladie at *Parvis*

The word is supposed to be contracted from Paradise. This perhaps signified an ambulatory. Many of our old religious houses had a place called Paradise. In the year 1200, children were taught to read and sing in the *Parvis* of St. Martin's church at Norwich. Blomf. Norf. ii, 748. Our Sergeant is afterwards said to have received many *fees and robes*, v. 319. The sergeants and all the officers of the superior courts of law, anciently received winter and summer robes from the king's wardrobe. He is likewise said to cite cases and decisions, 'that from the time of king William were full,' v. 326. For this line see Barrington's Observations on the ancient Statutes.

³ v. 309.

And servid us with vitailles of the best :
 Strong was his wine, and wele to drink us lest¹
 A semely man our hoste was withal
 To bene a marshall in a lordis hal.
 A large man was he, with eyin stepe,
 A fayrer burgeis is there none in Chepe².
 Bold of his speche, and wise, and well ytaught,
 And of manhode lakid him right nought.
 And eke thereto he was a merry man, &c³.

Chaucer's scheme of the CANTERBURY TALES was evidently left unfinished. It was intended by our author, that every pilgrim should likewise tell a Tale on their return from Canterbury⁴. A poet who lived soon after the CANTERBURY TALES made their appearance, seems to have designed a supplement to this deficiency, and with this view to have written a Tale called the MARCHAUNT'S SECOND TALE, or the HISTORY OF BERYN. It was first printed by Urry, who supposed it to be Chaucer's⁵. In the Prologue, which is of considerable length, there is some humour and contrivance: in which the author, happily enough, continues to characterise the pilgrims, by imagining what each did, and how each behaved, when they all arrived at Canterbury. After dinner was ordered at their inn, they all proceeded to the cathedral. At entering the church one of the monks sprinkles them with holy water. The knight with the better sort of the company goes in great order to the shrine of Thomas Beckett. The Miller and his companions run staring about the church: they pretend to blazon the arms painted in the glass windows, and enter into a dispute in heraldry: but the Host of the Tabarde reproves them for their improper behaviour and impertinent discourse, and directs them to the martyr's shrine. When all had finished their devotions, they return to the inn. In the way thither they purchase toys for which that city was famous, called *Canterbury brochis*: and here much facetiousness passes betwixt the Frere and the Sompnour, in which the latter vows revenge on the former, for telling a Tale so palpably levelled at his profession, and protests he will retaliate on their return by a more severe story. When dinner is ended, the Hoste of the Tabarde thanks all the company in form for their several Tales. The party then separate till supper-time

¹ 'We liked.'

² Cheapside.

³ Prol. v. 749.

⁴ Or rather, two on their way thither, and two on their return. Only Chaucer himself tells two tales. The poet says, that there were twenty-nine pilgrims in company: but in the CHARACTERS he describes more. Among the TALES which remain, there are none of the Prioress's Chaplains, the Haberdasher, Carpynter, Webbe, Dyer, Tapifer, and Hoste. The Chanons Yeman has a TALE, but no CHARACTER. The Plowman's Tale is certainly supposititious. See *supr.* p. 306. And *Obs. Spens.* ii. 217. It is omitted in the best manuscript of the CANTERBURY TALES, MSS. Harl. 1758. fol. membran. These TALES were supposed to be *spoken*, not *written*. But we have in the Plowman's, 'For my WRITING me allow.' v. 3309. Urr. And in other places. 'For my WRITING if I have blame.'—'Of my WRITING have me excus'd.' etc. See a NOTE at the beginning of the CANT. TALES, MSS. Laud. K. 50. Bibl. Bodl. written by John Barcham. But the discussion of these points properly belongs to an editor of Chaucer.

⁵ Urr. Chauc. p. 595.

by agreement. The Knight goes to survey the walls and bulwarks of the city, and explains to his son the Squier the nature and strength of them. Mention is here made of great guns. The Wife of Bath is too weary to walk far; she proposes to the prioress to divert themselves in the garden, which abounds with herbs proper for making salves. Others wander about the streets. The Pardoner has a low adventure, which ends much to his disgrace. The next morning they proceed on their return to Southwark: and our genial master of the Tabarde, just as they leave Canterbury, by way of putting the company into good humour, begins a panegyric on the morning and the month of April, some lines of which I shall quote, as a specimen of our author's abilities in poetical description¹.

Lo! how the seson of the yere, and Averell² shouris,
Doith³ the busshis burgyn⁴ out blossomes and flouris.
Lo! the prymerosys of the yere, how fresh they bene to sene,
And many othir flouris among the grassis grene.
Lo! how they spring and sprede, and of divers hue,
Beholdith and seith, both white, red, and blue.
That lusty bin and comfortabyll for mannis sight,
For I say for myself it makith my hert to light⁵.

On casting lots, it falls to the Marchaunt to tell the first tale, which then follows. I cannot allow that this prologue and Tale were written by Chaucer. Yet I believe them to be nearly coeval.

SECTION XVIII.

It is not my intention to dedicate a volume to Chaucer, how much soever he may deserve it; nor can it be expected, that, in a work of this general nature, I should enter into a critical examination of all Chaucer's pieces. Enough has been said to prove, that in elevation and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity of versification, he surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion: that his genius was universal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety: that his merit was not less in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the passions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity. In a word, that he appeared with all the lustre and dignity of a true poet, in an age which compelled him to struggle with a barbarous language, and a national want of taste; and when to write verses at all, was regarded as a singular qualification. It is true indeed, that he lived at a time when the French and Italians had made considerable advances and improve-

¹ There is a good description of a magical palace, v. 1973—2076.

³ Make.

⁴ Shoot.

² April.

⁵ v. 690.

ments in poetry : and although proofs have already been occasionally given of his imitations from these sources, I shall close my account of him with a distinct and comprehensive view of the nature of the poetry which subsisted in France and Italy when he wrote : pointing out in the mean time, how far and in what manner the popular models of those nations contributed to form his taste, and influence his genius.

I have already mentioned the troubadours of Provence, and have observed that they were fond of moral and allegorical fables. A taste for this sort of composition they partly acquired by reading Boethius, and the *PSYCHOMACHIA* of Prudentius, two favorite classics of the dark ages ; and partly from the Saracens their neighbours in Spain, who were great inventors of apologues. The French have a very early metrical romance *DE FORTUNE ET DE FELICITE*, a translation from Boethius's book *DE CONSOLATIONE*, by Reynault de Louens a Dominican friar¹. From this source, among many others of the Provençal poems, came the Tournament of *ANTICHRIST* above-mentioned, which contains a combat of the Virtues and Vices : the *Romaunt of Richard de Lisle*, in which *MODESTY* fighting with *LUST*² is thrown into the river Seine at Paris : and, above all, the *ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE*, translated by Chaucer, and already mentioned at large in its proper place. Visions were a branch of this species of poetry, which admitted the most licentious excursions of fancy in forming personifications, and in feigning imaginary beings and ideal habitations. Under these we may rank Chaucer's *HOUSE OF FAME*, which I have before hinted to have been probably the production of Provence³.

¹ Mem. Lit. tom. xviii. p. 741, 4to. And tom. vii. 293, 294: I have before mentioned John of Meun's translation of Boethius. It is in verse. John de Langres is said to have made a translation in prose, about 1336. It is highly probable that Chaucer translated Boethius from some of the French translations. In the Bodleian library there is an *EXPLANATIO* of Boethius's *CONSOLATION* by our countryman Nicholas Trivett, who died before 1329.

² *PUTERIE*. Properly Bawdry, Obscenity. *MODESTY* is drowned in the river, which gives occasion to this conclusion, 'Dont vien que plus n'y a BONTÉ dans Paris.' The author lived about the year 1300.

³ The ingenious editor of the *CANTERBURY TALES* treats the notion, that Chaucer imitated the Provençal poets, as totally void of foundation. He says, 'I have not observed in any of his writings a single phrase or word, which has the least appearance of having been fetched from the South of the Loire. With respect to the manner and matter of his compositions, till some clear instance of imitation be produced, I shall be slow to believe, that in either he ever copied the poets of Provence ; with whose works, I apprehend, he had very little, if any acquaintance.' Vol. i. APPEND. PREF. p. xxxvi. I have advanced the contrary doctrine, at least by implication : and I here beg leave to explain myself on a subject materially affecting the system of criticism that has been formed on Chaucer's works. I have never affirmed, that Chaucer imitated the Provençal bards ; although it is by no means improbable, that he might have known their tales. But as the peculiar nature of the Provençal poetry entered deeply into the substance, cast, and character, of some of those French and Italian models, which he is allowed to have followed, he certainly may be said to have copied, although not immediately, the *matter and manner* of these writers. I have called his *HOUSE OF FAME* originally a Provençal composition. I did not mean that it was written by a Provençal troubadour ; but that Chaucer's original was compounded of the capricious mode of fabling, and that extravagant style of fiction, which constitute the essence of the Provençal poetry. As to the *FLOURE* and *THE LEAFE*, which Dryden pronounces to have been composed *after their manner*, it is framed on the old allegorising spirit of the Provençal writers, refined and disfigured by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century. The ideas of these fablers have been so strongly imbibed, that they continued to operate long after Petrarch had introduced a more rational method of composition.

But the principal subject of their poems, dictated in great measure by the spirit of chivalry, was love : especially among the troubadours of rank and distinction, whose castles being crowded with ladies, presented perpetual scenes of the most splendid gallantry. This passion they spiritualised into various metaphysical refinements, and filled it with abstracted notions of visionary perfection and felicity. Here too they were perhaps influenced by their neighbours the Saracens, whose philosophy chiefly consisted of fantastic abstractions. It is manifest, however, that nothing can exceed the profound pedantry with which they treated this favorite argument. They defined the essence and characteristics of true love with all the parade of a Scotist in his professorial chair : and bewildered their imaginations in speculative questions concerning the most desperate or the most happy situations of a sincere and sentimental heart¹. But it would be endless, and indeed ridiculous, to describe at length the systematical solemnity with which they clothed this passion². The ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE which I have just alleged as a proof of their allegorising turn, is not less an instance of their affectation in writing on this subject : in which the poet, under the agency of allegorical personages, displays the gradual approaches and impediments to fruition, and introduces a regular disputation conducted with much formality between Reason and a Lover. Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE is also formed on this philosophy of gallantry. It is a lover's parody of Boethius's book DE CONSOLATIONE mentioned above. His poem called LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCY³, and his ASSEMBLE OF LADIES, are from the same school⁴. Chaucer's PRIORESSE and MONKE, whose lives were devoted to religious reflection and the most serious engagements, and while they are actually travelling on a pilgrimage to visit the shrine of a sainted martyr, openly avow the universal influence of love. They exhibit, on their apparel, badges entirely inconsistent with their profession, but easily accountable for from these principles. The Prioressse wears a bracelet on

¹ In the mean time the greatest liberties and indecencies were practised and encouraged. These doctrines did not influence the manners of the times. In an old French tale, a countess in the absence of her lord having received a knight into her castle, and conducted him in great state to his repose, will not suffer him to sleep alone : with infinite politeness she orders one of her damsels, *la plus cortoise et la plus bele*, into his bed-chamber, *avec ce chevalier gesir*. Mem. Cheval. ut supr. tom. ii. p. 70. not. 17.

² This infatuation continued among the French down to modern times. 'Les gens de qualite, says the ingenious M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, conservoient encore ce gout que leurs peres avoient pris dans nos anciennes cours : ce fut sans doute pour complaire a son fondateur, que l'Academie Françoise traita, dans ses premiers seances, plusieurs sujets qui concernoient l'AMOUR ; et l'on vit encore dans l'hotel du Longueville les personnes les plus qualifiees et les plus spirituelles du siecle de Louis xiv. se disputer a qui commenterait et raffinerait le mieux sur la delicatesse du cœur et des sentimens, a qui ferait, sur ce chapitre, les distinctions le plus subtiles.' Mem. Cheval. ut supr. tom. ii. P. v. pag. 17.

³ Translated or imitated from a French poem of Alain Chartier, v. 11.

Which Maistr Alayne made of remembrance Chief secretary to the king of France. He was secretary to Charles the sixth and seventh. But he is chiefly famous for his prose.

⁴ So is Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS, as we shall see hereafter.

which is inscribed, with a crowned A, *Amor vincit omnia*¹. The Monke ties his hood with a true-lover's knot². The early poets of Provence, as I before hinted, formed a society called the COURT OF LOVE, which gave rise to others in Gascony, Languedoc, Poictou, and Dauphiny: and Picardy, the constant rival of Provence, had a similar institution called *Plaids et Gieux sous l'Ormel*. These establishments consisted of ladies and gentlemen of the highest rank, exercised and approved in courtesy, who tried with the most consummate ceremony, and decided with supreme authority, cases in love brought before their tribunal. Martial d'Avergne, an old French poet, for the diversion and at the request of the countess of Beaujeu, wrote a poem entitled ARRESTA AMORUM, or the Decrees of Love, which is a humorous description of the *Plaids* of Picardy. Fontenelle has recited one of their processes, which conveys an idea of all the rest³. A queen of France was appealed to from an unjust sentence pronounced in the love-pleas, where the countess of Champagne resided. The queen did not chuse to interpose in a matter of so much consequence, nor to reverse the decrees of a court whose decision was absolute and final. She answered, 'God forbid, that I should presume to contradict "the sentence of the countess of Champagne!" This was about the year 1206. Chaucer has a poem called the COURT OF LOVE, which is nothing more than the Love-court of Provence⁴: it contains the twenty statutes which that court prescribed to be universally observed under the severest penalties⁵. Not long afterwards, on the same principle, a society was established in Languedoc, called the *Fraternity of the Penitents of Love*. Enthusiasm was here carried to as high a pitch of extravagance as ever it was in religion. It was a contention of ladies and gentlemen, who should best sustain the honour of their amorous fanaticism. Their object was to prove the excess of their love, by showing with an invincible fortitude and consistency of conduct, with no less obstinacy of opinion, that they could bear extremes of heat and cold. Accordingly the resolute knights and esquires, the dames and damsels, who had the hardiness to embrace this severe institution, dressed themselves during the heat of summer in the thickest mantles lined with the warmest fur. In this they demon-

¹ v. 162.² v. 197.³ Hist. Theat. Franc. p. 15. tom. iii. Oeuvr. Paris, 1742.⁴ Chaucer's TEN COMMANDMENTS OF LOVE, p. 554. Urr.⁵ Vie de Petrarque, tom. ii. Not. xix. p. 60. Probably the *Cour d'Amour* was the origin of that called *La Cour Amoreuse*, established under the gallant reign of Charles VI. in the year 1410. The latter had the most considerable families of France for its members, and a parade of grand officers, like those in the royal household and courts of law. Hist. Acad. Inscript. Tom. vii. p. 287. seq. 4to. Hist. Langued. tom. iii. p. 25. seq.

The most uniform and unembarrassed view of the establishment and usages of this COURT, which I can at present recollect, is thrown together from scattered and scarce materials by the ingenious author of VIE DE PETRARQUE, tom. ii. p. 45. seq. Not. xix. But for a complete account of these institutions, and other curious particulars relating to the ancient manners and ancient poetry of the French, the public waits with impatience for the history of the Provencal poets written by Mons. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye, who has copied most of their manuscripts with great care and expence.

strated, according to the ancient poets, that love works the most wonderful and extraordinary changes. In winter, their love again perverted the nature of the seasons : they then cloathed themselves in the lightest and thinnest stuffs which could be procured. It was a crime to wear fur on a day of the most piercing cold ; or to appear with a hood, cloak, gloves, or muff. The flame of love kept them sufficiently warm. Fires, all the winter, were utterly banished from their houses ; and they dressed their apartments with evergreens. In the most intense frost their beds were covered only with a piece of canvas. It must be remembered, that in the mean time they passed the greater part of the day abroad ; in wandering about from castle to castle, insomuch, that many of these devotees, during so desperate a pilgrimage, perished by the inclemency of the weather, and died martyrs to their profession¹.

The early universality of the French language greatly contributed to facilitate the circulation of the poetry of the troubadours in other countries. The Frankish language was familiar even at Constantinople and in its dependent provinces in the eleventh century, and long afterwards. Raymond Montaniero, an historian of Catalonia, who wrote about the year 1300, says, that the French tongue was as well known in the Morea and at Athens as in Paris. ‘E parlavan axi belle ‘Francis com dins en Paris?’ The oldest Italian poetry seems to be founded on that of Provence. The word SONNET was adopted from the French into the Italian versification. It occurs in the ROMAN DE LA ROSE, ‘Lais d’amour et SONNETS courtois’². Boccaccio copied many of his best Tales from the troubadours³. Several of Dante’s fictions are

¹ D. Vaisette, Hist. du Languedoc, tom. iv. p. 184.

² Compare p. 145. Note y. Hist. Aragon. c. 261.

³ v. 720.

⁴ Particularly from Rutebeuf and Hebers. Rutebeuf was living in the year 1310. He wrote tales and stories of entertainment in verse. It is certain that Boccaccio took, from this old French minstrel, Nov. x. Giorn. ix. And perhaps two or three others. Hebers lived about the year 1200. He wrote a French romance, in verse, called the *Seven Sages of Greece, or Dolopathos*. He translated it from the Latin of Dom Johans, a monk of the abbey of Haute-selve. It has great variety, and contains several agreeable stories, pleasant adventures, emblems, and proverbs. Boccaccio has taken from it four Tales, viz. Nov. ii. Giorn. iii. Nov. iv. Giorn. vii. Nov. viii. Giorn. viii. And the Tale of the Boy who had never seen a woman, since finely touched by Fontaine. An Italian book called *Erastus* is compiled from this *Roman of the Seven Sages*. It is said to have been first composed by Sandaber the Indian, a writer of proverbs : that it afterwards appeared successively in Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and Greek ; was at length translated into Latin by the monk above-mentioned, and from thence into French by Hebers. It is very probable that the monk translated it from some Greek manuscript of the dark ages, which Huet says was to be found in some libraries. Three hundred years after the *Roman of Hebers*, it was translated into Dutch, and again from the Dutch into Latin. There is an English abridgement of it, which is a story-book for children. See Mem. Lit. Tom. ii. p. 731. 4to. Fauchett, p. 106. 160. Huet, Orig. Fab. Rom. 136. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. x. 339. Massieu, Poes. Fr. p. 137. Crescimben. Volg. Poes. Vol. i. L. v. p. 332. ‘The ground-work of *Dolopathos* is a Greek story-book called *Tyntipas*, often cited by Du Cange, whose copy appears to have been translated from the Syriac. *Gloss. Ned. et Infim. Græciat.—Ind. Auctor.* p. 33. Among the Harleian MSS. is another, which is said to be translated from the Persic. MSS. *Harl.* 5560. Fabricius says, that *Syntipas* was printed at Venice, *lingua vulgari. Bicl. Gr. x.* 515. On the whole, the plan of *Tyntipas* appears to be exactly the same with that of *Les Sept Sages*, the Italian *Erasto*, and our own little story-book the *Seven Wise Masters* : except that, instead of Dioclesian of Rome, the king is called CYRUS of PERSIA ; and, instead of one Tale, each of the Philosophers tells two. The circumstance of Persia is an argument, that *Gyntipas* was originally an oriental composition.

derived from the same fountain. Dante has honoured some of them with a seat in his Paradise¹: and in his tract DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA, has mentioned Thiebault king of Navarre as a pattern for writing poetry². With regard to Dante's capital work the INFERNO, Raoul de Houdane, a Provençal bard about the year 1180, wrote a poem entitled, LE VOYE DU LE SONGE D'ENFER³. Both Boccaccio and Dante studied at Paris, where they much improved their taste by reading the songs of Thiebault king of Navarre, Gaces Brules, Chatelain de Courcy, and other ancient French fabulists⁴. Petrarch's refined ideas of love are chiefly drawn from those amorous reveries of the Provençals which I have above described; heightened perhaps by the Platonic system, and exaggerated by the subtilising spirit of Italian fancy. Varchi and Pignatelli have written professed treatises on the nature of Petrarch's love. But neither they, nor the rest of the Italians who, to this day, continue to debate a point of so much consequence, consider how powerfully Petrarch must have been influenced to talk of love in so peculiar a strain by studying the poets of Provence. His TRIUMFO DI AMORE has much imagery copied from Anselm Fayditt, one of the most celebrated of these bards. He has likewise many imitations from the works of Arnaud Daniel, who is called the most eloquent of the troubadours⁵. Petrarch, in one of his sonnets, represents his mistress Laura sailing on the river Rhone, in company with twelve Provençal ladies, who at that time presided over the COURT OF LOVE⁶.

Pasquier observes, that the Italian poetry arose as the Provençal declined⁷. It is a proof of the decay of invention among the French in the beginning of the fourteenth century, that about that period they began to translate into prose their old metrical romances: such as the fables of king Arthur, of Charlemagne, of Oddegir the Dane, of Renaud of Montauban, and other illustrious champions, whom their early

See what is collected on this curious subject, which is intimately concerned with the history of the invention of the middle ages, by the learned editor of the *Canterbury Tales*, vol. iv. p. 239. There is a translation, as I am informed by the same writer, of this Romance in octosyllable verse, probably not later than the age of Chaucer. MSS. *Cotton. Galb. E. ix.* It is entitled 'The Process of the seven Sages,' and agrees entirely with *Les sept sages de Romo* in French prose. MSS. *Harle. 3860.* MSS. C. C. Coll. Oxon. 252. in membran. 4to. The Latin book, called *Historia septem Sapientum Romæ*, is not a very scarce manuscript: it was printed before 1500. I think there are two old editions of More's books at Cambridge. Particularly one printed in 4to at Paris, in 1493. Many of the old French minstrels deal much in tales and novels of humour and amusement, like those of Boccaccio's Decameron. They call them *Fabliaux*.

¹ Compare Crescimben. Volg. Poes. L. i. c. xiv. p. 162.

² And Commed. Infern. cant. xxii.

³ Fauch. Rec. p. 96.

⁴ Fauchett, Rec. p. 47. 116. And Huet, Rom. p. 121. 108.

⁵ He lived about 1189. Recherche. Par. Beauchamps, p. 5. Nostradamus asserts, that Petrarch stole many things from a troubadour called Richard seigneur de Barbezeiuz, who is placed under 1383. Petrarch, however, was dead at that time.

⁶ Sonnet. clxxxviii. Dodici Donne, &c. The academicians della Crusca, in their Dictionary, quote a manuscript entitled, LIBRO D'AMORE of the year 1408. It is also referred to by Crescimbeni in his Lives of the Provençal poets. It contains verdicts or determinations in the Court of Love.

⁷ Pasq. Les Recherch. de la France. vii. 5. p. 609. 611. edit. 1633. fol.

writers had celebrated in rhyme¹. At length, about the year 1380, in the place of the Provençal, a new species of poetry succeeded in France, consisting of Chants Royaux², Balades, Rondeaux, and Pastorales³. This was distinguished by the appellation of the NEW POETRY: and Froissart, who has been mentioned above chiefly in the character of an historian, cultivated it with so much success, that he has been called its author. The titles of Froissart's poetical pieces will alone serve to illustrate the nature of this NEW POETRY: but they prove, at the same time, that the Provençal cast of composition still continued to prevail. They are, *The Paradise of Love, a Panegyric on the Month of May, the Temple of Honour, the Flower of the Daisy, Amorous Lays, Pastorals, the Amorous Prison, Royal Ballads in honour of our Lady, the Ditty of the Amorous Spinnett, Virelais, Rondeaux, and the Plca of the Rose and Violet*⁴. Whoever examines Chaucer's smaller pieces will perceive that they are altogether formed on this plan, and often compounded of these ideas. Chaucer himself declares, that he wrote

—Many an hymme for your holidiaies
⁵That hightin balades, rondils, virelaies⁶.

But above all, Chaucer's FLOURE AND THE LEAFE, in which an air of rural description predominates, and where the allegory is principally

¹ These translations, in which the originals were much enlarged, produced an infinite number of other romances in prose: and the old metrical romances soon became unfashionable and neglected. The romance of PERCEFORREST, one of the largest of the French romances of chivalry, was written in verse about 1220. It was not till many years afterwards translated into prose. M. Falconet, an ingenious enquirer into the early literature of France, is of opinion, that the most ancient romances, such as that of the ROUND TABLE, were first written in Latin prose: it being well known that Turpin's CHARLEMAGNE, as it is now extant, was originally composed in that language. He thinks they were translated into French rhymes, and at last into French prose, *tels que nous les avons aujourd'hui*. Hist. Acad. Inscript. vii. 293. But part of this doctrine may be justly doubted.

² With regard to the *Chaunt royal*, Pasquier describes it to be a song in honour of God, the holy Virgin, or any other argument of dignity, especially if joined with distress. It was written in heroic stanzas, and closed with a *l'Envoi*, or stanza containing a recapitulation, dedication, or the like. Chaucer calls the *Chant royal* above-mentioned, a *Kyngis Note*. Mill. T. v. iii. p. 25. His *Complaint of Venus, Cuckow, and Nightingale*, and *La belle Dame sans Nercy*. Have all a *l'Envoi*, and belong to this species of French verse. His *l'Envoi* to the *Complaint of Venus*, or *Mars and Venus*, ends with these line, v. 79.

And eke to me it is a grete penaunce,
 To follow word by word the curiosite

Sith rime in English hath soche scarcite,
 Of gransonflour of them that *make* in Fraunce.

Make signifies to *write* poetry; and here we see that this poem was translated from the French. See also *Chaucer's Dreame*, v. 2204. Petrarch has the *Envoi*. I am inclined to think, that Chaucer's *Assemble of Fowles* was partly planned in imitation of a French poem written by Gace de la Vigne, Chaucer's cotemporary, entitled, *Roman d'Oiseaux*, which treats of the nature, properties, and management of all birds *de chasse*. But this is merely a conjecture, for I have never seen the French poem. At least there is an evident similitude of subject.

³ About this time, a Prior of St. Genevieve at Paris wrote a small treatise entitled, *L'Art de Dictier BALLADES, ET RONDELLES*. Mons. Beauchamp's Rech. Theatr. p. 88. M. Massieu says this is the first ART OF POETRY printed in France. Hist. Poes. Fr. p. 222. *L'ART POETIQUE* du Jaques Pelloutier du Mons. Lyon, 555. 8vo. Liv. ii. ch. i. Du *L'ODE*.

⁴ Pasquier, ubi supr. p. 612. Who calls such pieces MIGNARDISES.

⁵ Here is an elleipsis. He means, *And poems*.

⁶ Prol. Leg. G. W. v. 422. He mentions this sort of poetry in the *Frankleins Tale*, v. 2493. p. 109 Urr.

Of which matere [love] madin he many layes,
 Songis, Complaingtis, Roundils, Virelayes.

Compare Chaucer's DREME, v. 973. In the FLOURE AND LEAFE we have the words of a French Roundeau, v. 177.

conducted by mysterious allusions to the virtues or beauties of the vegetable world, to flowers and plants, exclusive of its general romantic and allegoric vein, bears a strong resemblance to some of these subjects. The poet is happily placed in a delicious arbour, interwoven with eglantine. Imaginary troops of knights and ladies advance: some of the ladies are crowned with flowers, and others with chaplets of agnus castus, and these are respectively subject to a *Lady of the Flower, and a Lady of the Leaf*¹. Some are cloathed in green, and others in white. Many of the knights are distinguished in much the same manner. But others are crowned with leaves of oak, or of other trees: others carry branches of oak, laurel, hawthorn, and woodbine². Besides this profusion of vernal ornaments, the whole procession glitters with gold, pearls, rubies, and other costly decorations. They are preceded by minstrels cloathed in green and crowned with flowers. One of the ladies sings a bargaret, or pastoral in praise of the daisy.

A ³bargaret in praising the daisie,
For as methought among her notis swete
She said *si douce est le margaruite*⁴.

This might have been Froissart's song: at least this is one of his subjects. In the meantime a nightingale, seated in a laurel-tree, whose shade would cover an hundred persons, sings the whole service, 'longing to May.' Some of the knights and ladies do obeysance to the leaf, and some to the flower of the daisy. Others are represented as worshipping a bed of flowers. Flora is introduced 'of these flouris goddesse.' The lady of the leaf invites the lady of the flower to a banquet. Under these symbols is much morality couched. The leaf signifies perseverance and virtue: the flower denotes indolence and pleasure. Among those who are crowned with the leaf, are the knight's of king Arthur's round table, and Charlemagne's Twelve Peers: together with the knights of the order of the garter now just established by Edward III.

¹ In a decision of the COURT of LOVE cited by Fontenelle, the judge is call *Le Marquis des fleurs et violettes*. Font. ubi. supr. p. 15.

² v. 270.

³ Rather *Bergerette*, A Song du Berger, of a shepherd.

⁴ v. 350. A panegyric on this flower is again introduced in the Prologue to the *Leg. of G. Wom.* v. 180.

The long daie I shope me for to abide
But for to lokin upon the daisie.

The *Daisie*, or els the eye of the daie :

For nothing ellis, and I shall not lie
That wel by reason men it calle maie

The emprise, and the floure, of flouris al, &c.

Speght supposes that he means to pay a compliment to Lady Margaret, countess of Pembroke, king Edward's daughter, one of his patronesses. See the *Balade* beginning *In Fevreire*, &c. p. 556, Urr. v. 688. Froissart's song in *praise of the daisy* might have the same tendency: for he was patronised both by Edward and Philippa. *Margaruite* is French for *Daisy*. Chaucer perhaps intends the same compliment by the '*Margarite perle*,' *Test. Love*, p. 483, col. 1, &c. Urr. *Prol. Leg. G. Wom.* v. 218. 224. That Prologue has many images like those in the *Flower and the Leaf*. It was evidently written after that poem. See *Le dit de la fleur de lis et de la Marguerite*, by Guillaume Machaut, ACAD. INSCRIPT. xx. p. 381, x. 669. infr. citat. On the whole, it may be doubted whether, either Froissart, or Chaucer, means Margaret, countess of Pembroke. For compare APPEND. PREF. CANTERB. TALES, vol. i, p. xxxiv. I add, that in the year 1547, the poetical pieces of Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, were collected and published under the title of *MARGUERITE de lu Marguerites des Princesses, tres illustre Royn ede Navarre*, by John de la Haye, her valet de chambre. It was common in France, to give the title of MARGUERITES to studied panegyrics, and flowery compositions of every kind, both in prose and verse.

⁵ v. 516, 517, 519

But these fancies seem more immediately to have taken their rise from the FLORAL GAMES instituted in France in the year 1324¹, which filled the French poetry with images of this sort². They were founded by Clementina Isaure countess of Tholouse, and annually celebrated in the month of May. She published an edict, which assembled all the poets of France in artificial arbours dressed with flowers: and he that produced the best poem was rewarded with a violet of gold. There were likewise inferior prizes of flowers made in silver. In the meantime the conquerors were crowned with natural chaplets of their own respective flowers. During the ceremony, degrees were also conferred. He who had won a prize three times was created a doctor *en gaye Science*, the name of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours. The instrument of creation was in verse³. This institution, however fantastic, soon became common through the whole kingdom of France: and these romantic rewards, distributed with the most impartial attention to merit, at least infused an useful emulation, and in some measure revived the languishing genius of the French poetry.

The French and Italian poets, whom Chaucer imitates, abound in allegorical personages: and it is remarkable, that the early poets of Greece and Rome were fond of these creations. Homer has given us STRIFE, CONTENTION, FEAR, TERROR, TUMULTS, DESIRE, PERSUASION, and BENEVOLENCE. We have in Hesiod, DARKNESS, and many others, if the shield of Hercules be of his hand. COMUS occurs in the Agamemnon of Eschylus; and in the Prometheus of the same poet, STRENGTH and FORCE are two persons of the drama, and perform the capital parts. The fragments of Ennius indicate, that his poetry consisted much of personifications. He says, that in one of the Carthaginian wars, the gigantic image of SORROW appeared in every place: 'Omnibus endo locis ingens apparet imago TRISTITIAS.' Lucretius has drawn the great and terrible figure of SUPERSTITION, 'Quæ caput e cœli regionibus ostendebat.' He also mentions, in a beautiful procession of the Seasons, CALOR ARIDUS, HYEMS, and ALGUS. He introduces MEDICINE *muttering with silent fear*, in the midst of the deadly pestilence at Athens. It seems to have escaped the many critics who have written on Milton's noble but romantic allegory of SIN and DEATH, that he took the person of Death from the Alcestis of his favorite tragedian Euripides, where ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ is a principal agent in the drama. As knowledge and learning increase, poetry begins to deal less in imagination: and these fantastic beings give way to real manners and living characters.

¹ Mem. Lit. tom. vii. p. 422. 4to.

² Hence Froissart in the EPINETTE AMOUREUSE, describing his romantic amusements, says he was delighted with

Violettes en leur saisons

Et roses blanches et vermeilles, &c

See Mem. Lit. tom. x. p. 665, 287, 4to.

³ Recherches sur les poètes couronnés. Mem. Lit. tom. x. p. 567. 4to.

SECTION XIX.

IF Chaucer had not existed, the compositions of John Gower, the next poet in succession, would alone have been sufficient to rescue the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. from the imputation of barbarism. His education was liberal and uncircumscribed, his course of reading extensive, and he tempered his severer studies with a knowledge of life. By a critical cultivation of his native language, he laboured to reform its irregularities, and to establish an English style. In these respects he resembled his friend and cotemporary Chaucer¹: but he participated no considerable portion of Chaucer's spirit, imagination, and elegance. His language is tolerably perspicuous, and his versification often harmonious: but his poetry is of a grave and sententious turn. He has much good sense, solid reflection, and useful observation. But he is serious and didactic on all occasions: he preserves the tone of the scholar and the moralist on the most lively topics. For this reason he seems to have been characterised by Chaucer with the appellation of the MORALL Gower². But his talent is not confined to English verse only. He wrote also in Latin; and copied Ovid's elegiacs with some degree of purity, and with fewer false quantities and corrupt phrases, than any of our countrymen had yet exhibited since the twelfth century.

Gower's capital work, consisting of three parts, only the last of which properly furnishes matter for our present enquiry, is entitled SPECULUM MEDITANTIS, VOX CLAMANTIS, CONFESSIO AMANTIS. It was finished, at least the third part, in the year 1393³. The SPECULUM MEDITANTIS, or the *Mirroure of Meditation*, is written in French rhymes, in ten books⁴. This tract, which was never printed, displays the general nature of virtue and vice, enumerates the felicities of conjugal fidelity by examples selected from various authors, and describes the path which the reprobate ought to pursue for the recovery of the divine grace. The VOX CLAMANTIS, or the *Voice of one crying in the Wilderness*, which was also never printed, contains seven books of Latin elegiacs. This work is chiefly historical, and is little more than a metrical chronicle of the insurrection of the commons in the reign of Richard II. The best and most beautiful manuscript of it is in the library of All Souls college at Oxford; with a dedication in Latin verse,

¹ It is certain that they both lived and wrote together. But I have considered Chaucer first, among other reasons hereafter given, as Gower survived him. Chaucer died Oct. 25, 1400, aged 72 years. Gower died, 1402.

² Troil. Cress. ad calc. pag. 333, edit. Urr. ut supr.

³ CONFESS. AMANT. Prol. 1, a. col. 1. Imprinted at London, in Flete-strete, by Thomas Berthelette, the xii. daie of March, ann. 1554. This edition is here always cited.

⁴ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. NE. F. 8. 9. And MSS. Fairf. 3.

addressed by the author, when he was old and blind, to archbishop Arundel¹. The *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, or the *Lover's Confession*, is an English poem, in eight books, first printed by Caxton in the year 1483. It was written at the command of Richard the second; who meeting our poet Gower rowing on the Thames near London, invited him into the royal barge, and after much conversation requested him to *book some new thing*².

This tripartite work is represented by three volumes on Gower's curious tomb in the conventual church of Saint Mary Overee in Southwark, now remaining in its ancient state; and this circumstance furnishes me with an obvious opportunity of adding an anecdote relating to our poet's munificence and piety, which ought not to be omitted. Although a poet, he largely contributed to rebuild that church in its present elegant form, and to render it a beautiful pattern of the lighter Gothic architecture: at the same time he founded, at his tomb, a perpetual chantry.

It is on the last of these pieces, the *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*, that Gower's character and reputation as a poet are almost entirely founded. This poem, which bears no immediate reference to the other two divisions, is a dialogue between a lover and his confessor, who is a priest of Venus, and, like the mystagogue in the *PICTURE* of Cebes, is called Genius. Here, as if it had been impossible for a lover not to be a good catholic, the ritual of religion is applied to the tender passion, and Ovid's *Art of Love* is blended with the breviary. In the course of the confession, every evil affection of the human heart, which may tend to impede the progress or counteract the success of love, is scientifically subdivided; and its fatal effects exemplified by a variety of apposite stories, extracted from classics and chronicles. The poet often introduces or recapitulates his matter in a few couplets of Latin long and short verses. This was in imitation of Boethius.

This poem is strongly tinged with those pedantic affectations concerning the passion of love, which the French and Italian poets of the fourteenth century borrowed from the troubadours of Provence, and which I have above examined at large. But the writer's particular model appears more immediately to have been John of Meun's celebrated *ROMAUNT DE LA ROSE*. He has, however, seldom attempted to imitate the picturesque imageries, and expressive personifications, of that exquisite allegory. His most striking pourtraits, which yet are conceived with no powers of creation, nor delineated with any fertility of fancy, are *IDLENESS*, *AVARICE*, *MICHERIE* or *Thieving*, and *NEG-*

¹ MSS. Num. 26. It occurs more than once in the Bodleian library: and, I believe, often in private hands. There is a fine MSS. of it in the British Museum. It was written in the year 1397, as appears by the following line, MSS. Bodl. 294.

Hos ego BIS DENO Ricardi regis in anno.

² To THE REDEK, in Berthlette's edition. From the PROLOGUE.

LIGENCE, the secretary of SLOTH¹. Instead of boldly cloathing these qualities with corporeal attributes, aptly and poetically imagined, he coldly yet sensibly describes their operations, and enumerates their properties. What Gower wanted in invention, he supplied from his common-place book; which appears to have been stored with an inexhaustible fund of instructive maxims, pleasant narrations, and philosophical definitions. It seems to have been his object to crowd all his erudition into this elaborate performance. Yet there is often some degree of contrivance and art in his manner of introducing and adapting subjects of a very distant nature, and which are totally foreign to his general design.

In the fourth book, our confessor turns chemist; and discoursing at large on the Hermetic science, developes its principles, and exposes its abuses, with great penetration². He delivers the doctrines concerning the vegetable, mineral, and animal stones, to which Falstaffe alludes in Shakespeare³, with amazing accuracy and perspicuity⁴; although this doctrine was adopted from systems then in vogue, as we shall see below. In another place he applies the Argonautic expedition in search of the golden fleece, which he relates at length, to the same visionary philosophy⁵. Gower very probably conducted his associate Chaucer into these profound mysteries, which had been just opened to our countrymen by the books of Roger Bacon⁶.

In the seventh book, the whole circle of the Aristotelian philosophy is

¹ Lib. iv. f. 62, a. col. i. Lib. v. f. 94, a. col. i. Lib. iv. f. 68, a. col. i. Lib. v. f. 119, a. col. 2.

² Lib. iv. f. 76, b. col. 2.

³ Falstaffe mentions a philosopher's or chemist's *two stones*. P. Hen. iv. Act iii. Sc. 2. Our author abundantly confirms doctor Warburton's explication of this passage, which the rest of the commentators do not seem to have understood. See Ashm. Theat. Chemic. p. 484, edit. Lond. 1652, 4to. The nations bordering upon the Jews, attributed the miraculous events of that people, to those external means and material instruments, such as symbols, ceremonies, and other visible signs or circumstances, which by God's special appointment, under their mysterious dispensation, they were directed to use. Among the observations which the oriental Gentiles made on the history of the Jews, they found that the Divine will was to be known by certain appearances in precious stones. The Magi of the east, believing that the preternatural discoveries obtained by means of the Urim and Thummim, a contexture of gems in the breast-plate of the Mosaic priests, were owing to some virtue inherent in those stones, adopted the knowledge of the occult properties of gems as a branch of their magical system. Hence it became the peculiar profession of one class of their Sages, to investigate and interpret the various shades and coruscations, and to explain, to a moral purpose, the different colours, the dews, clouds, and imageries, which gems, differently exposed to the sun, moon, stars, fire, or air, at particular seasons, and inspected by persons particularly qualified, were seen to exhibit. This notion being once established, a thousand extravagancies arose, of healing diseases, of procuring victory, and of seeing future events, by means of precious stones and other lucid substances. Plin. NAT. HIST. xxxvii. 9, 10. These superstitions were soon ingrafted into the Arabian philosophy, from which they were propagated all over Europe, and continued to operate even so late as the visionary experiments of Dee and Kelly¹. It is not in the mean time at all improbable, that the Druidical doctrines concerning the virtues of stones were derived from these lessons of the Magi: and they are still to be traced among the traditions of the vulgar, in those parts of Britain and Ireland, where Druidism retained its latest establishments. Martin's WESTERN. ISLES, p. 167, 225. Aubrey's MISCELL. p. 128. Lond. 8vo.

⁴ Ibid. f. 77, a. col. i.

⁵ Lib. v. f. 101, a. seq.

⁶ See supr. vol. i, p. 425.

¹ When Richard I., in 1191, took the isle of Cyprus, he is said to have found the castles filled with rich furniture of gold and silver, 'necnon lapidibus pretiosis, et plurimam virtutum habentibus.' G. VINES. ITER. HIEROSOL. cap. xli. p. 328. Hist. Anglic. SCRIPT. vol. ii. Oxon. 1667.

explained ; which our lover is desirous to learn, supposing that the importance and variety of its speculations might conduce to sooth his anxieties by diverting and engaging his attention. Such a discussion was not very likely to afford him much consolation : especially, as hardly a single ornamental digression is admitted, to decorate a field naturally so destitute of flowers. Almost the only one is the following description of the chariot and crown of the sun ; in which the Arabian ideas concerning precious stones are interwoven with Ovid's fictions and the classical mythology.

Of golde glistrende¹, spoke and whele,
 The Sonne his Carte² hath faire and wele ;
 In which he sit, and is croned With bright stones environed :
 Of which, if that I speke shall There be³ tofore, inspeciall⁴,
 Set in the front of his corone, Thre stones, which no persone
 Hath upon erth : and the first is By name cleped Leucachatis ;
 That other two cleped thus Astroites and Ceraunus,
 In his corone ; and also byhynde, By olde bokes, as I fynd,—
 There ben of worthy stones three,
 Set eche of hem in his degree ;
 Whereof a Christelle is that one, Which that corone is sett upon :
 The second is an Adamant : The third is noble and avenant⁵,
 Which cleped is Idriades— And over this yet natheless⁶,
 Upon the sidis of the werke, After the writynge of the clerke⁷,
 There sitten five stones mo⁸, The Smaragdine is one of tho⁹,
 Jaspis, and Helitropius, And Vandides, and Jacinctus.
 Lo ! thus the corone is beset, Whereof it shineth wel the bet¹⁰.
 And in such wise, his light to sprede,
 Sit, with his diademe on heade,
 The Sonne, shinende in his carte :
 And for to lead him swithe¹¹ and smarte,
 After the bright daies lawe,
 There ben ordained for to drawe
 Four hors his chare, and him withall,
 Whereoff the names tell I shall :
 Eritheus the first is hote¹²,
 The whiche is redde, and shineth hote ;
 The second Acteos the bright, Lampes the third courser hight,
 And Philogeus is the ferth¹³, That bringen light unto this erth
 And gone so swift upon the heven, &c¹⁴.

Our author closes this course of the Aristotelian philosophy with a system of politics¹⁵ : not taken from Aristotle's genuine treatise on that subject, but from the first chapter of a spurious compilation entitled, SECRETUM SECRETORUM ARISTOTELIS, addressed under the name

¹ Glittering.

⁵ Beautiful.

⁹ Them.

¹³ Fourth.

² Chariot.

⁶ Still farther.

¹⁰ Much better.

¹⁴ Lib. vii. f. 145, b. col. 1, 2.

³ Before.

⁷ The philosopher.

¹¹ Swift.

⁴ Above all.

⁸ More.

¹² Named.

¹⁵ Lib. vii. f. 151. a.

Aristotle to his pupil Alexander the Great, and printed at Bonnonia in 1516. A work, treated as genuine, and explained with a learned gloss, by Roger Bacon¹: and of the highest reputation in Gower's age, as it was transcribed, and illustrated with a commentary, for the use of king Edward III., by his chaplain Walter de Millemete, prebendary of the collegiate church of Glaseney in Cornwall². Under this head, our author takes an opportunity of giving advice to a weak yet amiable prince, his patron Richard II., on a subject of the most difficult and delicate nature, with much freedom and dignity. It might also be proved, that Gower, through his detail of the sciences, copied in many other articles the SECRETUM SECRETORUM; which is a sort of an abridgment of the Aristotelian philosophy, filled with many Arabian innovations and absurdities, and enriched with an appendix concerning the choice of wines, phlebotomy, justice, public notaries, tournaments, and physiognomy, rather than from the Latin translations of Aristotle. It is evident, that he copied from this work the doctrine of the three chemical stones, mentioned above³. That part of our author's astrology, in which he speaks of the magician Nectabanus instructing Alexander the Great, when a youth, in the knowledge of the fifteen stars, and their respective plants and precious stones, appropriated to the operations of natural magic⁴, seems to be borrowed from Callisthenes, the fabulous writer of the life of Alexander⁵. Yet many wonderful inventions, which occur in this romance of Alexander, are also to be found in the SECRETUM SECRETORUM: particularly the fiction of Alexander's Stentorian horn, mentioned above, which was heard at the distance of sixty miles, and of which Kircher has given a curious representation in his PHONURGIA, copied from an ancient picture of this gigantic instrument, belonging to a manuscript of SECRETUM SECRETORUM, preserved in the Vatican Library⁶.

It is pretended by the mystic writers, that Aristotle in his old age reviewed his books, and digested his philosophy into one system or body, which he sent, in the form of an epistle, to Alexander. This is the supposititious tract of which I have been speaking: and it is thus described by Lydgate, who has translated a part of it.

¹ Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i, p. 15, col. 1.

² Tanner Bibl. p. 527. It is cited by Bradwardine, a famous English theologian, in his grand work de CAUSA DEI. He died 1349.

³ There is an Epistle under the name of Alexander the Great, *De Lapide Philosophorum*, among the SCRIPTORES CHIMICI *artis auriferæ*, Basil. 1593, tom. i. And edit. 1610. See below, Note⁵.

I have mentioned a Latin romance of Alexander's life, as printed by Frederick Corsellis, about 1468, supr. vol. i. p. 131. On examination, that impression is said to be finished Dec. 17, 1468. Unluckily, Dec. 17 was a Sunday that year. A manifest proof that the name of Corsellis was forged.

⁴ Lib. vii. f. 148, a. seq.

⁵ Or from fictitious books attributed to Alexander the Great, *De septem Herbis septem Planetarum*, &c. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. tom. ii. p. 206. Callisthenes is mentioned twice in this poem, Lib. vii. f. 139, b. col. 2. And vi. f. 139, b. col. 2. Callisthenes and Alexander, in Lydgate's FALL OF PRINCES, B. iv. ch. i. seq. fol. 99, ed. ut infr.

⁶ Pag. 140. SECRETUM SECRETORUM, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. D. i. 5. Cap. penult. lib. 5.

Title of this boke LAPIS PHILOSOPHORUM,
 Namyd also DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM,
 Of philosophres SECRETUM SECRETORUM.—
 The which booke direct to the kyng
 Alisaundre, both in the werre and pees¹,
 Lyke² his request and royall commanding,
 Fulle accomplished by *Aristotiles*.
 Feeble of age

Then follows a rubric 'How Aristotile declareth to kynge Alysandre of the stonys³. It was early translated into French prose⁴, and printed in English, 'The SECRET OF ARISTOTYLE, with the GOVERNABLE OF PRINCES and every maner of estate, with rules for helth of body and soul, very gode to teche children to rede English, newly translated out of French, and emprented by Robert and William Copland, 1528⁵.' This work will occur again under Occleve and Lidgate. There is also another forgery consecrated with the name of Aristotle, and often quoted by the astrologers, which Gower might have used: it is DE REGIMINIBUS COELLESSTIBUS, which had been early translated from Arabic into Latin⁶.

Considered in a general view, the CONFESSIO AMANTIS may be pronounced to be no unpleasing miscellany of those shorter tales which delighted the readers of the middle age. Most of these are now forgotten, together with the voluminous chronicles in which they were recorded. The book which appears to have accommodated our author with the largest quantity of materials in this article, was probably a chronicle entitled PANTHEON, or MEMORIÆ SECLORUM, compiled in Latin, partly in prose and partly in verse, by Godfrey of Viterbo, a chaplain and notary to three German emperours, who died in the year 1190⁷. It commences, according to the established practice of the historians of this age, with the creation of the world, and is brought down to the year 1186. It was first printed at Basil, in the year 1569⁸. Muratori has not scrupled to insert the five last sections of this universal history in the seventh tome of his writers on Italy⁹.

¹ Peace.

² According to.

³ MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Laud. B. 24. K. 53. Part of this MSS. is printed by Ashmole, THEATR. CHEMIC. ut supr. p. 397. Julius Bartolocc. tom. i. Bibl. Rabbinc. p. 475. And Joann. a Lent, Theol. Judaic. p. 6.

⁴ Mem. de Litt. tom. xvii. p. 737. 4to.

⁵ Octavo. A work called Aristotle's POLITIQUES, or DISCOURSES OF GOVERNMENT, from the French of Louis le Roy, printed by Adam Islip, in folio, in the year 1527, and dedicated to sir Robert Sidney, is Aristotle's genuine work. In Gresham college library there is 'Alexandri M. Epistolæ ad preceptorem Aristotelem, Anglice factæ.' MSS. 52. But I believe it is Occleve's or Lydgate's poem on the subject, hereafter mentioned.

⁶ Hotting. Bibl. Orient. p. 255. See Pic. Mirandulan. contra Astrolog. lib. i. p. 284.

⁷ Jacob. Quetif. i. p. 740.

⁸ In folio. Again, among Scriptor. de Reb. Germanicis, by Pistorius. Francof. fol. 1584. And Hanov. 1613. Lastly in a new edit. of Pistorius's collection by Struvius, Ratisbon. 1726, fol. There is a chronicle, I believe sometimes confounded with Goefrey's PANTHEON, called the PANTALEONE, from the creation to the year 1162, about which time it was compiled by the Benedictine monks of St. Pantaleon at Cologne, printed by Eccard, with a German translation, in the first volume of SCRIPTORES MEDIÆVI, p. 683, 945. It was continued to the year 1237, by Godfridus, a Pantaleonist monk. This continuation, which has considerable merit as a history, is extant in Freherus, Rer. Germanicar. tom. i. edit. Struvian. 335.

⁹ P. 346.

The subject of this work, to use the laborious compiler's own expressions, is the whole Old and New Testament ; and all the emperours and kings, which have existed from the beginning of the world to his own times : of whom the origin, end, names, and achievements, are commemorated¹. The authors which our chronicler professes to have consulted for the gentle story, are only Josephus, Dion Cassius, Strabo, Orosius, Hegesippus, Suetonius, Solinus, and Julius Africanus : among which, not one of the purer Roman historians occur. Gower also seems to have used another chronicle written by the same Godfrey, never printed, called SPECULUM REGUM, or the MIRROR OF KING'S which is almost as multifarious as the last ; containing a genealogy of all the potentates, Trojan and German, from Noah's flood to the reign of the emperour Henry VI., according to the chronicles of the venerable Bede, Eusebius, and Ambrosius². There are besides, two ancient collectors of marvellous and delectable occurrences to which our author is indebted, Cassiodorus and Isidorus. These are mentioned as two of the chroniclers which Caxton used in compiling his CRONICLES OF ENGLAND³. Cassiodorus⁴ wrote, at the command of the Gothic king Theodoric, a work named CHRONICON BREVE, commencing with our first parents, and deduced to the year 519 chiefly deduced from Eusebius's ecclesiastic history, the chronicles of Prosper and Jerom, and Aurelius Victor's Origin of the Roman nation.⁵ An Italian translation by Lodovico Dolce was printed in 1561⁶. Isidorus, called Hispalensis cited by Davie and Chaucer⁷, in the seventh century, framed from the same author a CRONICON, from Adam to the time of the Emperour Heraclius, first printed in the year 1477, and translated into Italian under the title of CRONICON D' ISIDORA, so soon after as the year 1480⁸.

These comprehensive systems of all sacred and profane events, which in the middle ages multiplied to an excessive degree, superseded the use of the classics and other established authors, whose materials they gave in a commodious abridgement, and in whose place, by selecting those stories only which suited the taste of the times, they substituted a more agreeable kind of reading : nor was it by these means

¹ In Proem.

² Lambecc. ii. 274.

³ Bale, apud Lewis's CAXTON, p. xvii. post pref. And in the prologue to the FRUCTUS TEMPORUM, printed at St. Alban's in 1483, one of the authors is Cassiodorus of the acts of emperours and bishopps.

⁴ CONFESSIO AMANTIS lib. vii. f. 156, b. col. i. And our author to king Henry, Urry's Ch. p. 542, v. 330.

⁵ It has often been printed. See OPERA Cassiodori, duobus tomis, Rothomag. 1679, fol.

⁶ Compendio di Sesto Ruffo, con la CRONICA DI CASSIODORO, de Fatti de Romani, &c. In Venezia, per il Giolto, 1651, 4to.

⁷ Stampata nel Friuli. It is sometimes called *Chronica* DE SEX MUNDI ÆTATIBUS, IMAGO MUNDI, and ABBREVIATIO TEMPORUM. It was continued by Isidorus Pacensis from 610 to 754. This continuation was printed in 1634, fol. Pampelon. Under the title of 'Epitome Imperatorum vel Arabum Ephemeridos una cum Hispaniæ Chronico.'

⁸ Isidore has likewise left a history or chronicle of the Goths, copied also by our author, from the year 176, to the death of king Sisebut in the year 628. It was early printed. Grotius's COLLECTIO RERUM GOTHICARUM, p. 707. Amst. 1655, 8vo.

only, that they greatly contributed to retard the acquisition of those ornaments of style, and other arts of composition, which an attention to the genuine models would have afforded, but by being written without any ideas of elegance, and in the most barbarous phraseology. Yet productive as they were of these and other inconvenient consequences, they were not without their use in the rude periods of literature. By gradually weaning the minds of readers from monkish legends, they introduced a relish for real and rational history; and kindling an ardour of inquiring into the transactions of past ages, at length awakened a curiosity to obtain a more accurate and authentic knowledge of important events by searching the original authors. Nor are they to be entirely neglected in modern and more polished ages. For, besides that they contain curious pictures of the credulity and ignorance of our ancestors, they frequently preserve facts transcribed from books which have not descended to posterity. It is extremely probable, that the plan on which they are all constructed, that of deducing a perpetual history from the creation to the writer's age, had been partly taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and partly from the Bible.

In the meantime there are three histories of a less general nature, which Gower seems more immediately to have followed in some of his tales. These are Colonna's Romance of Troy, the Romance of Sir Lancelot, and the *GESTA ROMANORUM*.

From Colonna's Romance, which he calls *The Tale of Troie*, *The Boke of Troie*¹, and sometimes *The Cronike*², he has taken all that relates to the Trojan and Grecian story, or, in Milton's language, THE TALE OF TROY DIVINE. This piece was first printed at Cologne in the year 1477³. At Colonia an Italian translation appeared in the same year, and one at Venice in 1481. It was translated into Italian so early as 1324, by Philipp Ceffi a Florentine⁴. By some writers it is

¹ Of Palamedes and Nauplius, 'The boke of Troie whoso rede.' Lib. ii. fol. 52, b. col. 2. The story of Jason and Medea, 'whereof the tale in speciall is in the boke of Troie writte.' Lib. v. fol. 101, a. col. 2. Of the Syrens seen by Ulysses, 'which in the tale of Troie I finde.' Lib. i. f. 10, b. col. 1. Of the eloquence of Ulysses, 'As in the boke of Troie is funde.' Lib. vii. f. 150, a. col. 1, &c. &c.

² In the story of the Theban chief Capaneus, 'This knight as the CRONIQUE seine.' Lib. 1, f. 18, b. col. 2. Of Achilles and Teucer, 'In a CRONIQUE I fynde thus.' Lib. iii. fol. 62, a. col. 1. Of Peleus and Phocus, 'As the CRONIQUE seithe,' Lib. iii. f. 61, b. col. 1. Of Ulysses and Penelope, 'In a CRONIQUE I find writte.' Lib. iv. f. 63, b. col. 2. He mentions also the CRONIQUE for tales of other nations. 'In the CRONIQUE as I finde, Cham was he which first the letters fonde, and wrote in Hebrew with his honde, of natural philosophie.' Lib. iv. fol. 76, a. col. 1. For Darius's four questions, Lib. vii. fol. 151, b. col. 1. For Perillus's brazen bull. f. &c. &c.

³ In quarto. HISTORIA TROJANA, a Guidone de Columpna Messanensi Judice edit 1287. *Impressa per Arnoldum Therburnem Colonia commorantem*, 1477. *Die penult Nov.* I am mistaken in what I have said, *supr.* There is another edition at Oxford by Rood, 1480, 4to. Two at Strassburgh 1486, and 1489. fol. Ames calls him Columella. History of Printing, p. 204.

⁴ Haym's Bibl. Italian. p. 35. edit. Venez. 1741. 4to. I am not sure whether Haym's Italian translation in the year 1477 is not the Latin of that year. They are both in quarto, and by Arnaldo Terbone. A Florence edition of the translation in 1610, quarto, is said to be most scarce.

called the British as well as the Trojan story¹; and there are manuscripts in which it is entitled the history of Medea and Jason. In most of the Italian translations it is called LA STORIA DELLA GUERRA DI TROJA. This history is repeatedly called the TROIE BOKE by Lydgate, who translated it into English verse².

As to the romance of sir Lancelot, our author, among others on the subject, refers to a volume of which he was the hero: perhaps that of Robert Borron, altered soon afterwards by Godefroy de Leigny, under the title of le ROMAN DE LA CHARETTE, and printed with additions at Paris by Antony Verard, in the year 1494.

For if thou wilt the *bookes* rede

Of LAUNCELOT and other mo,	Then might thou seen how it was tho
Of armes, for this wolde atteine	To love, which, withouten peine
Maie not be gette of idleness:	And that I take to witnesse
An <i>old Cronike</i> in speciall	The which in to memoriall
Is write for his <i>loves sake</i>	How that a knight shall undertake ³ .

He alludes to a story about sir Tristram, which he supposes to be universally known, related in this romance.

In everie mans mouth it is
How Tristram was of love dronke
With Bele Isolde, whan this dronke
The drinke which Bragweine him betoke,
Er that kyng Marke, &c⁴.

And again, in the assembly of lovers.

Ther was Tristram which was beloved
With Bele Isolde, and Lancelot
Stood with Gonnor⁵, and Galahot
With his lady⁶.

The oldest edition of the GESTA ROMANORUM, a manuscript of which I have seen in almost Saxon characters, I believe to be this. *Incipiunt Hystorie NOTABILES, collecte ex GESTIS ROMANORUM, et quibusdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem*⁷. It is without date or place, but supposed by the critics in typographical antiquities to have been printed before or about the year 1473. Then followed a second edition

¹ Sandius and Hallerwood, in their Supplement to Vossius's Latin Historians, suppose Colonna's Trojan and British chronicle the same. In Theodoric Engelhusen's CHRONICA CHRONICORUM, compiled about the year 1420, where the author speaks of Troy, he cites Colonna *de Bello Trojano*. In the Preface he mentions Colonna's CHRONICA BRITANNORUM. Engelhusen's first edit. Helmst. 1671, 4to. Or rather, Scriptor. Brunsvic. Leibnitii, tom. p. 977. Fabian and other historians.

² Tragedies of Bochas, B. i. ch. xvi. *How the translatoure wrote a booke of the seige of Troy, called TROYE BOKE*. And ib. St. 7. 17. 20. edit. Wayland. fol. xxx. b. xxxi. a. And in Lydgate's DESTRUCTION of Troy.

³ Lib. iv. f. 74. a. col. 2.

⁴ Lib. vi. f. 130. b. col. 2.

⁵ Geneura, Arthur's queen.

⁶ Lib. viii. f. 188. a. col. 1.

⁷ *Princip.* 'Pompeius regnavit dives, &c. *Fin.*' 'Quidam vero princeps nomine Cleonicus, &c. Karissimi, iste princeps est xps, &c. Oscula blandientis, &c.' It is in folio, in double columns, without initials, pages, signatures, or catchwords. ANGLIE is mentioned in chapters, 155. 161.

at Louvain by John de Westfalia, with this title: *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis*. At the end this colophon appears: *GESTA ROMANORUM cum quibusdam aliis historiis eisdem annexis ad moralitates dilucide reducta hic finem habent. Quæ diligenter, correctis aliorum viciis, impressit Joannes de Westfalia, alma in Univers. Louvaniensi*¹. This edition has twenty-nine chapters more than there are in the former: and the first of these additional chapters is the story of Antiochus, related in our author. It is probably of the year 1473. Another followed soon afterwards, by *GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES moralizata per Girardum Lieu. Goudæ* 1480². The next³ is at Louvain, *GESTA ROMANORUM, cum applicationibus moralisatis ac mysticis*.—At the end.—*Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM cum pluribus applicatis HISTORIIS de virtutibus et vitiis mystice ad intellectum transumptis recollectorii finis. Anno nostræ salutis 1494. In die sancti Adriani martyris*⁴.

It was one of my reasons for giving these titles and colophons so much at large, that the reader might more fully comprehend the nature and design of a performance which operated so powerfully on the present state of our poetry. Servius says that the Eneis was sometimes called *GESTA POPULI ROMANI*⁵. Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote about the year 450, mentions a work called the *GESTORUM VOLUMEN*, which according to custom, was solemnly recited to the emperor⁶. And here perhaps we may perceive the groundwork of the title.

In this mixture of moralisation and narrative, the *GESTA ROMANORUM* somewhat resembles the plan of Gower's poem. In the rubric of the story of Julius and the poor knight, our author alludes to this book in the expression, *Hic secundum GESTA*, &c.⁷. When he speaks of the emperours of Rome paying reverence to a virgin, he says he found this custom mentioned, 'Of Rome among the *GESTES* olde⁸.' Yet he adds, that the *GESTES* took it from Valerius Maximus. The story of Tarquin and his son Arrous is ushered in with this line, 'So as these olde *GESTES* seyne⁹.' The tale of Antiochus, as I have hinted, is in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*; although for some parts of it Gower was

¹ *Princip.* 'De DILECTIONE, cap. i. Pompeius regnavit dives valde, &c.—MORALIZATIO. 'De MISERICORDIA, cap. ii. De ADULTERIO, in cap. clxxxi. It is in quarto, with signatures to Kk. The initials are written in red ink.

² In quarto.

³ But I think there is another Goudæ, 1489. fol.

⁴ In quarto. Again, Paris. 1499. quarto. Hagen. 1508. fol. Paris. 1521. octav. And undoubtedly others. It appeared in Dutch so early as the year 1484. fol.

⁵ Ad Æneid. vi. 752.

⁶ 'Imperatori de more recitatum,' Hist. xxix. i. In the title of the SAINT ALBANS CHRONICLE, printed 1483, *Titus Livius de GESTIS ROMANORUM* is recited.

⁷ Lib. viii. f. 153. a. col. 1. And in other rubrics. In the rubric there is also *GESTA ALEXANDRI*, lib. iii. f. 61. a. col. 1. And in the story of Sardanapalus, 'These olde *GESTES* tellen us,' lib. iii. 167. a. col. 1.

⁸ Lib. v. f. 118. a. col. 2.

⁹ Lib. vii. f. 169. a. col. 1.

perhaps indebted to Godfrey's PANTHEON above-mentioned. The foundation of Shakespeare's story of the three caskets in the *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, is to be found in this favourite collection: this is likewise in our author, yet in a different form, who cites a *Cronike*¹ for his authority. I make no apology for giving the passage somewhat at large, as the source of this elegant little apologue, which seems to be of eastern invention, has lately so much employed the searches of the commentators on Shakespeare, and that the circumstances of the story, as it is told by Gower, may be compared with those with which it appears in other books.

The poet is speaking of a king whose officers and courtiers complained, that after a long attendance, they had not received adequate rewards, and preferments due to their services. The king, who was no stranger to their complaints, artfully contrives a scheme to prove whether this defect proceeded from his own want of generosity, or their want of discernment.

Anone he lette two cofres² make,
Of one semblance, of one make,
So lyche³, that no life thilke throwe
That one maie fro that other knowe:
Thei were into his chambre brought.
But no man wote why they be brought,
And netheles the kynge hath bede,
That thei be sette in privie stede,

As he that was of wisdomes sligh, Whan he therto his tyme sigh⁴,
All privilyche⁵, that none it wiste, His own hondes that one chist⁶.
Of *fine golde* and of *fine perie*⁷, (The which oute of his tresurie

Was take) anone he filde full:

That other cofre of *strawe* and *mulle*⁸,

With *stones mened*, he filde also: Thus be thei full both tho.

The king assembles his courtiers, and shewing them the two chests, acquaints them, that one of these is filled with gold and jewels; that they should chuse which of the two they liked best, and that the contents should instantly be distributed among them all. A knight by common consent is appointed to chuse for them, who fixes upon the chest filled with straw and stones.

¹ He refers to a *CRONIKE* for other stories, as the story of Lucius king of Rome, and the king's fool. 'In a *CRONIKE* it telleth us.' Lib. vii. f. 165. a. col. 2. Of the translation of the Roman empire to the Lombards. 'This made an emperor anon, whose name, the *CHRONICLE* telleth was Othes.' Prol. fol. 5. b. col. 2. Of Constantine's leprosy. 'For in *CRONIKE* thus I rede.' Lib. iii. f. 46. b. col. 2. For which he also cites 'the *bokes* of *Latine*,' ib. f. 45. a. col. 1. In the story of Caius Fabricius, 'In a *CRONIQUE* I fynde thus.' Lib. vii. f. 157. a. col. 2. Of the soothsayer and the emperor of Rome. 'As in *CRONIKE* it 'is witholde.'—'Which the *CHRONIKE* hath autorized.' Lib. vii. f. 154. b. col. 1. f. 155. b. col. 2. Of the emperor's son who serves the Soldan of Persia. 'There was as the *CRONIQUE* 'seith, an emperor, &c.' Lib. ii. f. 41. b. col. 1. For the story of Carmidotoirus consul of Rome, he refers to these *olde bokes*. Lib. vii. f. 157. b. col. 2. &c. &c.

² Coffers. Chests.

⁵ Privily.

⁶ Chest.

³ Like.

⁷ Gems.

⁴ Saw.

⁸ Rubbish.

This kynge then in the same stede¹,
 Anone that other cofre undede,
 Whereas thei sawen grette richesse
 Wile more than thei couthen gesse.
 'Lo, saith the kynge, now maie ye see
 'That there is no default in mee:
 'Forthy², myself I will acquite,
 'And beareth your own wite
 'Of that fortune hath you refused³.'

It must be confessed, that there is a much greater and a more beautiful variety of incidents in this story as it is related in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, which Shakespeare has followed, than in Gower: and was it not demonstrable, that this compilation preceded our author's age by some centuries, one would be tempted to conclude, that Gower's story was the original fable in its simple unimproved state. Whatever was the case, it is almost certain that one story produced the other.

A translation into English of the *GESTA ROMANORUM* was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, without date. In the year 1577, one Richard Robinson published *A record of ancient Hystories, in Latin GESTA ROMANORUM, perused, corrected, and bettered, by R. Robinson, London, 1577*⁴. Of this translation there were six impressions before the year 1601⁵. The later editions, both Latin and English, differ considerably from a manuscript belonging to the British Museum⁶, which contains not only the story of the CASKETS in Shakespeare's *MERCHANT* of

¹ Place.

² Therefore.

³ Lib. v. f. 86. a. col. i. seq. The story which follows is somewhat similar, in which the emperor Frederick places before two beggars two pasties, one filled with capons, the other with flours. *ibid.* b. col. 2.

⁴ In twelves. Among the Royal MSS., Brit. Mus. 'Richard Robinson's Eupolemia, Archippus and Panoplia: being an account of his Patrons and Benetactions, &c. 1603.' See fol. 5. MSS. Reg. 18 A. lxvi. This R. Robinson, I believe, published *Part of the harmony of king David's harp*. A translation of the first twenty one psalms, for J. Wolfe, 1582. 4to. A translation of Leland's *ASSERTIO ARTHURI*, for the same, 1582, 4to. *The auncient order societie, &c, of prince Arthure, and his knightly armory of the round table*, in verse, for the same, 1583, 4to.

⁵ There is an edition, in black letter, so late as 1689.

⁶ MSS. Harl. 2270. 1. See *ibid.* cap. xcix, for this story. Tit. '*Liber Asceticus cui titulus Gesta Romanorum, cum Reductionibus sive Moralitatibus eorumdem.*' There is an English translation, *ibid.* MSS. Harl. 7333. This has the *Jew's bond* and the *Casketts*. In the same library there is a large collection of legendary tales in different hands, written on parchment, 8vo, MSS. Harl. 2316. One of these is, 'De vera amicitia, et de Passione Christi: Narratio a Petro Alphonso.' 18. fol. 8. b. The history of the two friends here related, is told more at large in the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, where the friends are two knights. Peter Alphonsus lived about 1110. This tale, I think, is Lydgate's *fabula duorum mercatorum*, MSS. Harl. 2251. 33, fol. 56. 'In Egipt whilom, &c.' See also 2255. 17. fol. 72. MSS. of these *GESTA* occur thrice in the Bodleian library. MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 10. *Ibid.* super O. 1. Art. 17. And Hyper. Bodl. (Cod. Grav.) B. 55. 3. viz. *Narrationes breves e Gestis ROMANORUM et aliorum*. But this last seems rather a defloration. In Hereford cathedral, 73. In Worcester Cathedral, 80. In (late) Burscough's (rector of Totness) MSS. Cod. 82. 1. In (late) Sir Symonds D'Ewes's MSS. Cod. 150, 2. In Trinity college Dublin, G. 326. At Oxford, Saint John's college twice, C. 31. 2. G. 41. Magdalen college, twice, Cod. Lat. 13. 60. Lincoln college Libr. Theol. 60. See what is said of *Gests*, *supr.* vol. i, p. 74. Among the MSS. books written by Lapus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator from Greek into Latin, about the year 1350, Balusius mentions *De Origine Urbis Romæ. et de Gestis Romanorum*. What this piece is I cannot ascertain. Apud Fabric. Bibl. Med. Ins. Latinitat. iv. 722. Compare de Gestis Imperatorum Libr, MSS. Harl. 5259. i.

VENICE, but that of the JEW'S BOND in the same play¹. I cannot exactly ascertain the age of this piece, which has many fictitious and fabulous facts intermixed with true history; nor have I been able to discover the name of its compiler.

It appears to me to have been formed on the model of Valerius Maximus, the favourite classic of the monks. It is quoted and commended as a true history, among many historians of credit, such as Josephus, Orosius, Bede, and Eusebius, by Herman Kornor, a dominican friar of Lubec, who wrote a *CHRONICA NOVELLA*, or history of the world, in the year 1435².

In speaking of our author's sources, I must not omit a book translated by the unfortunate Antony Widville, first earl of Rivers, chiefly with a view of proving its early popularity. It is the *Dictes or Sayings of Philosophers*, which lord Rivers translated from the French of William de Thignonville, provost of the city of Paris about the year 1408, entitled *Des dictes moraux des philosophes, les dictes des sages et les secrets d'Aristote*³. The English translation was printed by William Caxton, in the year 1477. Gower refers to this tract, which first existed in Latin, more than once; and it is most probable, that he consulted the Latin original⁴.

It is pleasant to observe the strange mistakes which Gower, a man of great learning, and the most general scholar of his age, has committed in this poem, concerning books which he never saw, his violent anachronisms, and misrepresentations of the most common facts and characters. He mentions the Greek poet Menander, as one of the first historians, or 'first enditours of the olde cronike,' together with Esdras, Solinus, Josephus, Claudius Salpicius, Termegis, Pandulfe, Frigidilles, Ephiloquorus, and Pandas. It is extraordinary that Moses should not here be mentioned, in preference to Esdras. Solinus is ranked so high, because he recorded nothing but wonders⁵; and Josephus, on account of his subject, had long been placed almost on a level with the bible. He is seated on the first pillar in Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME. His Jewish history, translated into Latin by Rusinus in the fourth century, had given rise to many old poems and romances⁶: and his MACCABAICS, or history of the seven Maccabees

¹ Ch. xlviii.

² Eccard's Corp. Histor. tom. ii. p. 432.—1343. Lips. 1723. fol.

³ Mem. de Litt. xvii. 754. 4to.

⁴ Among these other *tales wise of philosophers* in this wise I rede, &c.' Lib. vii. f. 143. a. col. 1, f. 142, b. col. 2, &c. Walpole's Cat. royal and noble authors. There is another translation, done in 1450, dedicated to sir John Fastolfe, knight, by his son-in-law *Stevyn Scrope Squyer*. MSS. Harl. 2265. William de Thignonville is here said to have translated this book into French for the use of Charles VI.

⁵ Our Author has a story from Colinus concerning a monstrous bird, lib. iii. f. 62. b. col. 2.

⁶ There is JOSEPHUS de la BATAILLE JUDAÏQUE *translaté de Latin en François*, printed by Verard at Paris, 1480. fol. I think it is a poem. All Josephus's works were printed in the old Latin translation, at Verona 1480. fol. And frequently soon afterwards. They were translated into French, German, Spanish, and Italian, and printed, between the years 1492 and 1554. COLLANA GRECA, in Haym's Bibliothec. p. 6. 7. A French translation was made in 1460, or 1463. Cod. Reg. Paris, 7015.

martyred with their father Eleazar under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, a separate work, translated also by Rufinus, produced the JUDAS MACCABEE of Belleperche in the year 1240, and at length enrolled the Maccabees among the most illustrious heroes of romance¹. On this account too, perhaps Esdras is here so respectably remembered. I suppose Sulpicius is Sulpicius Severus, a petty annalist of the fifth century. Termegis is probably Trismegistus, the mystic philosopher, certainly not an historian, at least not an ancient one. Pandulf seems to be Pandulph of Pisa, who wrote lives of the popes, and died in the year 1198². Frigidilles is perhaps Fregedaire, a Burgundian, who flourished about the year 641, and wrote a chronicon from Adam to his own times; often printed, and containing the best account of the Franks after Gregory of Tours³. Our author, who has partly suffered from ignorant transcribers and printers, by Ephiloquorus undoubtedly intended Eutropius. In the next paragraph indeed, he mentions Herodotus: yet not as an early historian, but as the first writer of a system of the metrical art, 'of metre, of ryme, and of cadence⁴.' We smile, when Hector in Shakespeare quotes Aristotle: but Gower gravely informs his reader, that Ulysses was a *clerke*, accomplished with a knowledge of all the sciences, a great rhetorician and magician: that he learned rhetoric of Tully, magic of Zoroaster, astronomy of Ptolomy, philosophy of Plato, divination of the prophet Daniel, proverbial instruction of Solomon, botany of Macer, and medicine of Hippocrates⁵. And in the seventh book, Aristotle, or the *philosophre*, is introduced reciting to his scholar Alexander the great, a disputation between a Jew and a Pagan, who meet between Cairo and Babylon, concerning their respective religions: the end of the story is to shew the cunning, cruelty, and ingratitude of the Jew, which are at last deservedly punished⁶. But I believe Gower's apology must be, that he took this narrative from some christian legend, which was feigned, for a religious purpose, at the expence of all probability and all propriety.

The only classic Roman writers which our author cites are Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Tully. Among the Italian poets, one is surprised he should not quote Petrarch: he mentions Dante only, who in the rubric is called 'a certain poet of Italy named Dante,' *quidam poeta*

¹ In the British Museum there is 'Maccabeorum et Josephi Historiarum Epitome, metricæ.'

² A. viii. 5. MSS. Reg. See MSS. Harl. 5713.

³ See the story, in our author, of pope Boniface supplanting Celestine. In a CRONÏKE of tyme ago. Lib. ii. f. 42. a. col. 2.

⁴ Ruinart. Dissertat. de Fredegario ejusque Operibus. tom. ii. Hist. Franc. p. 443. There is also Fridegodus, a monk of Dover, who wrote the lives of some sainted bishops about the year 960. And a Frigeridus, known only by a reference which Gregory of Tours makes to the *twelfth book of his History*, concerning the times preceding Valentinian the third, and the capture of Rome by Totila. Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Francor. lib. ii. cap. 8. 9. If this last be the writer in the text, a manuscript of Frigeridus's history might have existed in Gower's age, which is now lost.

⁵ Lib. vi. f. 76. b. col. 1.

⁶ Lib. vii. f. 156. b. col. 2.

⁶ Lib. vi. f. 135. a. col. 1.

*Italie qui DANTE vocabatur*¹. He appears to have been well acquainted with the Homelies of pope Gregory the great², which were translated into Italian, and printed at Milan, so early as the year 1479. I can hardly decypher, and must therefore be excused from transcribing, the names of all the renowned authors which our author has quoted in alchemy, astrology, magic, palmistry, geomancy, and other branches of the occult philosophy. Among the astrological writers, he mentions Noah, Abraham, and Moses. But he is not sure that Abraham was an author, having never seen any of that patriarch's works, and he prefers Trismegistus to Moses³. Cabalistical tracts were however extant, not only under the names of Abraham, Noah, and Moses, but of Adam, Abel, and Enoch³. He mentions, with particular regard, Ptolomy's ALMAGEST; the grand source of all the superstitious notions propagated by the Arabian philosophers concerning the science of divination by the stars⁵. These infatuations seem to have completed their triumph over human credulity in Gower's age, who probably was an ingenious adept in the false and frivolous speculations of this admired species of study.

Gower, amidst his graver literature, appears to have been a great reader of romances. The lover, in speaking of the gratification which his passion receives from the sense of hearing, says, that to hear his lady speak is more delicious than to feast on all the dainties that could be compounded by a cook of Lombardy. They are not so restorative

As bin the wordes of hir mouth ;	For as the wyndes of the South
Ben most of all debonaire,	So when hir lust ⁶ to speak faire,
The vertue of her goodly speche	Is verily myne hartes leche ⁷ .

These are elegant verses. To hear her sing is paradise. Then he adds,

Full oft tyme it falleth so

My ere ⁸ with a good pitance	Is fed of <i>redynge of romance</i>
Of IDOYNE and AMADAS,	That whilom were in my cas ;
And eke of <i>other, many a score</i> ,	That loved long ere I was bore ⁹ :
For when I of her ¹⁰ loves rede,	Myn ere with the tale I sede ;
And with the lust of her histoire,	Sometime I draw into memoire,
Howe sorrowe may not ever last,	And so hope comith in at last ¹¹ .

The romance of IDOYNE and AMADAS is recited as a favourite history among others, in the prologue to a collection of legends called CURSOR MUNDI, translated from the French⁴. I have already observed our poet's references to Sir LANCELOT's romance.

¹ Lib. vii. f. 154. b. col. 1. ² Prolog. f. 2. b. col. 1. Lib. v. f. 93. a. col. 1. 2. f. 94. a. col. 1.

³ Lib. vii. f. 134. b. col. 1. vii. f. 149. c. col. 1.

⁴ Morhof. Polyhist. tom. ii. p. 455. seq. edit. 1747.

⁵ Mabillon mentions, in a MSS. of the ALMAGEST written before the year 1240, a drawing of Ptolomy, holding a mirror, not an optical tube, in his hand, and contemplating the stars. Itih. Germanic. p. 49.

⁶ She chuses.

⁸ Ear.

⁹ Born

¹⁰ Their.

⁷ Physician.

¹¹ Lib. vi. f. 133. a. col. 2.

Our author's account of the progress of the Latin language is extremely curious. He supposes that it was invented by the old Tuscan prophetess Carmens; that it was reduced to method, to composition, pronunciation, and prosody, by the grammarians Aristarchus, Donatus, and Didymus: adorned with the flowers of eloquence and rhetoric by Tully: then enriched by translations from the Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek languages, more especially by the version of the Hebrew bible into Latin by St. Jerom, in the fourth century: and that at length, after the labours of many celebrated writers, it received its final consummation in Ovid, the poet of lovers. At the mention of Ovid's name, the poet, with the dexterity and address of a true master of transition, seizes the critical moment of bringing back the dialogue to its proper argument¹.

The CONFESSIO AMANTIS was most probably written after Chaucer's TROILUS AND CRESSIDA. At the close of the poem, we are presented with an assemblage of the most illustrious lovers². Together with the renowned heroes and heroines of love, mentioned either in romance or classical history, we have David and Bathsheba, Sampson and Dalila, and Solomon with all his concubines. Virgil, also, Socrates, Plato, and Ovid, are enumerated as lovers. Nor must we be surprised to find Aristotle honoured with a place in this gallant groupe: for whom, says the poet, the queen of Greece made such a syllogism as destroyed all his logic. But, among the rest, Troilus and Cressida are introduced; seemingly with an intention of paying a compliment to Chaucer's poem on their story, which had been submitted to Gower's correction³. Although this famous pair had been also recently celebrated in Boccaccio's FILOSTRATO. And in another place, speaking of his absolute devotion to his lady's will, he declares himself ready to acquiesce in her choice, whatsoever she shall command: whether, if when tired of dancing and carolling she should chuse to play at chess, or read TROILUS and CRESSIDA. This is certainly Chaucer's poem.

That when her list on nights wake
In chambre, as to carol and daunce,
Methinke I maie me more avaunce,
If I may gone upon hir honde Than if I wyne a kynges londe.
For whan I maie her hand beclip⁴,
With such gladness I daunce and skip,
Methinketh I touch not the floore;
The roe that renneth on the moore
Is than nought so light as I.— And whan it falleth other gate⁵,
So that hir liketh not to daunce But on the dyes to cast a chaunce
Or aske of love some demaunde; Or els that her list commaunde
To rede and here of TROILUS.

That this poem was written after Chaucer's FLOURE AND LEAFE,

¹ Lib. iv. f. 77. b. col. 2.

³ Chaucer's Tr. Cress. Urr. edit. p. 333.

⁵ Gaiety, or way.

² Lib. viii. f. 158. a. col. 2.

⁴ Clasp.

⁶ Lib. iv. f. 78. b. col. 1.

may be partly collected from the following passage, which appears to be an imitation of Chaucer, and is no bad specimen of Gower's most poetical manner. Rosiphele, a beautiful princess, but setting love at defiance, the daughter of Herupus king of Armenia, is taught obedience to the laws of Cupid by seeing a vision of Ladies.

Whan come was the moneth of Maie, She wolde walke upon a daie,
And that was er the son arist¹, Of women but a fewe it wist²;
And forth she went prively, Unto a parke was faste by,

All softe walkende on the gras,
Tyll she came there³, the launde was
Through which ran a great rivere,
It thought her fayre; and said, here
I will abide under the shawe:
And bad hir women to withdrawe:
And ther she stood alone stille
To thinke what was in her wille.
She sighe⁴ the swete floures sprynge,
She herde glad fowles synge;
She sigh beastes in her kynde,
The buck, the doo, the hert, the hynde,

The males go with the femele: And so began there a quarele⁵
Betwene love and her owne herte
Fro whiche she couthe not asterte.

And as she cast hir eie aboute, She sigh, clad in one suit, a route
Of ladies where thei comen ride Alonge under the woodde side;

On fayre⁶ ambulende hors thei set,
That were al whyte, fayre, and gret;

And everichone ride on side⁷. The sadels were of such a pride,
So riche sight she never none;

With perles and golde so wel begone,

In kirtels and in copes riche Thei were clothed all aliche⁸,

Departed even of white and blewe,

With all lustes⁹ that she knewe

Thei wer embroudred over all:

Her¹⁰ bodies weren longe and small,

The beautee of hir fayre face,

There mai none erthly thing deface:

Corownes on their heades thei bare,

As eche of hem a quene were.

That all the golde of Cresus hall The least coronall of all

Might not have boughte, after the worth,

Thus comen thei ridend forthe.

The kynges daughter, whiche this sigh,

For pure abasshe drewe hir adrigh,

And helde hir close undir the bough.

At length she sees riding in the rear of this splendid troop, on a

¹ Arose.

⁴ Saw.

⁸ Alike.

² 'But a few of her women knew of this.'

⁵ Dispute.

⁶ Ambling.

⁹ Lists. Colours.

³ There *where*.

⁷ A mark of high rank.

¹⁰ Their.

horse lean, galled, and lame, a beautiful lady in a tattered garment, her saddle mean and much worn, but her bridle richly studded with gold and jewels: and round her waist were more than an hundred halters, The princess asks the meaning of this strange procession; and is answered by the lady on the lean horse, that these are spectres of ladies, who, when living, were obedient and faithful votaries of love. 'As to 'myself, she adds, I am now receiving my annual penance for being a rebel to love.'

For I whilom no love had ; My horse is now feble and badde,
And al to torn is myn araie ; And everie year this freshe Maie
These lustie ladies ride aboute, And I must nedes sew¹ her route,
In this manner as ye now see,
And trusse her hallters forth with mee,
And am but her horse knave².

The princess then asks her, why she wore the rich bridle, so inconsistent with the rest of her furniture, her dress, and horse? The lady answers, that it was a badge and reward for having loved a knight faithfully for the last fortnight of her life.

'Now have ye herde all mine answer ;
'To god, madam, I you betake, 'And warneth all, for my sake,
'Of love, that thei be not idell,
'And bid hem thinke of my bridell.'
And with that worde, all sodenly
She passeth, as it were a skie³,
All clean out of the ladies sight⁴.

My readers will easily conjecture the change which this spectacle must naturally produce in the obdurate heart of the princess of Armenia. There is a farther proof that the FLOURE AND LEAFE preceded the CONFESSION AMANTIS. In the eighth book, our author's lovers are crowned with the Flower and Leaf.

Myn eie I caste all aboutes,
To knowe amonge hem who was who :
I sigh where lustie YOUTH tho,
As he which was a capitayne
Before all others on the playne,
Stode with his route wel begon :
Her heades kempt, and thereupon
Garlondes not of *one* colour,
Some of the *lese*, some of the *floure*,
And some of grete perles were :
The new guise of Beme⁵ was there, &c⁶.

I believe on the whole, that Chaucer had published most of his poems before this piece of Gower appeared. Chaucer had not however at

¹ Follow.

³ A shadow, *umbra*.

⁵ Boeme. Bohemia.

² Their groom.

⁴ Lib. iv. f. 70. seq.

⁶ Lib. viii. f. 188. a. col. 1.

this time written his TESTAMENT OF LOVE: for Gower, in a sort of Epilogue to the CONFESSIO AMANTIS, is addressed by Venus, who commands him to greet Chaucer as her favourite poet and disciple, as one who had employed his youth in composing songs and ditties to her honour. She adds at the close,

For thy, now in his *daies olde*

Thou shalt hym tell this message, That he upon his *later age*
To sette *an ende* of all his werke As he, which is myne owne clerke,
Do make his TESTAMENT OF LOVE,
As thou hast done thy SHRIFTE above:
So that my court it maie recorde¹.

Chaucer at this time was sixty-five years of age. The Court of Love, one of the pedantries of French gallantry, occurs often. In an address to Venus, 'Madame, I am a man of thyne, that in thy COURTE hath served long².' The lover observes, that for want of patience, a man ought 'amonge the women alle, in LOVES COURTE, by *judgement* the 'name beare of paciant³.' The confessor declares, that many persons are condemned for disclosing secrets, 'In LOVES COURTE, as it is said, 'that lette their tonges gone untide⁴.' By *Thy SHRIFTE*, the author means his own poem now before us, the Lover's CONFESSIO.

There are also many manifest evidences which lead us to conclude, that this poem preceded Chaucer's CANTERBURY TALES, undoubtedly some of that poet's latest compositions, and probably not begun till after the year 1382. The MAN OF LAWES TALE is circumstantially borrowed from Gower's CONSTANTIA: and Chaucer, in that TALE, apparently censures Gower, for his manner of relating the stories of Canace and Apollonius in the third and eighth books of the CONFESSIO AMANTIS⁶. The WIFE OF BATHES TALE is founded on Gower's

¹ Lib. viii. f. 190. b. col. 1.

² Lib. i. f. 8. b. col. 1.

³ Lib. iii. f. 51. a. col. 1.

⁴ Lib. iii. f. 52. a. col. 1. In the same strain, we have Cupid's *parlement*. Lib. viii. f. 187. b. col. 2.

⁵ Cont. Amant. Lib. ii. f. 30. b. col. 2. See particularly, *ibid.* f. 35. b. col. 2. a. col. 1. And compare Ch. MAN OF L. T. v. 5505. 'Some men would fayn, &c.' That is, GOWER.

⁶ Chaucer, *ibid.* v. 4500. And Conf. Amant. Lib. iii. f. 48. a. col. 1. seq. Lib. viii. f. 175. a. col. 2. seq. I have just discovered, that the favourite story of Apollonius, having appeared in ancient Greek, Latin, Saxon, barbarous Greek, and old French, was at length translated from French into English, and printed in the black letter, by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. 1510. 4to. 'Kynge Appolyn of Thyre.' A copy is in my possession. A Greco-barbarous translation of the romance of APOLLONIUS OF TYRE was made by one Gabriel Contianus¹, a Grecian, about the year 1500, as appears by a manuscript in the imperial library at Vienna²; and printed at Venice in 1503. Salviani, in his *Avvertimenti*, mentions an Italian romance on this subject, which he supposes to have been written about the year 1330. Lib. ii. c. 12. Velsler first published this romance in Latin at Augsburg, in 1595, 4to. The story is here

¹ Γαβριήλ Κορτιάσφ Perhaps Κῶνσταντίνφ.

² Lambecc. CATAL. BIBLI. CÆSAR. Nesselii SUPPL: tom. i: p. 341. MSS. Græc. CCXLIV. (Vind. et. Norinb. 1690. fol.) Pr. Μεδόξαν τῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. Fin. Πόλημα ἐν ἀποχειρὶς Γαβριήλ Κορτιάδω, &c. This is in prose. But under this class of the imperial library, Nesselius recites many manuscript poems in the Greco-barbarous metre of the fifteenth century or thereabouts, viz. *The Loves of Hesperus; Description of the city of Venice; The Romance of Florius and Platzflora; The Blindness and Beggary of Belisarius; The Trojan War; Of Hell; Of an Earthquake in the Isle of Crete, &c.* These were all written at the restoration of Learning in Italy.

Florent, a knight of Rome, who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the incantations of her stepmother¹. Although the *Gesta Ric. Manorum* might have furnished both poets with this narrative. Chaucer, however, among other great improvements, has judiciously departed from the fable, in converting Sicily into the more popular court of king Arthur of Cornwall.

Perhaps, in estimating Gower's merit, I have pushed the notion too far, that because he shews so much learning he had no great share of natural abilities. But it should be considered, that when books began to grow fashionable, and the reputation of learning conferred the highest honour, poets became ambitious of being thought scholars; and sacrificed their native powers of invention to the ostentation of displaying an extensive course of reading, and to the pride of profound erudition. On this account, the minstrels of these times, who were totally uneducated, and poured forth spontaneous rhymes in obedience to the workings of nature, often exhibit more genuine strokes of passion and imagination, than the professed poets. Chaucer is an exception to this observation: whose original feelings were too strong to be suppressed by books, and whose learning was overbalanced by genius.

This affectation of appearing learned, which yet was natural at the revival of literature, in our old poets, even in those who were altogether destitute of talents, has lost to posterity many a curious picture of manners, and many a romantic image. Some of our ancient bards, however, aimed at no other merit, than that of being able to versify; and attempted nothing more, than to cloath in rhyme those sentiments, which would have appeared with equal propriety in prose.

In lord Gower's library, there is a thin oblong manuscript on vellum, containing some of Gower's poems in Latin, French, and English. By an entry in the first leaf, in the hand writing, and under the signature, of Thomas lord Fairfax, Cromwell's general, an antiquarian, and a lover and collector of curious manuscripts², it appears, that this book was presented by the poet Gower, about the year 1400, to Henry IV; and that it was given by Lord Fairfax to his *friend and kinsman* sir Thomas Gower knight and baronet, in the year 1636. By another

much more elegantly told, than in the *Gesta Britannorum*. In Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Forme*, it is in Leonine verse. There has been seen a German translation of this German tale, viz. *Historia Apolloniani Tyranni et Sidonie regis ex Latina sermone in Germanicum translati*. August. Vindek. apud Cithonium Zainer, 1477, fol. At the end is a German edition, importing much the same.

¹ Lib. i. f. 15. b. col. 2.

² He gave in ancient MSS. to the Bodleian library, one of which is a beautiful manuscript of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. When the Royal library in St. Mary's abbey at York was accidentally blown up in the grand rebellion, he offered rewards to the soldiers who could bring him fragments of the scattered parchments. Luckily, however, the numerous original evidences lodged in this repository had been just before destroyed by Roger Dodsworth; and the transcripts, which formed the ground stock of Lincolne's Manuscript, consisting of 45 large folio volumes, were bequeathed by Fairfax to the same library. Fairfax also, when Richard was persecuted by the parliamentary forces, exerted his utmost diligence in preserving the Bodleian library from pillage; so that it suffered much less, than when that city was in the possession of the royalists.

entry, lord Fairfax acknowledges to have received it, in the same year, as a present, from *that learned gentleman* Charles Gedde, esq., of St. Andrews in Scotland: and at the end, are five or six Latin anagrams on Gedde, written and signed by lord Fairfax, with this title, 'IN NOMEN venerandi et annosi Amici sui Caroli Geddei.' By Henry IV. it seems to have been placed in the royal library: it appears at least to have been in the hands of Henry VII., while earl of Richmond, from the name of *Rychemond*, inserted in another of the blank leaves at the beginning, and explained by this note, 'Liber Henrici septimi tunc Comitis Richmond, propria manu scripsit.' This MSS. is neatly written, with miniated and illuminated initials: and contains the following pieces. I. A Panegyric in stanzas, with a Latin prologue or a rubric in seven hexameters, on Henry IV. This poem, commonly called *Carmen de pacis Commendatione in laudem Henrici quarti*, is printed in Chaucer's WORKS, edit. Urr. p. 540.—II. A short Latin poem in elegiacs on the same subject, beginning, *Rex cæli deus et dominus qui tempora solus.* [MSS. COTTON. OTHO. D. i. 4.] This is followed by ten other very short pieces, both in French and English, of the same tendency.—III. CINKANTE BALADES, or Fifty Sonnets in French. Part of the first is illegible. They are closed with the following epilogue and colophon.

O gentile Engleterre a toi iescrits
 Pour remembrer ta ioie quest nouvelle
 Que te survient du noble Roy Henris,
 Par qui dieus ad redreste ta querele,
 A dieu purceo prient et cil et celle,
 Qil de sa grace, au fort Roi corone,
 Doignit peas, honour, ioie et prosperite.

Explicunt carmina Johis Gower que Gallice composita BALADES dicuntur.—IV. Two short Latin poems in elegiacs. The first beginning, '*Ece patet tensus ceci Cupidinis arcus.*' The second, '*O Natura viri potuit quam tollere nemo.*'—V. A French poem, imperfect at the beginning, *On the Dignity or Excellence of Marriage*, in one book. The subject is illustrated by examples. As no part of this poem was ever printed, I transcribe one of the stories.

Qualiter Jason uxorem suam Medeam relinquens, Creusam Creontis regis filiam sibi carnaliter copulavit. Verum ipse cum duobus filiis suis postea infortunatus periiit.

Li prus Jason geu lisle de Colchos
 Le toison dor, pour laide de Medee
 Conquist dont il donour portoit grant loos
 Par tout le monde encourt la renomee
 La joefne dame oue soi ad amenee
 De son pays en Grece et lespousa
 Ffreinte espousaile dieus le vengera.

Quant Medea meulx qui de etre en repos
 Ove son mari et qelle avoit porte
 Deux fils de luy lors changea le purpos
 El quelle Jason permer fuist oblige
 Il ad del tout Medeam refuse
 Si prist la file au roi Creon Creusa
 Ffrenite espousaile dieux le vengera.
 Medea qot le coer de dolour cloos
 En son corous et ceo fuist grant pite
 Sas joefnes fils queux et jadis en clos
 Veniz ses costees ensi com forseue Devant ses oels Jason ele ad tue
 Ceo qeu fuist fait pecche le fortuna
 Ffrenite espousaile dieux le vengera.

Towards the end of the piece, the poet introduces an apology for any inaccuracies, which, as an Englishman, he may have committed in the French idiom.

Al universite de tout le monde JOHAN GOWER ceste Balade evoie;
 Et si ieo nai de Francois faconde, Pardonetz moi qe ieo de ceo forsvoie.
 Jeo suis Englois: si quier par tiele voie
 Estre excuse mais quoique mills endie
 L'amour parfait en dieu se justifie.

It is finished with a few Latin hexameters, viz. 'Quis sit vel qualis sacer order connubialis.' This poem occurs at the end of two valuable folio MSS., illuminated and on vellum of the CONFESSIO AMANTIS, in the Bodleian library, viz. MSS. FAIRFAX, iii. And NE. F. 8. 9. Also in the MSS. at All Souls college Oxford, MSS. xxvi. described and cited above. And in MSS. HARL. 3869. In all these, and, I believe, in many others, it is properly connected with the CONFESSIO AMANTIS by the following rubric. 'Puisqu' il ad dit CIDEVANT en ENGLOIS, par voie dessample, la sotie de celui qui par amours ainie par especial, dirra ore apres en FRANCOIS a tout le mond en general une traitie selonc les auctors, pour essemplar les amants mariez, &c.' It begins,

Le creature du tout creature.

But the CINQUANTE BALADES, or fifty French Sonnets above-mentioned, are the curious and valuable part of lord Gower's MSS. They are not mentioned by those who have written the life of this poet, or have catalogued his works. Nor do they appear in any other manuscript of Gower which I have examined. But if they should be discovered in any other, I will venture to pronounce, that a more authentic, unembarrassed, and practicable copy than this before us, will not be produced: although it is for the most part unpointed, and obscured with abbreviations, and with those misspellings which flowed from a scribe unacquainted with the French language.

To say no more, however, of the value which these little pieces may derive from being so scarce and so little known, they have much real

and intrinsic merit. They are tender, pathetic, and poetical; and place our old poet Gower in a more advantageous point of view than that in which he has hitherto been usually seen. I know not if any even among the French poets themselves, of this period, have left a set of more finished sonnets: for they were probably written when Gower was a young man, about the year 1350. Nor had yet any English poet treated the passion of love with equal delicacy of sentiment, and elegance of composition. I will transcribe four of these balades as correctly and intelligibly as I am able: although I must confess, there are some lines which I do not exactly comprehend.

BALADE XXXVI.

Pour comparer ce jolif temps de Maij,
 Jeo dirrai semblable a Paradis;
 Car lors chantoit et merle et papegai,
 Les champs sont vert, les herbes sont floris;
 Lors est Nature dame du paijs:
 Dont Venus poingt l'amant a tiel assai,
Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire. Nai.
 Quant tout ceo voi, et que ieo penserai,
 Coment Nature ad tout le mond suspris,
 Dont pour le temps se fait minote et gai,
 Et ieo des autres suis souleni horspris
 Com al qui sanz amie est vrais amis,
 Nest pas mervaille lors si ieo mesmai,
Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire. Nai.
 En lieu de rose, urtie cuilleraï,
 Dont mes chapeals ferrai par tiel devis,
 Qe tout ioie et confort ieo lerrai,
 Si celle soule eu qui iai mon coer mis,
 Selonc le ponit qe iai sovent requis,
 Ne deigne alegger les griefs mals qe iai,
Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire. Nai.
 Pour pite querre et pourchacer intris,
 Va ten balade ou ieo tenvoierai,
 Qore en certain ieo lai tresbien apris
Qencontre amour nest qui poet dire. Nai.

BALADE XXXIV.

Saint Valentin, l'Amour, et la Nature,
 Des tous oiseals ad en gouvernement,
 Dont chascun deaux, semblable a sa mesure,
 Un compaignie honeste a son talent
 Elist, tout dun accord et dun assent,
 Pour celle soule laist a covenir;
 Toutes les autres car nature aprent
Ou li coers est le corps falt obeir.
 Ma doulce Dame, ensi ieo vous assure,
 Qe ieo vous ai eslieu semblablement,
 Sur toutes autres estes a dessure

De mon amour si tresentierement,
 Qe riens y falt pourquoi ioiousement,
 De coer et corps ieo vous voldrai servir,
 Car de reson cest une experiment,
Ou li coers est le corps falt obeir.

Pour remembrer iadis celle aventure
 De Alceone et ceix enseinent,
 Com dieus muoit en oisel lour figure,
 Ma volente serroit tout tielement
 Qe sans envie et danger de la gent,
 Nous porroions ensemble pour loisir
 Voler tout francs en votre esbatement
Ou li coers est le corps falt obeir.

Ma belle oisel, vers qui mon pensement
 Seu vole ades sanz null contretenir
 Preu cest escript car ieo sai voirement
Ou li coers est le corps falt obeir.

BALADE XLIII.

Plustricherous qe Jason a Medee
 A Deianire ou q' Ercules estoit,
 Plus q' Eneas q' avoit Dido lassee,
 Plus qe Theseus q' Adriagne¹ amoit,
 Ou Demophon qut Phillis oubliot,
 Te trieus, helas, qamer iadis soloie,
 Dont chanterai desore en mon endroit

Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

Unques Ector qama Pantasilee²,
 En tiele haste a Troie ne sarmoit,
 Qe tu tout mid nes deniz le lit couche
 Amis as toutes quelques venir doit,
 Ne poet chaloir mais qune femme y soit,
 Si es comun plus qe la halte voie,
 Helas, qe la fortune me decoit,
Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

De Lancelot³ si fuissetz remembre,
 Et de Tristans, com il se countenoit,
 Generides⁴, Fflorent⁵, par Tonope⁶,

¹ Ariadne.

² Penthesilea.

³ Sir Lancelot's intrigue with Geneura, king Arthur's queen, and Sir Tristram with Bel Isoulde, incidents in Arthur's romance, are made the subject of one of the stories of the French poem just cited, viz.

Commes sont la cronique et l'istoir

De Lancelot et Tristrans ensemment, &c.

⁴ This name, of which I know nothing, must be corruptly written.

⁵ CHAUCER'S WIFE OF BATHES TALE is founded on the story of Florent, a knight of Rome who delivers the king of Sicily's daughter from the enchantments of her stepmother. His story is also in our author's CONFESSIO AMANTIS, Lib. iii. fol. 48. a. col. 1. seq. Lib. viii. fol. 175. a. eol. 2. seq. And in the GESTE ROMANORUM. Percy [NUM. 2.] recites a Romance called LE BONE FLORENCE DE ROME, which begins,

As ferre as men ride or gon:

I know not if this be Shakespeare's Florentius, or Florentio, TAMING SHREW i. v.

Be she as foul as was FLORENTIUS' love.

⁶ That is Partenope, or Parthenopeus, one of Statius's heroes, on whom there is an old French romance.

Chascun des ceaux sa loialte gardoit ;
 Mais tu, hélas, qest ieo qe te forsvoit
 De moi qa toi iamaiz mill iour falsoie,
 Tu es a large et ieo sui en destroit,

Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

Des toutz les mals tu qes le plus maloit,
 Ceste compleignte a ton oraille envoie
 Sante me laist, et langour me recoit,

Cest ma dolour qe fuist amicois ma joie.

BALADE XX.

Si com la nief, quant le fort vent tempeste,
 Pur halte mierz se torna ci et la,
 Ma dame, ensi mon coer manit en tempeste,
 Quant le danger de vo parole orra,
 Le nief qe votre bouche soufflera,
 Me fait sigler sur le peril de vie,

Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

Rois Ulyxes, sicom nos dist la Geste,
 Vers son pais de Troie qui sigla,
 Not tiel paour du peril et moleste,
 Quant les Sereines en la mierz passa,
 Et la danger de Circes eschapa,
 Qe le paour nest plus de ma partie,

Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

Danger qui tolt damour tout la feste,
 Unques un mot de confort ne sona,
 Ainz plus cruel qe nest la fiere beste
 Au point quant danger me respondera.
 La chiere porte et quant le nai dirra,
 Plusque la mort mestoie celle oie

Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

Vers vous, ma bone dame, horspris cella,
 Qe danger manit en votre compaignie,
 Cest balade en mon message irra

Qest en danger falt quil mera supplie.

For the use, and indeed the knowledge, of this MSS., I am obliged to the unsolicited kindness of Lord Trentham; a favour which his lordship was pleased to confer with the most polite condescension.

SECTION. XX.

ONE of the reasons which rendered the classic authors of the lower empire more popular than those of a purer age, was because they were christians. Among these no Roman writer appears to have been more studied and esteemed, from the beginning to the close of the barbarous centuries, than Boethius. Yet it is certain, that his allegorical personi-

fications and his visionary philosophy, founded on the abstractions of the Platonic school, greatly concurred to make him a favourite'. His CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY was translated into the Saxon tongue by king Alfred, the father of learning and civility in the midst of a rude and intractable people; and illustrated with a commentary by Asser bishop of Saint David's, a prelate patronised by Alfred for his singular accomplishments in literature, about the year 890. Bishop Grosthead is said to have left annotations on this admired system of morality. There is a very ancient manuscript of it in the Laurentian library, with an inscription prefixed in Saxon characters². There are few of those distinguished ecclesiastics, whose erudition illuminated the thickest gloom of ignorance and superstition with uncommon lustre, but who either have cited this performance, or honoured it with a panegyric³. It has had many imitators. Eccard, a learned French Benedictine, wrote in imitation of this CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, a work in verse and prose containing five books, entitled the CONSOLATION OF THE MONKS, about the year 1120⁴. John Gerson also, a doctor and chancellor of the university of Paris, wrote the CONSOLATION OF THEOLOGY in four books, about the year 1420⁵. It was the model of Chaucer's TESTAMENT OF LOVE. It was translated into French⁶ and English before the year 1350⁷. Dante was an attentive reader of Boethius. In the PURGATORIO, Dante gives THEOLOGY the name of Beatrix his mistress, the daughter of Fulco Portinari, who very gravely moralises in that character. Being ambitious of following Virgil's steps in the descent of Eneas into hell, he introduces her, as a daughter of the empyreal heavens, bringing Virgil to guide him through that dark and dangerous region⁸. Leland, who lived when true literature began to be restored, says that the writings of Boethius still con-

¹ It is observable, that this SPIRIT OF PERSONIFICATION tinctures the writings of some of the christian fathers, about, or rather before, this period. Most of the agents in the SHEPHERD OF HERMAS are *ideal* beings. An ancient lady converses with Hermas, and tells him that she is the CHURCH OF GOD. Afterwards several virgins appear and discourse with him; and when he desires to be informed who they are, he is told by the SHEPHERD-ANGEL, that that they are FAITH, ABSTINENCE, PATIENCE, CHASTITY, CONCORD, &c. Saint Cyprian relates, that the church appeared in a vision, *in visione per noctem*, to Colerinus; and commanded him to assume the office of Reader, which he in humility had declined. Cyprian. Epist. xxxix. edit. Oxon. The church appearing as a woman they perhaps had from the Scripture, Rev. xii. 1. ESDRAS, &c.

² Mabillon. Itin. Ital. p. 221.

³ He is much commended as a catholic and philosopher by Hincmarus archbishop of Rheims about the year 880. De Prædestinat. contr. Godeschalch. tom. i. 211, ii. 62, edit. Sirmond. And by John of Salisbury, for his eloquence and argument. Policrat. vii. 15. And by many other writers of the same class.

⁴ Trithem. cap. 387, de S. E. And Illustr. Benedictin. ii. 107.

⁵ Opp. tom. i. p. 130, edit. Dupin. I think there is a French CONSOLATIO THEOLOGIA by one Cerisier.

⁶ Hayni, p. 199.

⁷ Beside John of Meun's French version of Boethius, printed at Lyons 1483, with a translation of Virgil by Guillaume le Roy, there is one by De Cis, or Thri, an old French poet. Matt. Annal. Typogr. i. p. 171. Francisc. a Cruce, Bibl. Gallic. p. 216, 247. It was printed in Dutch at Ghent, apud Arend de Keyser, 1485, fol. In Spanish at Valladolid, 1598. fol. Polycarpus Leyserus, in that very scarce book DE POESI MEDII ÆVI, [printed HALÆ, 1721, 8vo.] enumerates many curious old editions of Boethius, p. 95, 105.

⁸ PURGAT. Cant. xxx.

tinued to retain that high estimation, which they had acquired in the most early periods. I had almost forgot to observe, that the CONSOLATION was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes, the most learned and ingenious of the Constantinopolitan monks¹.

I can assign only one poet to the reign of king Henry IV., and this a translator of Boethius². He is called Johannes Capellanus, or John the *Chaplain*, and he translated into English verse the treatise DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIÆ in the year 1410. His name is John Walton. He was canon of Oseney, and died subdean of York. It appears probable, that he was patronised by Thomas Chaundler, among other preferments, dean of the king's chapel and of Hereford cathedral, chancellor of Wells, and successively warden of Wykeham's two colleges at Winchester and Oxford; characterised by Antony Wood as an able critic in polite literature, and by Leland as a rare example of a doctor in theology who graced scholastic disputation with the flowers of a pure latinity³. In the British Museum there is a correct manuscript on parchment of Walton's translation of Boethius; and the margin is filled throughout with the Latin text, written by Chaundler above-mentioned⁴. There is another less elegant MSS. in the same collection. But at the end is this note; *Explicit liber Boecij de Consolatione Philosophie de Latino in Anglicum translatus* A.D. 1410. *per Capellanum Joannem*⁵. This is the beginning of the prologue, 'In suffisaunce of cunnyng and witte.' And of the translation, 'Alas I wretch that whilom was in welth.' I have seen a third copy in the library of Lincoln cathedral⁶, and a fourth in Baliol college⁷. This is the translation of Boethius printed in the monastery of Tavistoke, in the year 1525. 'The BOKE of COMFORT, called in Latin *Boecius de Consolatione Philosophie*. 'Emprented in the exempt monastery of Tavestock in Denshyre, by me Dan Thomas Rychard monke 'of the sayd monastery. To the instant desyre of the right worshipfull 'esquyre magister Robert Langdon, A.D. MDXXV. *Deo gracias*.' In octave rhyme⁸. This translation was made at the request of Elizabeth Berkeley. I forbear to load these pages with specimens not original, and which appear to have contributed no degree of improvement to our poetry or our phraseology. Henry IV. died in the year 1399.

¹ Montfaucon Bibl. Coislin. p. 140. Of a Hebrew version, see Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. tom. i. p. 229, 1092, 243, 354, 369.

² I am aware that Occleve's poem, called the *Letter of Cupid*, was written in this king's reign in the year 1402. 'In the year of grace joyfull and joconde, a thousand fower hundred 'and seconde.' Urry's Chaucer, p. 537, v. 475. But there are reasons for making Occleve, as I have done, something later. Nor is Gower's *Balade to Henry IV.* a sufficient reason for placing him in that reign. The same may be said of Chaucer.

³ Wood, Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ii. p. 134. Leland, Script. Brit. CHAUNDLERUS.

⁴ MSS. Harl. 43. 1. And MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 75,

⁵ MSS. Harl. 44. chart. et pergam.

⁶ MSS. B. 5. He bequeathed his *Biblia*, and other books, to this library.

⁷ This is among Rawlinson's Codd. impress. Bibl. Bodl. There is an English translation of Boethius by one George Colvil, or Coldewell, bred at Oxford, with the Latin, 'according to 'the boke of the translatour, which was a very old printe, Dedicated to queen Mary, and printed by John Cawood, 1556. 4to. Reprinted 1566. 4to.

The coronation of Henry V. was celebrated in Westminster-hall with a solemnity proportioned to the lustre of those great achievements which afterwards distinguished the annals of that victorious monarch. By way of preserving order, and to add to the splendor of the spectacle, many of the nobility were ranged along the sides of the tables on large war-horses, at this stately festival; which, says my chronicle, was a second feast of Ahasuerus¹. But I mention this ceremony, to introduce a circumstance very pertinent to our purpose; which is, that the number of harpers in the hall was innumerable, who undoubtedly accompanied their instruments with heroic rhymes. The king, however, was no great encourager of the popular minstrelsy, which seems at this time to have flourished in the highest degree of perfection. When he entered the city of London in triumph after the battle of Agincourt, the gates and streets were hung with tapestry, representing the histories of ancient heroes; and children were placed in artificial turrets, singing verses. But Henry, disgusted at these secular vanities, commanded by a formal edict, that for the future no songs should be recited by the harpers, or others, in praise of the recent victory². This prohibition had no other effect than that of displaying Henry's humility, perhaps its principal and real design. Among many others, a minstrel-piece soon appeared, evidently adapted to the harp, on the SEYGE of HARFLEET and the BATTLE of AGYNKOURTE. It was written about the year 1417. These are some of the most spirited lines.

Sent Jorge be fore our kyng they dyd se³,
 They trompyd up ful meryly,
 The grete battell to gederes zed⁴;
 Our archorys⁵ they schot ful hartely,
 They made the Frenche men faste to blede,
 Her arrowys they went with full good spede.
 Oure enemyes with them they gan down throwe
 Thorow breste plats, habourgenys, and basnets⁶.
 Eleven thousand was slayne on a rew⁷.
 Dentes of dethe men myzt well deme,
 So fercelly in ffelde theye gan fythe⁸.
 The heve upon here helmyts schene⁹
 With axes and with swerdys bryzt.
 When oure arowys were at a flyzt¹⁰
 Amon the Frenche men was a wel sory schere¹¹.
 Ther was to bryng of gold bokyld¹² so bryzt
 That a man myzt holde a strong armour.

¹ Thomæ de Elmham Vit. et Gest. Henr. V. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1727. cap. xii. p. 23. Compare Lel. Coll. APPEND. iii. 226. edit. 1770.

² 'CANTUS de suo triumpho fieri, seuper CITHARISTAS, vel. alios quoscunque, CANTARI, penitus prohibebat.' Ibid. p. 72. And Hearnii Præfat. p. xxix. seq. § viii. See also Hollingshed Chron. iii. p. 556. col. r. 40.

³ 'The French saw the standard of Saint George before our king.'

⁴ This is Milton's 'Together rush'd both battles main.'

⁶ Breast-plates, habergeons and helmets.

⁹ 'They struck upon their bright helmets.'

¹¹ Much distress.

⁵ Archers.

⁸ Fight.

¹⁰ Flying

¹² Buckled.

⁷ Row.

Owre gracyus kyng men myzt knowe
 That day fozt with hys owene hond,
 The erlys was dys comwityd up on a rowe¹,
 That he had slayne understand
 He there³ schevyd oure other lordys of thys lond,
 Forsothe that was a ful fayre daye.
 Therefore all England maye this syng
 LAWS³ DEO we may well saye.
 The Duke of Gloceter, that nys no nay
 That day full wordely⁴ he wrozt,
 On every side he made goode waye,
 The Frenche men faste to grond they browzt.
 The erle of Hontynton sparyd nozt,
 The erle of Oxynforthe⁵ layd on all soo⁶,
 The young erle of Devynschyre he ne rouzt,
 The Frenche men fast to grunde gan goo.
 Our Englysmen thei were ffoul seked do
 And ferce to fyzt as any lyone.
 Basnets bryzt they crasyd a to⁷,
 And bet the French banerys adoune ;
 As thonder-strokys ther was a scownde⁸,
 Of axys and sperys ther they gan glyd.
 The lordys of Franyse⁹ lost her renowne
 With gresoly¹⁰ wondys they gan abyde.
 The Frensche men, for all here pryde,
 They fell downe all at a flyzt :
Ie me rende they cryde, on every syde,
 Our Englysmen they understod nozt arizt¹¹.
 Their pollaxis owt of her hondys they twizt,
 And layde ham along stryte¹² upon the grasse.
 They sparyd nother deuke, erlle, ne knyght¹³.

These verses are much less intelligible than some of Gower's and Chaucer's pieces, which were written fifty years before. In the mean time we must not mistake provincial for national barbarisms. Every piece now written is by no means a proof of the actual state of style. The improved dialect, which yet is the estimate of a language, was confined only to a few writers, who lived more in the world and in polite life : and it was long, before a general change in the public phraseology was effected. Nor must we expect among the minstrels, who were equally careless and illiterate, those refinements of diction, which mark the compositions of men who professedly studied to embellish the English idiom.

¹ I believe it is 'The earls he had slain were all thrown together on a heap or in a row.'

² Shewed.

³ *Laus*.

⁴ Worthily.

⁵ Oxford.

⁶ Also.

⁷ 'They broke the bright helmets in two.'

⁸ Sound.

⁹ France.

¹⁰ Griesly.

¹¹ They did not rightly.

¹² Strait.

¹³ Printed [from MSS. Cotton. VITELL. D. XII. 11, fol. 214.] by Hearne. There is *The BATTLE of EGYNCOURTE*, Libr. impress. Bibl. Bodl. C. 39, 4to. Art. Selden. OBSERVAT. on Spens. ii. 41. Doctor Percy has printed an ancient ballad on this subject. ANC. BALL. vol. ii p. 24, edit. 1767.

Thomas Occleve is the first poet that occurs in the reign of Henry V. I place him about the year 1420. Occleve is a feeble writer, considered as a poet: and his chief merit seems to be, that his writings contributed to propagate and establish those improvements in our language which were now beginning to take place. He was educated in the municipal law¹, as were both Chaucer and Gower; and it reflects no small degree of honour on that very liberal profession, that its students were some of the first who attempted to polish and to adorn the English tongue.

The titles of Occleve's pieces, very few of which have been ever printed, indicate a coldness of genius; and on the whole promise no gratification to those who seek for invention and fancy. Such as, *The tale of Jonathas and of a wicked woman*². *Fable of a certain emperess*³. *A prologue of the nine lessons that is read over Allhalow-day*⁴. *The most profitable and holsomest craft that is to cunne*⁵, *to lerne to dye*⁶. *Consolation offered by an old man*⁷. *Pentastichon to the king. Mercy as defined by Saint Austin. Dialogue to a friend. Dialogue between Occleef and a beggar*⁸. *The letter of Cupid*⁹. *Verses to an empty purse*¹⁰. But Occleve's most considerable poem is a piece called a translation of Egidius DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM.

This is a sort of paraphrase of the first part of Aristotle's epistle to Alexander abovementioned, entitled SECRETUM SECRETORUM, of Egidius, and of Jacobus de Casulis, whom he calls *Jacob de Cassolis*. Egidius, a native of Rome, a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, eminent among the schoolmen by the name of *Doctor Fundatissimus*, and an archbishop, flourished about the year 1280. He wrote a Latin tract in three books DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM, or the ART OF GOVERNMENT, for the use of Philip le Hardi, son of Louis king of France, a work highly esteemed in the middle ages, and translated early into Hebrew, French¹¹, and Italian. In those days ecclesiastics and schoolmen presumed to dictate to kings, and to give rules for

¹ He studied in *Chestres-inn* where Somerset-house now stands, Buck, *De tertia Angliæ Accademia*, cap. xxv.

² Ubi. infr. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. From the GESTA ROMANORUM.

³ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Seld. supr. 53, Digb. 185. Laud. K. 78. MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 2. This story seems to be also taken from the GESTA ROMANORUM. Pr. 'In the ROMAN ACTVS writyn.'

⁴ Ubi. supr. Bibl. Bodl. MSS.

⁵ Know.

⁶ MSS. Bodl. ut supr. And MSS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 17 D. vi. 3, 4. The best MSS. of Occleve.

⁷ MSS. Digb. 185. More [Cant.] 427.

⁸ MSS. Harl. 4826, 6.

⁹ MSS. Digb. 181. MSS. Arch. Bodl. Seld. B. 24. It is printed in Chaucer's Works, Urr. p. 534. Bale [MSS. Glynn] mentions one or two more pieces, particularly *De Theseo Atheniensi*, lib. 1. Pr. 'Tum esset, ut veteres historiæ tradunt.' This is the beginning of Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE. And there are other pieces in the libraries.

¹⁰ This, and the *Pentastichon ad Regem*, are in MSS. Fairf. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. And in the editions of Chaucer. But the former appears to be Chaucer's, from the twenty additional stanzas not printed in Urry's Chaucer, pag. 549. MSS. Harl. 2251, 133, fol. 298.

¹¹ Wolf. Biblioth. Hebr. tom. iii. p. 1206. It was translated into French by Henry de Gand, at the command of Philip king of France. Mem. de Lit. tom. xvii. p. 733, 4to.

administering states, drawn from the narrow circle of speculation, and conceived amid the pedantries of a cloister. It was probably recommended to Occleve's notice, by having been translated into English by John Trevisa, a celebrated translator about the year 1390¹. The original was printed at Rome in 1482, and at Venice 1498, and, I think, again at the same place in 1598². The Italian translation was printed at Seville, in folio 1494, 'Translader de Latin en romance 'don Bernardo Obispo de Osma: impresso por Meynardo Ungut 'Alemano et Stanislaio Polono Companeros.' The printed copies of the Latin are very rare, but the manuscripts innumerable. A third part of the third book, which treats of *De Re Militari Veterum* was printed by Hahnus in 1722³. One of Egidius's books, a commentary on Aristotle *DE ANIMA*, is dedicated to our Edward I.⁴

Jacobus de Casulis, or of Casali in Italy, another of the writers copied in this performance by our poet Occleve, a French Dominican friar, about the year 1290, wrote in four parts a Latin treatise on chess, or, as it is entitled in some manuscripts, *De moribus hominum et de officiis nobilium super LUDO LATRUNCULORUM sive SCACCORUM*. In a parchment manuscript of the Harleian library, neatly illuminated, it is thus entitled, *LIBER MORALIS DE LUDO SCACCORUM, ad homorem et solacium Nobilium et maxime ludencium, per fratrem JACOBUM DE CASSULIS ordinis fratrum Prædicatorum*. At the conclusion, this work appears to be a translation⁵. Pits carelessly gives it to Robert Holcot, a celebrated English theologian, perhaps for no other reason than because Holcot was likewise a Dominican. It was printed at Milan in 1479. I believe it was as great a favourite as Egidius on GOVERNMENT, for it was translated into French by John Ferron, and John Du Vignay, a monk hospitalar of Saint James du Haut-pag⁶, under the patronage of Jeanne duchess of Bourgogne, Caxton's patroness, about the year 1360, with the title of *LE JEU DES ECHECS moralise, or Le traite des Nobles et de gens du peuple selon le JU DES ECHECS*. This was afterwards translated by Caxton, in 1474, who did not know that the French was a translation from the Latin, and called the *GAME OF THE CHESS*. It was also translated into German, both prose and verse, by Conrade

¹ Bib. Bodleian MSS. Digb. 233, *Princip*. 'To his special, [etc.] politik sentence that is. In this MSS. there is an elegant picture of a monk, or ecclesiastic, presenting a book to a king.

² All in folio. Those of 1482, and 1598, are in the Bodleian library. In All-Souls college library at Oxford, there is a MSS. *TABULA IN ÆGIDIUM DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM*, by one Thomas Abyndon. MSS. G. i. 5.

³ In the first tome of *Collectio Monumentorum veter. et recent. ineditorum*. E. Cod. MSS. in Biblioth. Obrechtina. The curious reader may see a full account of Ægidius de REGIMINE PRINCIPUM in Morlier, *Essais de Littérature*, tom. i. p. 198, seq. And of the Venetian edition in 1498, in Theophilus Sincerus *De Libris Ravariis*. tom. i. p. 82, seq.

⁴ Cave, p. 755, edit. 1688.

⁵ MSS. Harl. 1275, 1, 4to. membran.

⁶ Who also translated the *Golden Legend* of James de Voiaigne, and the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais. Vie de Petrarch tom. iii. p. 548. And Mem. Lit. xvii. 742. 746. 747. edit. 4to.

von Almenhusen¹. Bale absurdly supposes that Occleve made a separate and regular translation of this work².

Occleve's poem was never printed. This is a part of the Prologue.

Aristotle most famous filosofre³,
His epistles to Alisaunder sent ;
Whos sentence is wel bet then gold in cofre,
And more holsum, grounded in trewe entent,
Fore all that ever the Epistle ment
To sette us this worthi conqueroure
In rewle howe 'to susteyne his honoure,
The tender love, and the fervent good chere,
That the worthi clerke aye to this king bere,
Thrusting sore his welth durable to be,
Unto his hert slah and sate sovere,
That bi writing his counsel gaf he clere
Unto his lord to hope him from mischaunce,
As witnesseth his Boke of Governauce⁴,
Of which, and of Giles his REGIMENT⁵
Of prince's plotmele, think I to translete, &c.
My dere mayster, god his soul quite⁶,
And fader Chaucer fayne would have me taught,
But I was dule⁷, and learned lyte or naught.
Alas my worthie maister honorable,
This londis verray tresour and richesse,
Deth by thy deth hathe harme irreparable
Unto us done : his vengeable duresse⁸
Dispoiled hath this lond of the sweetnesse
Of rhetoricke, for unto Tullius
Was never man so like amongst us.
Alas ! who was here⁹ in phylosophy
To Aristotle in owre tonge but thow ?
The steppis of Virgile in poefie

¹ Jacob. Quetif. tom. i. p. 471. ii. p. 818. Lambecc. tom. ii. Bibl. Vindob. p. 848. One Simeon Ailward, an Englishman, about the year 1456, wrote a Latin poem *De Ludo Scaccorum*. Pits. APPEND. p. 909. Princip. 'Ludus scaccorum datur hic correctio morum.'

² Bale in *Occleve*.

³ The learned doctor Gerard Langbaine, speaking of the *Regimine Principum* by Occleve, says that it is 'collected out of Aristotle, Alexander, and Ægidius on the same, and Jacobus 'de Cassolis (a fryar preacher) his book of chess, viz. that part where he speaks of the king's 'draught, &c.' Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Langb. Cod. xv. page 102. The author of the *Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, was Gerard the son of doctor Langbaine, provost of Queen's college, Oxford. This book was first published under the title of *Momus Triumphans*, Lond. 1687. 4to. Five hundred copies were quickly sold ; but the remainder of the impression appeared the next year with a new title, *A new Catalogue of English Plays, containing comedies, &c.* Lond. 1688. 4to. The author at length digested his work anew with great accessions and improvements, which he entitled as above, *An account of the English Dramatic Poets, &c.*, Oxon. 1691. 8vo. This book, a good ground-work for a new publication on the same subject and plan, and which has merit as being the first attempt of the kind, was reprinted by Curl, with flimsy additions, under the conduct of Giles Jacob, a hero of the Dunciad, Lond. 1719. 8vo. Our author, after a classical education, was first placed with a bookseller in London ; but at sixteen years of age, in 1672, he became a gentleman commoner of University college in Oxford. His literature chiefly consisted in a knowledge of the novels and plays of various languages ; and he was a constant and critical attendant of the play-houses for many years. Retiring to Oxford in the year 1690, he died the next year ; having amassed a collection of more than a thousand printed plays, masques, and interludes.

⁴ Aristotle's *Secretum Secretorum*.

⁵ Ægidius de *Regimine Principum*.

⁶ Aquitt. Save.

⁷ Dull.

⁸ Cruelty.

⁹ There.

Thou suedest¹ eke : men knowe well inowe
 That combre-world² that thou, my mayster, flowe³ :
 Wold I slaine were ! Deth was ta hastise
 To renne on thee, and reve thee of thy life :
 She might have tarried her vengeaunce awhile
 To that some man had egal to thee be :
 Nay, let that be : she knew well that this isle
 May never man forth bryng like unto thee,
 And her of offis nedis do mote she ;
 God bade her so, I trust for all the best,
 O mayster, mayster, god thy soule rest !

In another part of the Prologue we have these pathetic lines, which seem to flow warm from the heart, to the memory of the immortal Chaucer, who I believe was rather Occleve's model than his master, or perhaps the patron and encourager of his studies.

But weleawaye, so is myne herte wo
 That the honour of English tonge is dede,
 Of which I wont was han counsel and rede !
 O mayster dere, and fadir reverent,
 My mayster Chaucer, floure of eloquence,
 Mirrour of fructuous entendement,
 O universal fadir in science.
 Alas that thou thine excellent prudence
 In thy bed mortel mighest not bequethe,
 What eyled⁴ Deth ? Alas why would he eyled' the !
 O Deth that didst nought harm singulere
 In slaughtre of him, but all the lond it smertith :
 But nathelesse yit hastowe⁵ no powere
 His name to sle. His hie vertue astertith
 Unslayn from thee, which aye us lifely hertith
 With boke of his ornate enditing,
 That is to all this lond enlumyning⁶.

Occleve seems to have written some of these verses immediately on Chaucer's death, and to have introduced them long afterwards into this Prologue.

It is in one of the royal MSS. of this poem in the British Museum that Occleve has left a drawing of Chaucer⁷ : according to which, Chaucer's portraiture was made on his monument, in the chapel of Saint Blase in Westminster-abbey, by the benefaction of Nicholas

¹ Followedst.

² He calls death the *encumbrance* of the *world*. The expression seems to be taken from Chaucer, where Troilus says of himself, 'I *combre-world*, that maie of nothing serve.' Tr. Cress. p. 307. v. 279. Urr. edit.

³ Slew.

⁴ Ailed.

⁵ Hast thou.

⁶ MSS. Rawlins. 647. fol. This poem has at the end 'Explicit Ægidius de Reginine Principum' in MSS. Laud. K. 78. Bibl. Bodl. Ibid. MSS. Selden. Supr. 53. Digb. 185. MSS. Ashmol. 40. MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1. 17. D. xviii. MSS. Harl. 4286. 7. and 4866. In some of these a sort of dialogue is prefixed between a father and a son. Occleve, in the Prologue cited in the text, mentions *Jacobus de Cassolis* [Casulis] as one of its authors.

⁷ MSS. Reg. 17 D. vi. 1.

Brigham, in the year 1556¹. And from this drawing, in 1598, John Speed procured the print of Chaucer prefixed to Speght's edition of his works ; which has been since copied in a most finished engraving by Vertue². Yet it must be remembered, that the same drawing occurs in an Harleian MSS. written about Occleve's age³, and in another of the Cottonian department⁴. Occleve himself mentions this drawing in his *CONSOLATIO SERVILIS*. It exactly resembles the curious picture on board of our venerable bard, preserved in the Bodleian gallery at Oxford. I have a very old picture of Chaucer on board, much like Occleve's, formerly kept in Chaucer's house, a quadrangular stone-mansion, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire ; which commanded a prospect of the ancient magnificent royal palace, and of many beautiful scenes in the adjacent park : and whose last remains, chiefly consisting of what was called Chaucer's bed-chamber, with an old carved oaken roof, evidently original, were demolished about fifteen years ago. Among the ruins, they found an ancient gold coin of the city of Florence⁵. Before the grand rebellion, there was in the windows of the church of Woodstock, an escutcheon in painted glass of the arms of sir Payne Rouet, a knight of Henault, whose daughter Chaucer had married.

Occleve, in this poem, and in others, often celebrates Humphrey duke of Gloucester⁶ ; who at the dawn of science was a singular promoter of literature, and, however unqualified for political intrigues, the common patron of the scholars of the times. A sketch of his character in that view, is therefore too closely connected with our subject to be censured as an unnecessary digression. About the year 1440, he gave to the university of Oxford a library containing 600 volumes, only 120 of which were valued at more than one hundred thousand pounds. These books are called *Novi Tractatus*, or New Treatises, in the university-register⁷, and said to be *admirandi apparatus*⁸. They were the most splendid and costly copies that could be procured, finely written in vellum, and elegantly embellished with minatures and illuminations. Among the rest was a translation into French of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*⁹. Only a single specimen of these valuable volumes was suffered to remain : it is a beautiful MSS. in folio of Valerius Maximus, enriched with the most elegant decorations, and written in Duke Humphrey's age, evidently with a design of being placed in this

¹ He was of Caversham in Oxfordshire. Educated at Hart-Hall, in Oxford, and studied the law. He died at Westminster, 1559.

² In Urry's edit. 1721. fol.

³ MSS. Harl. 4866. The drawing is at fol. 91.

⁴ MSS. Cotton. OTH. A. 18.

⁵ I think a FLOREIN, anciently common in England. Chaucer, *PARDON. TALE*, v. 2290. p. 135. col. 2. ⁶ For that the FLORAINS ben so faire and bright. Edward III., in 1344, altered it from a lower value to 6s. and 8d. The particular piece I have mentioned seems about that value.

⁷ As he does John of Gaunt.

⁸ Reg. F. fol. 52, 53, b. Epist. 142.

⁹ Leland. coll. iii. p. 58, edit. 1770.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 57, b. 60, a. Epist. 148.

sumptuous collection. All the rest of the books, which, like this, being highly ornamented, looked like missals, and conveyed ideas of popish superstition, were destroyed or removed by the pious visitors of the university in the reign of Edward VI., whose zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice. A great number of classics, in this grand work of reformation, were condemned as anti-christian¹. In the library of Oriel college at Oxford, we find a MSS. *Commentary on Genesis*, written by John Capgrave, a monk of saint Austin's monastery at Canterbury, a learned theologist of the fourteenth century. It is the author's autograph, and the work is dedicated to Humphrey duke of Gloucester. In the superb initial letter of the dedicatory epistle is a curious illumination of the author Capgrave, humbly presenting his book to his patron the duke, who is seated, and covered with a sort of hat. At the end is this entry, in the hand-writing of duke Humphrey. '*C'est livre est a moy Humfrey duc de Gloucestre du don de frere Jehan Capgrave, quy le me fist presenter a mon manoyr de Pensherst le jour . . . de l'an. MCCCXXXVIII,*'² This is one of the books which Humphrey gave to his new library at Oxford destroyed or dispersed by the active reformers of the young Edward.³ John Whethamstede, a learned abbot of saint Alban's, and a lover of scholars, but accused by his monks for neglecting their affairs, while he was too deeply engaged in studious employments and in procuring transcripts of useful books⁴, notwithstanding his unwearied assiduity in beautifying and enriching their monastery⁵, was in high favour with this munificent prince⁶. The duke was fond of visiting this monastery, and employed abbot Whethamstede to collect valuable books for him⁷.

¹ Some however had been before stolen or mutilated. Leland, col. iii. p. 58, edit. 1770.

² Cod. MSS. 32.

³ He gave also Capgrave *SUPER EXODUM ET REGUM LIBROS*. Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. fol. 67. b.

⁴ We are told in this abbot's *GESTA*, that soon after his instalment he built a library for his abbey, a design which had long employed his contemplation. He covered it with lead; and expended on the bare walls, besides desks, glazing, and embattelling, or, to use the expressions of my chronologer, *deducta vitriacione, crestacione, positione descorum*, upwards of one hundred and twenty pounds. Hearne's *OTTERBOURNE*, vol. i. Præfat. Append. p. cxxiii. ed. Oxon. 1732. He founded also a library for all the students of his monastery at Oxford, *Ibid.* p. cxiii. And to each of these students he allowed an annual pension, at his own expense, of thirteen shillings and fourpence. *Ibid.* p. cxviii. See also p. cxxix. A grand transcript of the *Postilla* of Nicholas de Lyra on the bible was begun during his abbacy, and at his command, with the most splendid ornaments and handwriting. The monk who records this important anecdote, lived soon after him, and speaks of this great undertaking, then unfinished, as if it was some magnificent public edifice. 'God grant, says he, that this work in our days may receive a happy consummation!' *Ibid.* p. cxvi.

⁵ Among other things, he expended forty pounds in adorning the roof and walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel with pictures. *GEST.* ut supr. p. cx. He gave to the choir of the church an organ; than which, says my chronicler, there was not one to be found in any monastery in England, more beautiful in appearance, more pleasing for its harmony, or more curious in its construction. It cost upwards of fifty pounds. *Ibid.* p. cxxviii. His new buildings were innumerable: and the *MASTER OF THE WORKS* was of his institution, with an ample salary. *Ibid.* p. cxiii.

⁶ Leland, *Script. Brit.* p. 437.

⁷ Leland, *ibid.* 442, 432. Hollinsh. *Chron.* f. 488, b. And f. 1234, 1235, 1080, 868, 662. Weever *FUN. MON.* p. 562, 574. Whethamstede erected in his lifetime the beautiful tabernacle or shrine of stone, now remaining, over the tomb of duke Humphrey in saint Alban's abbey church. Hearne's *OTTERBOURNE*.

Some of Whethamstede's tracts, MSS. copies of which often occur in our libraries, are dedicated to the duke¹: who presented many of them, particularly a fine copy of Whethamstede's *GRANARIUM*,² an immense work, which Leland calls *ingens volumen*, to the new library³. The copy of Valerius Maximus, which I mentioned before, has a curious table or index made by Whethamstede⁴. Many other abbots paid their court to the duke by sending him presents of books, whose margins were adorned with the most exquisite paintings⁵. Gilbert Kymer, physician to king Henry VI., among other ecclesiastic promotions, dean of Salisbury, and chancellor of the university of Oxford⁶, inscribed to duke Humphrey his famous medical system *Diaetarium de sanitatis custodia*, in the year 1424⁷. I do not mean to anticipate when I remark, that Lydgate, a poet mentioned hereafter, translated Boccaccio's book de *CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM* at the recommendation and command, and under the protection and superintendence, of duke Humphrey: whose condescension in conversing with learned ecclesiastics, and diligence in study, the translator displays at large, and in the strongest expressions of panegyric. He compares the duke to Julius Cesar, who amidst the weightiest cares of state, was not ashamed to enter the rhetorical school of Cicero at Rome⁸. Nor was his patronage confined only to English scholars. His favour was solicited by the most celebrated writers of France and Italy, many of whom he bountifully rewarded⁹. Leonard Aretine, one of the first restorers of the Greek tongue in Italy, which he learned of Emanuel Chrysoloras, and of polite literature in general, dedicates to this universal patron his elegant Latin translation of Aristotle's *POLITICS*. The copy presented to the duke by the translator, most elegantly illuminated, is now in the Bodleian library at Oxford¹⁰. To the same noble encourager of learning, Petrus Candidus, the friend of Laurentius Valla, and secretary to the great Cosmo duke of Milan, inscribed by the advice of the Archbishop of Milan, a Latin version of

¹ Whethamstede, *De viris illustribus*, Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. TIBER. D. vi. i. OTH. B. iv. And Hearne, Pref. Pet. Lantoft. p. xix. seq.

² Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. f. 68.

³ MSS. Bodl. NE. vii. ii.

⁴ Multos codices, *pulcherrime pictos*, ab abbatibus dono accepit.' The Duke wrote in the frontispieces of his books, *MOUN DIEN MONDAIN*. Leland. Coll. iii. p. 58, edit. ut supr.

⁵ By the recommendatory letters of duke Humphrey. Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. fol. 75, Epist. 180.

⁶ Hearne's Append. ad Libr. Nigr. Scaccar. p. 550. Præfat. p. 34.

⁷ PROL. Sign. A. ii. A. iii. edit. Wayland, ut supr. He adds,

And hath joye with clarkes to commune,
Stable in study.—
To study in bokes of antiquitie.—
Readyng of bokes.—
Under the wings of his protection,—
Lowly submittyng, every houre and space,

And no man is more expert in langage,
His courage never dothe the appall
He studieth ever to have intelligence,
And with support of his magnificence,
I shall proceed in this translation.—
My rude langage to my lordes grace.

Fol. xxxviii. b. col. 2. Lydgate has an epitaph on the duke, MSS. Ashmol. 59. 2. MSS. Marl. 2251, 6, fol. 7. There is a curious letter of Lydgate, in which he sends for a supply of money to the duke, while he was translating BOCHAS. 'Littera dom. Joh. Lydgate missa ad ducem Glocestrie in *tempore translationis Bochasii, pro oportunitate pecunie*.' MSS. fol. 5, fol. 6. Ibid. 131, fol. 579, b. of the duke's marriage.

⁹ Leland, Script. p. 442.

¹⁰ See MSS. Bodl. D. i. 8, 10. And Leland, Script. p. 443.

Plato's REPUBLIC¹. An illuminated MSS. of this translation is in the British museum, perhaps the copy presented, with two epistles prefixed, from the duke to Petrus Candidus². Petrus de Monte, another learned Italian, of Venice, in the dedication of his treatise DE VIRTUTUM ET VITIORUM DIFFERENTIA to the duke of Gloucester, mentions the latter's ardent attachment to books of all kinds, and the singular avidity with which he pursued every species of literature³. A tract, entitled COMPARATIO STUDIORUM ET ERIGENDI MILITARIS, written by Lopus de Castellione, a Florentine civilian, and a great translator into Latin of the Greek classics, is also inscribed to the duke, at the desire of Zeno archbishop of Bayeux. I must not forget, that our illustrious duke invited into England the learned Italian, Tito Livio of Foro-Julii, whom he naturalised, and constituted his poet and orator⁴. Humphrey also retained learned foreigners in his service, for the purpose of transcribing, and of translating from Greek into Latin. One of these was Antonio de Beccaria, a Veronese, a translator into Latin prose of the Greek poem of Dionysius Aser DE SITU ORBIS⁵: whom the duke employed to translate into Latin six tracts of Athanasius. This translation, inscribed to the duke, is now among the royal MSS. in the British Museum, and at the end, in his own hand-writing, is the following insertion: 'C'est livre est a moi Humphrey Duc le Gloucestre: le quel je sis translater de Grec en Latin par un de mes secretaires Antoyne de Beccara, ne de Verone⁶.'

An astronomical tract, entitled by Leland TABULÆ DIRECTIONUM, is falsely supposed to have been written by duke Humphrey⁷. But it was compiled at the duke's instance, and according to tables which himself had constructed, called by the anonymous author in his preface, *Tabulas illustrissimi principis et nobilissimi domini mei Humfredi*, &c⁸. In the library of Gresham college, however, there is a scheme of calculations in astronomy, which bear his name⁹. Astronomy was then a favourite science: nor is to be doubted, that he was intimately acquainted with the politer branches of know-

¹ Leland, Script. p. 442. And Mus. Ashmol. 789, f. 54, 56. Where are also two of the duke's epistles to Petrus Candidus.

² P. Candidi Decembris, Duci Mediolani a secretis, Translatio POLITIÆ Platonis,—ad Humfredum Gloucestrie Ducem, &c. Cui præfiguntur duæ Epistolæ Ducis Gloucestris ad P. Candidum. Most elegantly written. Membran. ad fin. 'C'est livre est a moy Humfrey Duc de Gloucestre du don P. Candidus secretaire du duc de Mylan.' Catal. MSS. Angl. tom. ii. pag. 212. Num. 6858. [See MSS. Harl. 1705. fol.]

³ MSS. Nowic. MORE. 257. Bibl. pub. Cantabrig.

⁴ Author of the *Vita Henrici quinti*, printed by Hearne, Oxon, 1716. And of other pieces. Hollinshed iii. 585.

⁵ Printed at Venice 1477. Ibid. 1498. Paris 1501. Basil. 1534. 4to.

⁶ MSS. Reg. 5 F. 4to, ii. In the same library is a fine folio MSS. of 'Chronique des Roys de France jusques a la mort de S. Loys, l'an. 1270.' At the end is written with the duke of Gloucester's hand, 'C'est livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucester du don des executeurs le Sr de Faunhore.' 16 G. vi.

⁷ Hollingsh. Chron. sub. ann. 1461. f. 662. col. 2.

⁸ MSS. More, 820.

⁹ MSS. Gresh. 66. See MSS. Ashmol. 156.

ledge, which now began to acquire estimation, and which his liberal and judicious attention greatly contributed to restore.

I close this section with an apology for Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve; who are supposed, by the severer etymologists, to have corrupted the purity of the English language, by affecting to introduce so many foreign words and phrases. But if we attend only to the politics of the times, we shall find these poets, as also some of their successors, much less blameable in this respect, than the critics imagine. Our wars with France, which began in the reign of Edward III., were of long continuance. The principal nobility of England, at this period, resided in France, with their families, for many years. John king of France kept his court in England: to which, exclusive of those French lords who were his fellow-prisoners, or necessary attendants, the chief nobles of his kingdom must have occasionally resorted. Edward the black prince made an expedition into Spain. John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, and his brother the duke of York, were matched with the daughters of Don Pedro king of Castile. All these circumstances must have concurred to produce a perceptible change in the language of the court. It is rational therefore, and it is equitable to suppose, that instead of coining new words, they only complied with the common and fashionable modes of speech. Would Chaucer's poems have been the delight of those courts in which he lived, had they been filled with unintelligible pedantries? The contemporaries of these poets never complained of their obscurity. But whether defensible on these principles or not, they much improved the vernacular style by the use of this exotic phraseology. It was thus that our primitive diction was enlarged and enriched. The English language owes its copiousness, elegance, and harmony, to these innovations.

SECTION XXI.

I consider Chaucer as a genial day in an English spring. A brilliant sun enlivens the face of nature with an unusual lustre: the sudden appearance of cloudless skies, and the unexpected warmth of a tepid atmosphere, after the gloom and the inclemencies of a tedious winter, fill our hearts with the visionary prospect of a speedy summer: and we fondly anticipate a long continuance of gentle gales and vernal serenity. But winter returns with redoubled horrors: the clouds condense more formidably than before: and those tender buds, and early blossoms, which were called forth by the transient gleam of a temporary sunshine, are nipped by frosts, and torn by tempests.

Most of the poets that immediately succeeded Chaucer, seem rather relapsing into barbarism, than availing themselves of those striking ornaments which his judgment and imagination had disclosed. They appear to have been insensible to his vigour of versification, and his flights of fancy. It was not indeed likely that a poet should soon arise equal to Chaucer: and it must be remembered, that the national distractions which ensued, had no small share in obstructing the exercise of those studies which delight in peace and repose. His successors, however, approach him in no degree of proportion. Among these, John Lydgate is the poet who follows him at the shortest interval.

I have placed Lydgate in the reign of Henry VI., and he seems to have arrived at his highest point of eminence about the year 1430¹. Many of his poems, however, appeared before. He was a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Bury in Suffolk, and an uncommon ornament of his profession. Yet his genius was so lively, and his accomplishments so numerous, that I suspect the holy father saint Benedict would hardly have acknowledged him for a genuine disciple. After a short education at Oxford, he travelled into France and Italy²; and returned a complete master of the language and the literature of both countries. He chiefly studied the Italian and French poets, particularly Dante, Boccaccio, and Alain Chartier; and became so distinguished a proficient in polite learning, that he opened a school in the monastery, for teaching the sons of the nobility the arts of versification, and the elegancies of composition. Yet although philology was his object, he was not unfamiliar with the fashionable philosophy: he was not only a poet and a rhetorician, but a geometrician, and astronomer, a theologian, and a disputant. On the whole I am of opinion, that Lydgate made considerable additions to those amplications of our language, in which Chaucer, Gower, and Occleve led the way: and that he is the first of our writers whose style is clothed with that perspicuity in which the English phraseology appears at this day to an English reader.

To emunerate Lydgate's pieces, would be to write the catalogue of a little library. No poet seems to have possessed a greater versatility of talents. He moves with equal ease in every mode of composition. His hymns, and his ballads, have the same degree of merit: and whether his subject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of saint Austin or

¹ In a copy of Lydgate's *Chronicle of English Kings*, there is a stanza of Edward IV. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3. In his poem *Ab inimicis nostris*, &c. Edward IV. his *Quene* and *Modir* are remembered. MSS. Harl. *ibid.* 9, fol. 10. But these pieces could not well be written by Lydgate. For he was ordained a subdeacon, 1359. Deacon, 1393. And priest, 1397. Registr. Gul. Cratfield, abbat of Bury, MSS. Cott. TIBER. B. ix. fol. 1. 35. 52. Edward came to the crown, 1461. Pitts says, that our author died, 1482. Lydgate, in his *PHILOMELA*, mentions the death of Henry lord Warwick, who died in 1446. MSS. Harleian *ibid.* 120. fol. 255.

² See one of his DITTIES, MSS. Harl. 2255. 41. fol. 148.

I have been offe in dyvers londys, &c.

Guy earl of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, religious or romantic, a history or an allegory, he writes with facility. His transitions were rapid from works of the most serious and laborious kind to sallies of levity and pieces of popular entertainment. His muse was of universal access; and he was not only a poet of his monastery, but of the world in general. If a disguising was intended by the company of goldsmiths, a mask before his majesty at Eltham, a maygame for the sheriffs and aldermen of London, a mumming before the lord mayor, a procession of pageants from the creation for the festival of Corpus Christi, or a carol for the coronation, Lydgate was then consulted and gave the poetry¹.

About the year 1430, Whethamstede the learned and liberal abbot of saint Albans, being desirous of familiarising the history of his patron saint to the monks of his convent, employed Lydgate, as it should seem then a monk of Bury, to translate the Latin legend of his life in English rhymes.

The chronicler who records a part of this anecdote seems to consider Lydgate's translation, as a matter of mere manual mechanism; for he adds, that Whethamstede paid for the translation, the writing, and illuminations, one hundred shillings. It was placed before the altar of the saint, which Whethamstede afterwards adorned with much magnificence, in the abbey church².

Our author's stanzas, called the DANCE OF DEATH, which he translated from the French, at the request of the chapter of saint Paul's, to be inscribed under the representation of DEATH leading all ranks of men about the cloister of the church in a curious series of paintings, are well known. But their history has not I believe, yet appeared. These verses, founded on a sort of spiritual masquerade, anciently celebrated in churches³, were originally written by one Macaber in German rhymes, and were translated into Latin about the year 1460, by one who calls himself Petrus Defrey Orator. This Latin translation was published by Goldastus, at the end of the SPECULUM OMNIUM STATUUM TOTIUS ORBIS TERRARUM compiled by Rodericus Zamorensis, and printed at Hanau in the year 1613⁴. But a French translation was made much

¹ See a variety of his pieces of this kind, MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii. Stowe says, that at the reception of Margaret queen of Henry VI., several pageants, the verses by Lydgate, were shewn at Paul's gate, in 1445. Hist. p. 385. MSS. Harl. 2251. 118. fol. 250. b. The COVENTRY PLAY for Corpus Christi day, in the Cotton library, was very probably written by our author. VESPAS. D. viii. fol.

² GEST. Joh. Whethamst. ut supr. p. cxvi. cxxvii. cxxiv. It is added, that Whethamstede expended on the binding, and other exterior ornaments of the manuscript, upwards of three pounds. Bale and Pitts say, that Whethamstede himself made the translation. p. 584. 630. It is in Trinity college at Oxford, MSS. 10. And in Lincoln cathedral, MSS. I. 57. Among Lydgate's works is recited, *Vita S. Albani Martyris ad JOH. FRUMENTARIUM* [Whethamstede] *abbatem*.

³ A DANCE OF DEATH seems to be alluded to so early as in Pierce Plowman's VISIONS, written about 1350.

DEATH came driving after and al to dust pashed
KINGS, and KAISARS, KNIGHTS, and POPES.

⁴ In 4to.

earlier than the Latin, and written about the walls of Saint Innocents cloisters at Paris: from which Lydgate formed his English version¹.

In the British Museum is a most splendid and elegant manuscript on vellum, undoubtedly a present to king Henry VI². It contains a set of Lydgate's poems, in honour of saint Edmund the patron of his monastery at Bury. Besides the decoration of illuminated initials, and one hundred and twenty pictures of various sizes, representing the incidents related in the poetry, executed, with the most delicate pencil, and exhibiting the habits, weapons, architecture, utensils, and many other curious particulars, belonging to the age of the ingenious illuminator, there are two exquisite portraits of the king, one of William Curteis abbot of Bury, and one of the poet Lydgate kneeling at saint Edmund's shrine³. In one of the king's pictures, he is represented on his throne, crowned, and receiving this volume from the abbot kneeling: in another he appears as a child prostrate on a carpet at saint Edmund's shrine, which is richly delineated, yet without any idea of perspective or proportion. The figures of a great number of monks, and attendants, are introduced. Among the rest, two noblemen, perhaps the king's uncles, with bonnets, or caps, of an uncommon shape. It appears that our pious monarch kept his Christmas at this magnificent monastery, and that he remained here, in a state of seclusion from the world, and

¹ See the DAUNCE OF MACABRE, MSS. Harl. 116. 9. fol. 129. OBSERVATIONS on the FAIRY QUEEN, vol. ii, p. 116, seq. The DANCE OF DEATH, falsely supposed to have been invented by Holbein, is different from this, though founded in the same idea. It was painted by Holbein in the Augustine monastery at Basil, 1543. But it appeared much earlier. In the chronicle of Hartmannus Schedelius, Norimb. 1493, fol. In the Quotidian Offices of the church, Paris, 1515. 8vo. And, in public buildings, at Minden, in Westphalia, so early as 1383. At Lubec, in the portico of St. Mary's church, 1463. At Dresden, in the castle or palace, 1534. At Annaberg, 1525. At Leipsic, &c. Paul Christian Hilscher has written a very learned and entertaining German book on this subject, printed at Dresden, 1705, 8vo. Engravings of Holbein's pictures at Basil were published, curante Matthæo Meriano, at Francfort 1649, and 1725, 4to. The German verses there ascribed, appeared in Latin elegiacs, in Caspar Laudisman's DECENNALIA HUMANÆ PEREGRINATIONIS, A.D. 1584. I have not mentioned in my Observations on Spenser, that Georgius Æmylius published this DANCE at Lyons, 1542. One year before Holbein's painting at Basil appeared. Next, at the same place, 1547. 8vo. 'The most ancient complete French copy of LA DANSE MACABRE was printed in folio at Lyons, in 1499, together with some other short spiritual pieces, under the title *La Grand DANSE MACABRE des hommes et des femmes historée avec de beaux dits en Latin et huitains en Francois*, &c. To this work Erasmus alludes in the third book of his 'RATIO CONCIONANDI, where he says, 'Quin et vulgares rhetoristarum censuerunt hoc decus, qui interdum versus certo numero comprehendis, pro crassula, accinunt brevem et argutam sententiam, velut in Rhythmus quos Gallus quispiam editit in CHOREAM MORTIS.' tom. v, Opp. pag. 1007. Naude calls this allegory, 'Chorea ab eximio Macabro edita.' MASCUR. p. 224. I believe the first Latin edition, that of Pierre Desrey which I have mentioned, was printed at Troye in 1490, not 1466. The French have an old poem, partly on the same idea, LA DANSE DES AVEUGLES, under the conduct of Love, Fortune, and Death, written by Pierre Michault, about the year 1466. See MEM. ACAD. INSCRIPT. et BEL. LET. ii, 742. And Goujet, BIBL. FR. ix. 358. In De Bure's BIBLIOGRAPHIE INSTRUCTIVE, an older but less perfect edition of *Le Danse Macabre* is recited, printed at Paris in 1486, for Guyot Marchant. fol. In this edition the French rhymes are said to be by Michel Marot. tom. i, p. 512, num. 3709. BELL. LETTR. He has catalogued all the ancient editions of this piece in French, which are many. Pierre Desrey abovementioned wrote a French romance called LA GENEALOGIE, on Godfrey Bouloign. Paris, 1511. fol.

² MSS. Harl. 2278. 4to.

³ There is an ancient drawing, probably coeval, of Lydgate presenting his poem called the PILGRIM to the earl of Salisbury, MSS. Harl. 4826, 1. It was written 1426. Another of these drawings will be mentioned below.

of an exemption from public cares, till the following Easter : and that at his departure he was created a brother of the chapter¹. It is highly probable, that this sumptuous book, the poetry of which was undertaken by Lydgate at the command of abbot Curteis², was previously prepared, and presented to his majesty during the royal visit, or very soon afterwards. The substance of the whole work is the life or history of saint Edmund, whom the poet calls the precious charboncle of martirs alle³. In some of the prefatory pictures, there is a description and a delineation of two banners, pretended to belong to saint Edmund⁴. One of these is most brilliantly displayed, and charged with Adam and Eve, the serpent with a human shape to the middle, the tree of life, the holy lamb, and a variety of symbolical ornaments. This banner our bard feigns to have been borne by his saint, who was a king of the east Angles, against the Danes ; and he prophesies, that king Henry, with his ensign, would always return victorious.⁵ The other banner, given also to saint Edmund, appears to be painted with the arms of our poet's monastery, and its blazoning is thus described.

The' other standard, ffield sable, off colour ynde⁶,

In which of gold been notable crownys thre,

The first tokne : in cronycle men may fynde,

Grauntyd to hym for royal dignyte :

And the second for his virgynyte :

For martyrdom the thridde, in hls suffring.

To these annexyd feyth, hope, and charyte,

In tokne he was martyr, mayd, and kyng.

These three crownys⁷ kynge Edmund bar certeyn,

Whan he was sent by grace of goddis hand,

At Geynesburuhe for to sleyn kyng Sweyn.

A sort of office, or service to saint Edmund, consisting of an antiphone, versicle, response, and collect, is introduced with these verses.

To all men present, or in absence,

Which to seynt Edmund have devocion

With hool herte and dewe reverence,

Seyn⁴ this antephne and this orison ;

¹ Fol. 6.

² Curteis was abbot of Bury between the years 1429, and 1445. It appears that Lydgate was also commanded, 'Late charchyd in myn oold days,' to make an English metrical translation of *De Profundis*, &c. To be hung against the walls of the abbey church. MSS. Harl. 2255. 11. fol. 40. See the last stanza.

³ The poet's *Prayer to St. Edmund for his assistance in compiling his LIFE*, fol. 9. The history begins thus, fol. 10, b.

In Saxonie whilom ther was kyng

Called Alkmond of excellent noblesse.

It seems to be taken from John of Tinmouth's *SANCTOLOGIUM*, who flourished about the year 1360. At the end, connected with St. Edmund's legend, and a part of the work, is the life of St. Fremund. fol. 69, b. But Lydgate has made many additions. It begins thus,

Who han remembre the myracles merueilous

Which Crist Jhesu list for his seyntes shewe.

Compare MSS. Harl. 372, 1. 2, fol. 1, 25, 43. b.

⁴ Fol. 2, 4,

⁵ Fol. 2.

⁶ Blue.

⁷ See fol. 103, b. f. 104.

⁸ Sing.

Two hundred days is grauntid of pardoun,
Writ and registred afforn his holy shryne,
Which for our feyth suffrede passioun,
Blyssyd Edmund, kyng, martyr, and virgyne.

This is our poet's *Envoye*.

Go littel book, be ferfull, quaak for drede,
For to appere in so hyhe presence¹.

Lydgate's poem called the *LYFE OE OUR LADY*, printed by Caxton², is opened with these harmonious and elegant lines, which do not seem to be destitute of that eloquence which the author wishes to share with Tully, Petrarch, and Chaucer³. He compares the holy Virgin to a star.

O thoughtfull herte, plunged in distresse
With slombre of slouth, this long wynter's night!
Out of the slepe of mortal hevinesse
Awake anon, and loke upon the light
Of thilke sterre, that with her bemys bright,
And with the shynyng of her stremes merye,
Is wont to glad all our hemisperie⁴!—

This sterre in beautie passith Pleiades,
Bothe of shynyng, and eke of stremes clere,
Bootes, and Arctur, and also Iades,
And Esperus, whan that it doth appere:
For this is Spica, wit her brighte spere⁵,
That towarde evyn, at midnyght, and at morowe,
Down from hevyn adawith⁶ al our sorowe.—

And dryeth up the bytter terys wet
Of Aurora, after the morowe graye,
That she in wepyng dothe on floures flete⁷,
In lusty Aprill, and in freshe Maye:
And causeth Phebus, the bryght somers daye,
Wyth his wayne gold-yborned⁸, bryght and fayre,
To' enchase the mystes of our cloudy ayre.

Now fayre sterre, O sterre of sterrys all!
Whose lyght to se the angels do delyte,
So let the gold-dewe of thy grace yfall
Into my breste, lyke scalys fayre and whyte,
Me to enspire⁹!— — — —

Lydgate's manner is naturally verbose and diffuse. This circumstance contributed in no small degree to give a clearness and a fluency to his phraseology. For the same reason he is often tedious and

¹ Fol. 118. b.

² 'This book was compyled by Dan John Lydgate monke of Burye, at the excitation and styrrynge of the noble and victorious prynce, Harry the fyfthe, in the honowre, glory and reverance of the byrthe of our most blessed lady, &c.' Without date. fol. Afterwards by Robert Redman. 1531. 4to. See MSS. Harl. 629. fol. membran.

⁴ Hemisphere. ⁵ Sphere.

⁶ Affright. Remove.

³ Cap. xxxiii. xxxiv.

⁷ Float. Drop.

⁸ Burnished with gold. So in Lydgate's Legend on Dan Joos a monk, taken from Vincencius Bellovacensis's *Speculum HISTORIALE*, the name Maria is *ful fayre igraven on a red rose*. in *lettris of BOURNID gold*, MSS. Harl. 2251. 39. fol. 71. b.

⁹ Prologue.

languid. His chief excellence is in description, especially where the subject admits a flowery diction. He is seldom pathetic, or animated.

In another part of this poem, where he collects arguments to convince unbelievers that Christ might be born of a pure virgin, he thus speaks of God's omnipotence.

And he that made the high and cristal heven,
The firmament, and also every sphere,
The golden ax-tre¹, and the sterres seven
Cithera, so lusty for to appere,
And redde Marse², with his sterne here;
Myght he not eke onely for our sake
Wythyn a mayde of man his ³kynde take?

For he that doth the tender braunches sprynge,
And the fresshe flouris in the grete mede,
That were in wynter dede and eke droupynge,
Of bawme all yvoyd and lestyhede;
Myght he not make his grayne to growe and sede,
Within her brest, that was both mayd and wyfe,
Whereof is made the sothfast⁴ breade of lyfe⁵?

We are surprised to find verses of so modern a cast as the following at such an early period; which in this sagacious age we should judge to be a forgery, was not their genuineness authenticated, and their antiquity confirmed, by the venerable types of Caxton, and a multitude of unquestionable manuscripts.

Like as the dewe discendeth on the rose
With sylver drops⁶. — — —

Our Saviour's crucifixion is expressed by this remarkable metaphor.

Whan he of purple did his baner sprede
On Calvarye abroad upon the rode,
To save mankynde⁷. . — — —

Our author, in the course of his panegyric on the Virgin Mary, affirms, that she exceeded Hester in meekness, and Judith in wisdom; and in beauty, Helen, Polyxena, Lucretia, Dido, Bathsheba, and Rachel⁸. It is amazing, that in an age of the most superstitious devotion so little discrimination should have been made between sacred and profane characters and incidents. But the common sense of mankind had not yet attained a just estimate of things. Lydgate, in another piece, has versified the rubrics of the missal, which he applies

¹ Of the sun. ² Mars. ³ Nature. ⁴ True. ⁵ Cap. xx. ⁶ Cap. xix. ⁷ Cap. ix.

⁸ Cap. iv. In a LIFE of the Virgin in the British museum, I find these easy lyrics introduced, MSS. Harl. 2382. 2. 3, fol. 75. fol. 86. b. Though I am not certain that they properly belong to this work.

A mery tale I telle yow may
Alle the tale of this lessoun
Mary moder, welle thee be!
Mayden and moder was never none,

But these lines will be considered again.

Of seynt Marie that swete may:
Is of her Assumptione.—
Mary mayden, thenk on me!
Togader, lady, save thee allone.

to the god Cupid: and declares, with how much delight he frequently meditated on the holy legend of those constant martyrs, who were not afraid to suffer death for the faith of that omnipotent divinity¹. There are instances, in which religion was even made the instrument of love. Arnaud Daniel, a celebrated troubadour of the thirteenth century, in a fit of amorous despair, promises to found a multitude of annual masses, and to dedicate perpetual tapers to the shrines of saints, for the important purpose of obtaining the affections of an obdurate mistress.

SECTION XXII.

BUT Lydgate's principal poems are the FALL OF PRINCES, the SIEGE OF THEBES, and the DESTRUCTION OF TROY. Of all these I shall speak distinctly.

About the year 1360, Boccacio wrote a Latin history in ten books, entitled DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ET FEMINARUM ILLUSTRUM. Like other chronicles of the times, it commences with Adam, and is brought down to the author's age. Its last grand event is John king of France taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Poitiers, in the year 1359². This book of Boccacio was soon afterwards translated into French, by one of whom little more seems to be known, than that he was named Laurence; yet so paraphrastically, and with so many considerable additions, as almost to be rendered a new work³. Laurence's French translation, of which there is a copy in the British Museum⁴,

¹ MSS. Fairfax, xvi. Bibl. Bodleian.

² Printed at Ausbourg. And at Paris, 1544. fol. It is amazing, that Vossius should not know the number of books of which this work consisted, and that it was ever printed. De Hist. Lat. lib. iii. cap. ii. It was translated into Italian by Betussi, in Fi enza 1566. 8vo. 2 volum.

³ In Lydgate's PROLOGUE, B. i. fol. i. a col. x. edit. ut infr.

He that sumtime did his diligence The boke of Bochas in French to translate
Out of Latin, he called was LAURENCE.

He says that Laurence (in his Prologue) declares, that he avails himself of the privilege of skilful artificers; who may *chaunge and turne*, by good discretion, *shapes and forms*, and newly *them devise, make and unmake*, &c. And that old authors may be rendered more agreeable, by being clothed in new ornaments of language, and improved with new inventions. Ibid. a. col. 1. He adds, that it was Laurence's design, in his translation into French, to *amende, correct*, and declare, and *not to spare thinges touched shortly*. Ibid. col. 2. Afterwards he calls him this *noble translatour*. Ibid. b. col. 1. In another place, where a panegyric on France is introduced, he says that this passage is not Boccacio's but added,

By one LAURENCE, which was *translatour* Of this processe, to *commende* France;

To prayse that lande was all his *pleasaunce*

B. ix. ch. 28. fol. a. col. 1. edit ut infr. Our author, in the Prologue above-cited, seems to speak as if there had been a previous translation of Boccacio's book into French.

Thus LAURENCE from him envy excluded
Though *to forme him translated* was this book.

But I suspect he only means, that Boccacio's original work was nothing more than a collection or compilation from more ancient authors.

⁴ MSS. Harl. ibid. MSS. Reg. 18 D. vii. And 16 G. v. And MSS. Bodl. F. 10. 2. [2465.] He is said to have translated this work in 1409. MSS. Reg. ut supr. 20 C. iv.

and which was printed at Lyons in the year 1483¹, is the original of Lydgate's poem. This Laurence or Laurent, sometimes called Laurent de Premierfait, a village in the diocese of Troies, was an ecclesiastic, and a famous translator. He also translated into French Boccacio's DE-CAMERON, at the request of Jane queen of Navarre: Cicero DE AMICITIA and DE SENECTUTE; and Aristotle's Oeconomics, dedicated to Louis de Bourbon, the king's uncle. These versions appeared in the year 1416². Caxton's TULLIUS OF OLD AGE, or DE SENECTUTE, printed in 1481, is translated from Laurence's French version. Caxton, in the postscript, calls him *Laurence de primo facto*.

Lydgate's poem consists of nine books, and is thus entitled in the earliest edition. 'The TRAGEDIES gathered by Jhon BOCHAS of all 'such princes as fell from their estates through the mutability of 'fortune since the CREATION OF ADAM until his time, &c. Translated into English by John Lidgate monk of Burye³.' The best and most authentic MSS. of this piece is in the British Museum: probably written under the inspection of the author, and perhaps intended as a present to Humphrey duke of Gloucester, at whose gracious command the poem, as I have before hinted, was undertaken. It contains among numerous miniatures illustrating the several histories, portraits of Lydgate, and of another monk habited in black, perhaps an abbot of Bury, kneeling before a prince, who seems to be saint Edmund, seated on a throne under a canopy, and grasping an arrow⁴.

The work is not improperly styled a set of tragedies. It is not merely of men eminent for their rank and misfortunes. The plan is perfectly dramatic, and partly suggested by the pageants of the times. Every personage is supposed to appear before the poet, and to relate his respective sufferings: and the figures of these spectres are sometimes finely drawn. Hence a source is opened for moving compassion, and for a display of imagination. In some of the lives the author replies to the speaker, and a sort of dialogue is introduced for conducting the story. Brunchild, a queen of France, who murdered all her children, and was afterwards hewn in pieces, appears thus.

She came, arayed nothing like a quene,
Her hair untressed, Bochas toke good hede;
In al his booke he had afore not sene

¹ In folio. Bayle says, that a French translation appeared at Paris, by Claudius Vitart, in 1578. 8vo. Diction. BOCCACE. Note g.

² He died in 1418. Martene, Ampl. Collect. tom. ii. p. 1405. And Mem. de Litt. xvii. 759. 4to. Compare du Verdier, Biblioth. Fr. p. 72. And Bibl. Rom. ii. 29r. It is extraordinary that the piece before us should not be mentioned by the French antiquaries as one of Laurence's translation. Lydgate, in the Prologue above-cited, observes, that Laurence, who in *cunning did excel*, undertook this translation at the request of some eminent personages in France, who had the interest of *rhetorike* at heart.

³ Imprinted at London by John Wayland, without date, fol. He printed in the reign of Henry VIII. There is a small piece by Lydgate, not connected with this, entitled *The Tragedy of princes that were* LECHEROUS. MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii.

⁴ MSS. Harl. 1766. fol. 5.

A more wofull creature indede,
 With weping eyne, to torne was al her wede:
 Rebuking Bochas cause he' had left behynde
 Her wretchednes for to put in mynde¹.

Yet in some of these interesting interviews, our poet excites pity of another kind. When Adam appears, he familiarly accosts the author with the salutation of *Cosyn Bochas*².

Nor does our dramatist deal only in real characters and historical personages. Boccacio standing pensive in his library, is alarmed at the sudden entrance of the gigantic and monstrous image of FORTUNE, whose agency has so powerful and universal an influence in human affairs, and especially in effecting those vicissitudes which are the subject of this work. There is a Gothic greatness in her figure, with some touches of the grotesque. An attribute of the early poetry of all nations, before ideas of selection have taken place. I must add, that it was Boethius's admired allegory on the CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY, which introduced personification into the poetry of the middle ages.

Whyle Bochas pensyfe stode in his lybrarye,
 Wyth chere oppressed, pale in hys vysage,
 Somedeale abashed, alone and solitarie;
 To hym appeared a monstrous ymage,
 Parted in twayne of color and corage,
 Her ryght syde ful of sommer floures,
 The tother oppressed with winter stormy showres.

Bochas astonied, full fearful to abrayde,
 When he beheld the wonderfull figure
 Of FORTUNE, thus to hymself he sayde.
 'What may this meane? Is this a creature,
 'Or a monstre transfourmed agayne nature,
 'Whose brenning eyen spercle of their lyght,
 'As do the sterres the frosty wynter nyght?'³

And of her chere ful god hede he toke;
 Her face semyng cruel and terrible,
 And by disdayne menacing of loke;
 Her heare untrussd, harde, sharpe, and horyble,
 Frowarde of shape, lothsome, and odible:
 An hundred handes she had, of eche part³,
 In sondrye wise her gyftes to departe⁴.

Some of her handes lyft up men alofte,
 To hye estate of wordlye dignite;
 Another hande griped ful unsofte,
 Which cast another in grete adversite,
 Gave one riches, another povert, &c.—

¹ Lib. vii. f. xxi. a. col. 1.

² B. i. fol. i. a. col. 2. In the same style he calls Ixion Juno's *secretary*. B. i. ch. xii. fol. xxi. b. col. 2.

³ On either side.

⁴ Distribute.

Her habyte was of manyfolde colours,
 Watchet blewe of fayned stedfastnesse,
 Her gold allayd like sun in watry showres,
 Meynt¹ with grene, for chaunge and doublenesse.—

Her hundred hands, her burning eyes, and disheveled tresses, are sublimely conceived, After a long silence, with a stern countenance she addresses Bochas, who is greatly terrified at her horrible appearance; and having made a long harangue on the revolutions and changes which it is her business to produce among men of the most prosperous condition and the most elevated station, she calls up Caius Marius, and presents him to the poet.

Blacke was his wede, and his habyte also,
 His heed unkempt, his lockes hore and gray,
 His loke downe-cast in token of sorowe and wo;
 On his chekes the falte teares lay,
 Which bare recorde of his deadly affray.—

His robe stayned was with Romayne blode,
 His sworde aye redy whet to do vengeance;
 Lyke a tyraunt most furyouse and wode²,
 In slaughter and murdre set at his plesaunce³.

She then teaches Bochas how to describe his life, and disappears.

These wordes sayde, Fortune made an ende,
 She bete her wynges, and toke her to flyght,
 I can not se what waye she did wende;
 Save Bochas telleth, lyke an angell bryght,
 At her departing she shewed a great lyght⁴.

In another place, Dante, 'of Florence the laureate poete, demure of loke fullfilled with patience,' appears to Bochas; and commands him to write the tale of Gualter duke of Florence, whose days *for his tyranny, lechery, and covetyse, ended in mischefe*. Dante then vanishes, and only duke Gualter is left alone with the poet⁵. Petrarch is also introduced for the same purpose⁶.

The following golden couplet, concerning the prodigies which preceded the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, indicate dawns of that poetical colouring of expression, and of that facility of versification, which mark the poetry of the present times.

Serpents and adders, scaled sylver bryght,
 Were over Rome sene flying al the nyght⁷.

These verses, in which the poet describes the reign of Saturn, have much harmony, strength, and dignity.

¹ Mingled.

² Mad.

³ Ibid. f. cxxxviii. b. col. 2.

⁴ Ibid. fol. cxxxix. a. col. 2.

⁵ B. ix. fol. xxxiv. b. col. 1. 2. In another place Dante's three books on heaven, purgatory, and hell, are particularly commended. B. iv. Prol. fol. xciii. a. col. 1.

⁶ B. viii. fol. 1. Prol. a. b. He mentions all Petrarch's works, Prol. B. iv. fol. 93. a. col. 1.

⁷ B. vi. fol. 147. a. col. 1.

Fortitude then stode stedfast in his might,
 Defended wydowes, cherished chastity;
 Knyghtehood in prowes gave so clere a light,
 Girt with his sworde of truthe and equity¹.

Apollo, Diana, and Minerva, joining the Roman army, when Rome was besieged by Brennus, are poetically touched.

Appollo first yshewed his presence,
 Fresshe, yonge, and lusty, as any sunne shene,
 Armd all with golde; and with great vyolence
 Entred the felde, as it was wel sene:
 And Diana came with her arrowes kene:
 And Mynerva in a bryght haberdoun;
 Which in ther coming made a terrible soun².

And the following lines are remarkable.

God hath a thousand handes to chastyse,
 A thousand dartes of punicion,
 A thousand bowes made in divers wyse,
 A thousand arblasts bent in his dongeon³.

Lydgate, in this poem, quotes Seneca's tragedies⁴ for the story of Oedipus, Tully, Virgil and his commentator Servius, Ovid, Livy, Lucan, Lactantius, Justin⁵ or 'prudent Justinus an old chroniclere,' Josephus, Valerius Maximus, saint Jerom's chronicle, Boethius⁶, Plato on the immortality of the soul⁷, and Fulgentius the mythologist⁸. He mentions 'noble Persius,' Prosper's epigrams, Vegetius's book on Tactics, which was highly esteemed, as its subject coincided with the chivalry of the times, and which had been just translated into French by John of Meun and Christiana of Pisa, and into English by John Trevisa⁹, 'the grene chaplet of Esop and Juvenal¹⁰,' Euripides 'in his 'tyme a great tragician, because he wrote many tragedies,' and another called *Clarke* Demosthenes¹¹. For a catalogue of Tully's works, he refers to the SPECULUM HISTORIALE, or *Myrrour Hystorall*, of Vyncentius Bellovacensis; and says, that he wrote twelve books of Orations, and several *morall ditties*¹². Aristotle is introduced as teaching Alexander and Callisthenes philosophy¹³. With regard to

¹ B. vii. fol. 161. b. col. 1.

² B. iv. ch. 22. fol. cxiii. a. col. 1.

³ Tower. Castle. B. 1. ch. 3. fol. vi. a. col. 1.

⁴ B. i. ch. 9. fol. xviii. a. col. 1.

⁵ B. i. ch. 11. fol. cxi. b. col. 2. B. ii. ch. 6. fol. xlv. a. col. 1. B. iii. ch. 14. fol. lxxxi. b. col. 1. Ibid. ch. 25. fol. lxxxix. a. col. 2. B. iv. ch. 11. fol. iii. b. col. 1. See PROL. B. i.

⁶ B. ii. ch. 15. fol. li. a. col. 1. col. 2. Ibid. ch. 16. fol. 52. a. col. 2. Ibid. ch. 2. fol. xlii. a. col. 1. Ibid. ch. 30. fol. lxii. b. col. 1. B. viii. ch. 24. fol. xliii. a. col. 2.

⁷ B. iii. ch. 5. fol. lxxi. a. col. 1.

⁸ B. ix. ch. 1. fol. xx. a. col. 1. From whom Boccacio largely transcribes in his *GENEALOGIE DEORUM*, hereafter mentioned.

⁹ MSS. Digb. Bibl. Bodl. 233. *Princip.* 'In olde tyme it was the manere.' Finished at the command of his patron Thomas, Lord Berkeley.

¹⁰ Prol. B. iv. fol. 92. a. col. 2. 93. a. col. 1.

¹¹ B. ii. ch. 22. fol. 54. col. 2.

¹² B. vi. ch. 15. fol. 151. b. col. 1.

¹³ B. iv. ch. 9. fol. xcix. seq. This is from Aristotle's *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*, which Lydgate, as I have mentioned above, translated. But he did not finish the translation: for about the middle of it we have this note. 'Here dyed this translator and notable poet John Lydgate, monk of Bury, and FOWLER bygan his prolog in this wyse. *Where flour* of

Homer, he observes, that 'Grete Omerus, in Isidore ye may see, 'founded amonge Grekes the crafte of eloquence¹.' By Isidore he means the ORIGINES, or ETYMOLOGIES of Isidore Hispalensis, in twenty books; a system of universal information, the encyclopede of the dark ages, and printed in Italy before the year 1472². In another place, he censures the singular partiality of the book called *Omyre*, which places Achilles above Hector³. Again, speaking of the Greek writers, he tells us, that Bochas mentions a *scriveyn*, or scribe, who in a small scroll of paper wrote the destruction of Troy, following Homer: a history much esteemed among the Greeks, on account of its brevity⁴. This was Dictys Cretensis, or Dares Phrygius. But for perpetuating the achievements of the knights of the round table, he supposes that a clerk was appointed, and that he compiled a register from the pursuivants and heralds who attended their tournaments; and that thence the histories of those invincible champions were framed, which, whether read or sung, have afforded so much delight⁵. For the stories of Constantine and Arthur he brings as his vouchers, the chronicle or romance called BRUT or BRUTUS, and Geoffrey of Monmouth⁶. He concludes the legend of Constantine by telling us, that an equestrian statue in brass is still to be seen at Constantinople of that emperor; in which he appears armed with a prodigious sword, menacing the Turks⁷. In describing the Pantheon at Rome, he gives us some circumstances highly romantic. He relates that this magnificent fane was full of gigantic idols, placed on lofty stages: these images were the gods of all the nations conquered by the Romans, and each turned his countenance to that province over which he presided. Every image held in his hand a bell framed by magic; and when any kingdom belonging to the Roman jurisdiction was meditating rebellion against the imperial city, the idol of that country gave, by some secret principle, a solemn warning of the distant treason by striking his bell, which never sounded on any other occasion⁸. Our author, following Boccacio who wrote the THESEID, supposes that Theseus founded the order of knighthood at Athens⁹. He introduces, much in the

'*knighthood the bataille doth refuse.*' Fol. 336. MSS. Laud. K. 53. The Prologue consists of ten stanzas: in which he compares himself to a dwarf entering the lists when the knight is foiled. But it is the *young FOWLER*, in MSS. Laud. B. xxiv. In the Harleian copy of this piece I find the following note, at fol. 236. 'Here deyed the translatur a noble 'poete Dan Johne Lydgate, and his *foiowere* began his prologe in this wise Per Benedictum Burghe. *Where floure of, &c.*' MSS. Harl. 2251. 117. Where *Folowere* may be a corruption of *Folwer*, or *Fowler*. But it must be observed, that there was a Benedict Burghe, coeval with Lydgate, and preferred to many dignities in the church, who translated into English verse, for the use of lord Bouchier son of the earl of Essex, CATONIS *moralia carmina*, altered and printed by Caxton, 1483. fol. More will be said of Burgh's work in its proper place.

¹ B. ii. ch. 15. fol. 51. a. col. 2.

² Gesner. Bibl. p. 468. Matt. Annal. Typ. i. p. 100.

³ B. iv. Prol. fol. 93. a. col. 1.

⁴ B. ii. cap. 15. fol. 51. b. col. 1.

⁵ B. viii. ch. 25. fol. xv. a. col. 1.

⁶ B. viii. ch. 13. fol. 7. a. col. 2. fol. 14. b. col. 1. fol. 16. a. col. 2.

⁷ B. viii. ch. 13. fol. viii. b. col. 2. Boccacio wrote the original Latin of this work long before the Turks took and sacked Constantinople, in 1453.

⁸ B. viii. ch. 1. fol. xx. a. col. 1.

⁹ B. i. c. 12. fol. xxii. a. col. 2.

manner of Boethius, a disputation between Fortune and Poverty ; supposed to have been written by ANDALUS the *blake*, a doctor of astronomy at Naples, who was one of Bochas's preceptors.

At Naples whylom, as he dothe specifye,
In his youth when he¹ to schole went,
There was a doctour of astronomye.—
And he was called *Andalus the blake*².

Lydgate appears to have been far advanced in years when he finished this poem ; for at the beginning of the eighth book he complains of his trembling joints, and declares that age, having benumbed his faculties, has deprived him 'of all the subtylte of curious making in Englysshe to endyte³.' Our author, in the structure and modulation of his style, seems to have been ambitious of rivalling Chaucer⁴ : whose capital compositions he enumerates, and on whose poetry he bestows repeated encomiums.

I cannot quit this work without adding an observation relating to Boccacio, its original author, which perhaps may deserve attention. It is highly probable that Boccacio learned many anecdotes of Grecian history and Grecian fable, not to be found in any Greek writer now extant, from his preceptors Barlaam, Leontius, and others, who had lived at Constantinople while the Greek literature was yet flourishing. Some of these are perhaps scattered up and down in the composition before us, which contains a considerable part of the Grecian story ; and especially in his treatise of the genealogies of the gods⁵. Boccacio himself calls his master Leontius an inexhaustible archive of Grecian tales and fables, although not equally conversant with those of the Latins⁶. He confesses that he took many things in his book of the genealogies of the gods from a vast work entitled COLLECTIVUM, now lost, written by his cotemporary Paulus Perusinus, the materials of which had in great measure been furnished by Barlaam⁷. We are informed also, that Perusinus made use of some of these fugitive Greek scholars, especially Barlaam, for collecting rare books in that language. Perusinus was librarian, about the year 1340, to Robert king of Jerusalem and Sicily : and was the most curious and inquisitive man of his age for searching after unknown or uncommon manuscripts, especially histories, and poetical compositions, and particularly such as were

¹ Boccacio.

² B. iii. ch. i. fol. lxx. a. col. i. 'He rede in scholes the moving of the heavens, &c.' Boccacio mentions with much regard ANDALUS DE NIGRO as one of his masters, in his GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi. And says, that Andalus has extant many *Opuscula astrorum calique motus ostendentia*. I think Leander, in his ITALIA, calls this Andalus, *Andalus niger, curiosus astrologus*. Papyrius Mass. Elog. tom. ii. p. 195.

³ B. vii. Prol. fol. i. b. col. 2. ad calc. He calls himself older than sixty years.

⁴ Prol. B. i. f. ii. a. col. 2. seq.

⁵ In fifteen books. First printed in 1481. fol. And in Italian by Betussi, Venet. 1553. In French at Paris, 1531. fol. In the interpretation of the fables he is very prolix and jejune.

⁶ GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

⁷ 'Quicquid apud Græcos inveniri potest, ADJUTORIO BARLAE arbitror collegisse.' GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

written in Greek. I will beg leave to cite the words of Boccacio, who records this anecdote. 'Et, si usquam CURIOSISSIMUS fuit homo in perquirendis, jussu etiam principis, PEREGRINIS undecunque libris, HISTORIIS et POETICIS operibus, iste fuit. Et ob id, singulari amicitiae Barlaæ conjunctus, quæ a Latinis habere non poterat EO MEDIO 'INNUMERA exhaustit a GRÆCIS¹.' By these HISTORIÆ and POETICA OPERA, brought from Constantinople by Barlaam, undoubtedly works of entertainment, and perhaps chiefly of the romantic and fictitious species, I do not understand the classics. It is natural to suppose that Boccacio, both from his connections and his curiosity, was no stranger to these treasures : and that many of these pieces, thus imported into Italy by the dispersion of the Constantinopolitan exiles, are only known at present through the medium of his writings. It is certain that many oriental fictions found their way into Europe by means of this communication.

Lydgate's STORIE OF THEBES was first printed by William Thinne, at the end of his edition of Chaucer's works, in 1561. The author introduces it as an additional Canterbury tale. After a severe sickness, having a desire to visit the shrine of Thomas a Beckett at Canterbury, he arrives in that city while Chaucer's pilgrims were assembled there for the same purpose ; and by mere accident, not suspecting to find so numerous and respectable a company, goes to their inn. There is some humour in our monk's travelling figure².

In a cope of black, and not of grene,
On a palfray, slender, long, and lene,
With rusty bridle, made not for the sale,
My man toforne with a void male³.

He sees, standing in the hall of the inn, the convivial host of the tabard, full of his own importance ; who without the least introduction or hesitation thus addresses our author, quite unprepared for such an abrupt salutation.

— — — Dan Pers,
Dan Dominike, Dan Godfray, or Clement,
Ye be welcome newly into Kent ;
Though your bridle have neither boss, ne bell⁴,
Beseching you that you will tell,
First of your name, &c. — —
That looke so pale, all devoid of blood,
Upon your head a wonder thredbare hood⁵.—

Our host then invites him to supper, and promises that he shall have, made according to his own directions, a large pudding, a round *hagis*, a French *moile*, or a *phrase* of eggs : adding, that he looked extremely lean for a monk, and must certainly have been sick,

¹ GENEAL. DEOR. lib. xv. cap. vi.

² Edit. 1687. fol. ad CALC. CHAUCER'S WORKS, p. 623: col. x. Prol.

³ Portmanteau.

⁴ See supr. vol. i.

⁵ Ibid.

or else belong to a poor monastery: that some nut-brown ale after supper will be of service, and that a quantity of the seed of annis, cummin, or coriander, taken before going to bed, will remove flatulencies. But above all, says the host, cheerful company will be your best physician. You shall not only sup with me and my companions this evening, but return with us to-morrow to London; yet on condition, that you will submit to one of the indispensable rules of our society, which is to tell an entertaining story while we are travelling.

What, looke up, Monke? For by¹ cockes blood,
 Thou shall be mery, whoso that say nay;
 For to-morrowe, anone as it is day,
 And that is ginne in the east to daw²,
 Thou shall be bound to a newe lawe,
 At going out of Canterbury toun,
 And lien aside thy profession;
 Thou shall not chese³, nor thyself withdrawe,
 If any mirth be found in thy mawe,
 Like the custom of this company;
 For none so proude that dare me deny,
 Knight, nor knave, chanon, priest, ne nonne,
 To telle a tale plainly as they conne⁴,
 When I assigne, and see time oportune;
 And, for that we our purpose woll contune⁵,
 We will homeward the same custome use⁶.

Our monk, unable to withstand this profusion of kindness and festivity, accepts the host's invitation, and sups with the pilgrims. The next morning, as they are all riding from Canterbury to Ospringe, the host reminds his friend DAN JOHN of what he had mentioned in the evening, and without farther ceremony calls for a story. Lydgate obeys his commands, and recites the tragical destruction of the city of Thebes⁷. As the story is very long, a pause is made in descending a very steep hill near the *Thrope*⁸ of *Broughton on the Blee*; when our author, who was not furnished with that accommodation for knowing the time of the day, which modern improvements in science have given to the traveller, discovers by an accurate examination of his calendar, I suppose some sort of graduated scale, in which the sun's horary progress along the equator was marked, that it is nine in the morning⁹.

It has been said, but without any authority or probability, that Chaucer first wrote this story in a Latin narrative, which Lydgate

¹ God's.

² Dawn.

³ Chuse.

⁴ Can, or Know.

⁵ Continue.

⁶ Pag. 622, col. 2, seq.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Or *Thorpe*. Properly a lodge in a forest. A hamlet. It occurs again page 651, col. 2.

Bren townes, *thropes*, and villages.

And in the *TROY-BOKE*, he mentions 'provinces, borrowes, vyllages, and *thropes*.' B. ii, c. x.

⁹ Pag. 630, col. 1.

afterwards translated into English verse. Our author's originals are Guido Colonna, Statius, and Seneca the tragedian¹. Nicholas Trevet, an Englishman, a Dominican friar of London, who flourished about the year 1330, has left a commentary on Seneca's tragedies²: and he was so favorite a poet as to have been illustrated by Thomas Aquinas³. He was printed at Venice so early as the year 1482. Lydgate in this poem often refers to *myne auctor*, who, I suppose, is either Statius, or Colonna⁴. He sometimes cites Boccaccio's Latin tracts: particularly the GENEALOGIÆ DEORUM, a work which at the restoration of learning greatly contributed to familiarise the classical stories, DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM, the ground-work of the FALL OF PRINCES just mentioned, and DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS, in which pope Joan is one of the heroines⁵. From the first, he has taken the story of Amphion building the walls of Thebes by the help of Mercury's harp, and the interpretation of that fable, together with the⁶ fictions about Lycurgus king of Thrace⁷. From the second, as I recollect, the accoutrements of Polymites⁸: and from the third, part of the tale of Isophile⁹. He also characterises Boccaccio for a talent, by which he is not now so generally known, for his poetry; and styles him 'among poetes in Itaile stalled¹⁰. But Boccaccio's THESEID was yet in vogue. He says, that when Oedipus was married, none of the Muses were present, as they were at the wedding of SAPIENCE with ELOQUENCE, described by that poet *whilom so sage, Matrician inamed de Capella*. This is Marcianus Mineus Felix de Capella, who lived about the year 470, and whose Latin prosaico-metrical work, *de Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, in two books, an introduction to his seven books, or system, of the SEVEN SCIENCES, I have mentioned before: a writer highly extolled by Scotus Erigena¹¹, Peter of Blois¹², John of Salisbury, and other early authors in corrupt Latinity¹³; and of such eminent estimation in the dark centuries, as to be taught in the seminaries of philological education as a classic¹⁴. Among the royal manuscripts in the British museum, a manuscript occurs written about the

¹ pag. 630, col. i.

² MSS. Bodl. NE, F. 8, 6. Leland saw this Commentary in the library of the Cistercian abbey of Buckfast-Lees in Devonshire. Coll. iii. p. 257.

³ Some say, Thomas Anglicus.

⁴ Pag. 623, col. 2, 630, col. 1, 632, col. 2, 635, col. 2, 647, col. 2, 654, col. 1, 659, col. 1.

⁵ First printed, Ulm. 1473, fol.

⁶ Lydgate says, that this was the same Lycurgus who came as an ally with Palamon to Athens against his brother Arcite, drawn by four white bulls, and crowned with a wreath of gold. Pag. 650, col. 2. KN. TALE, Urry's Ch. p. 17, v. 2131, seq. col. 1. Our author expressly refers to Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE about Theseus, and with some address, 'As ye have before heard it related in passing through Deptford, &c.' Page 568, col. 1.

⁷ Page 623, col. 2. 624, col. 1. 651, col. 1.

⁸ Page 648, col. 1, seq.

⁹ De Divis. Natur. lib. iii. p. 147, 148.

¹⁰ See Alcuin. De Sept. Artib. p. 1256. Honorius Augustodunus, de Philosophia Mundi, lib. ii. cap. 5. And the book of Thomas Cantipratanus attributed to Boethius, De Disciplina Scholarium. Compare Barth. ad Claudian, p. 32.

¹¹ Barth. ad Briton, p. 110. 'Medii ævi scholas tenuit, adolescentibus prælectus, &c.' Wilibaldus, Epist. 147, tom. ii. Vet. Monum. Marten. p. 334.

¹² Page 634, col. 2.

¹³ Page 651, col. 1.

¹⁴ Epist. 101.

eleventh century, which is a commentary on these nine books of Capella, compiled by Duncant an Irish bishop¹, and given to his scholars in the monastery of saint Remigius². They were early translated into Latin leonine rhymes, and are often imitated by Saxo Grammaticus³. Gregory of Tours has the vanity to hope, that no readers will think his Latinity barbarous: not even those, who have refined their taste, and enriched their understanding with a complete knowledge of every species of literature, by studying attentively this treatise of Marcianus⁴. Alexander Necham, a learned abbot of Cirencester, and a voluminous Latin writer about the year 1210, wrote annotations on Marcianus, which are yet preserved⁵. He was first printed in the year 1499, and other editions appeared soon afterwards. This piece of Marcianus, dictated by the ideal philosophy of Plato, is supposed to have led the way to Boethius's celebrated CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY⁶.

The marriage of SAPIENCE and ELOQUENCE, or Mercury and Philology, as described by Marcianus, at which Clio and Calliope with all their sisters assisted, and from which DISCORD and SEDITION, the great enemies of literature, were excluded, is artfully introduced, and beautifully contrasted with that of Oedipus and Jocasta, which was celebrated by an assemblage of the most hideous beings.

Ne was there none of the Muses nine,—
By one accorde to maken melody :
For there sung not by heavenly harmony,
Neyther Clio nor Caliope,
None of the sistren in number thrise thre,
As they did, when PHILOLAIE⁷
Ascended up highe above the skie,
To be wedded, this lady virtuous,
Unto her lord the god Mercurius.—
But at this weddinge, plainly for to telle,
Was CERBERUS, chiefe porter of hell ;
And HEREBUS, fader to Hatred,
Was there present with his holle kindred,
His WIFE also⁸ with her browes blacke,
And her daughters, sorow for to make,
Hideously chered, and ugle for to see,

¹ Leland says he saw this work in the library of Worcester Abbey. Coll. iii. p. 268.

² MSS. Reg. 15 A. xxxiii. *Liber olim S. Remig. Studio Gifardi scriptus.* Labb. Bibl. Nov. MSS. p. 66. In imitation of the first part of this work, a Frenchman, Jo. Boræus, wrote *NUPTIÆ JURISCONSULTI ET PHILOLOGIÆ*, Paris, 1651, 4to.

³ Stephan. in Prolegomen. c. xix. And in the Notes, passim. He is adduced by Fulgentius.

⁴ Hist. Fr. lib. x. ad calc. A MSS. of Marcianus, more than 700 years old, is mentioned by Bernard a Pez. Thesaur. Anecd. tom. iii. p. 620. But by some writers of the early age he is censured as obscure. Galfredus Canonicus, who flourished about 1170, declares, 'Non petimus nos, aut lascivire cum Sidonio, aut vernare cum Hortensio, aut involvere cum Marciano.' Apud Marten. ubi supr. tom. i. p. 506. He will occur again.

⁵ Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 221. And in other places. As did Scotus Erigena, Labb. Bibl. Nov. MSS. p. 45. And others of that period.

⁶ Mabillon. Itin. Ital. p. 221.

7 PHILOLOGIA.

8 NIGHT.

MEGERA and THESIPHONEE,
 ALECTO eke : with LABOUR, and ENVIE,
 DREDE, FRAUDE, and false TRETCHERIE,
 TRESON, POVERT, INDIGENCE, and NEDE,
 And cruell DEATH in his rent wede¹ :
 WRETCHEDNESSE, COMPLAINT, and eke RAGE,
 FEAR full pale, DRONKENESSE, croked AGE :
 Cruell MARS, and many a tigre wood²,
 Brenning³ IRE, and UNKINDE BLOOD,
 FRATERNALL HATE depe sett in the roote :
 Sauf only death that there was no boote⁴ :
 ASSURED OTHES at fine untrew⁵,
 All these folkes were at weddyng new :
 To make the town desolate and bare,
 As the story after shall declare⁶.

The bare conception of the attendance of this allegorical groupe on these incestuous espousals, is highly poetical : and although some of the personifications are not presented with the addition of any picturesque attributes, yet others are marked with the powerful pencil of Chaucer.

This poem is the THEBAID of a troubadour. The old classical tale of Thebes is here clothed with feudal manners, enlarged with new fictions of the Gothic species, and furnished with the descriptions, circumstances, and machineries, appropriated to a romance of chivalry. The Sphinx is a terrible dragon, placed by a necromancer to guard a mountain, and to murder all travellers passing by⁷. Tydeus being wounded sees a castle on a rock, whose high towers and *crested* pinnacles of polished stone glitter by the light of the moon : he gains admittance, is laid in a sumptuous bed of cloth of gold, and healed of his wounds by a king's daughter⁸. Tydeus and Polymite tilt at midnight for a lodging, before the gate of the palace, of King Adrastus ; who is awakened with the din of the strokes of their weapons, which shake all the palace, and descends into the court with a long train by torch-light : he orders the two combatants to be disarmed and clothed in rich mantles studded with pearls ; and they are conducted to repose by *many a stair* to a stately tower, after being served with a refection of hypocras from golden goblets. The next day they are both espoused to the king's two daughters, and entertained with tournaments, feasting, revels, and masques⁹. Afterwards Tydeus, having a message to deliver to Eteocles king of Thebes, enters the hall of the royal palace, completely armed and on horseback, in the midst of a magnificent festival¹⁰. This palace,

¹ Garment.

² The attendants on Mars.

³ Burning.

⁴ 'Death was the only refuge, or remedy.'

⁵ 'Oaths which proved false in the end.'

⁶ Pag. 629, col. 1.

⁷ Pag. 627, col. 2,

⁸ Pag. 640, col. 2, seq.

⁹ Pag. 633, col. 1, seq. Concerning the dresses, perhaps in the masques, we have this line.
 pag. 635, col. 2.

And the DEVISE of many a SOLEIN WEDE.

¹⁰ Pag. 637, col. 2.

like a Norman fortress, or feudal castle, is guarded with barbicans, portcullisses, chains, and fosses¹. Adrastus wishes to close his old age in the repose of rural diversions, of hawking and hunting².

The situation of Polymite, benighted in a solitary wilderness, is thus forcibly described.

Holding his way, of herte nothing light,
Mate³ and weary, till it draweth to night:
And al the day beholding envirown,
He neither sawe ne castle, towre, ne town;
The which thing greveth him full sore,
And sodenly the see began to rore,
Winde and tempest hidiously to arise,
The rain down beten in ful grisly wise;
That many a beast thereof was adrad,
And nigh for fere gan to waxe mad,
As it seemed by the full wofull sownes
Of tiges, beres, of bores, and of liounes;
Which to refute, and himself for to save,
Evrich in haste draweth to his cave.
But Polymite in this tempest huge
Alas the while findeth no refuge.
Ne, him to shrowde, saw no where no succour,
Till it was passed almost midnight hour⁴.

When Oedipus consults concerning his kindred the oracle of Apollo, whose image stood on a golden chariot with four wheels *burned bright and sheen*, animated with a fiend, the manner in which he receives his answer is touched with spirit and imagination.

And when Edipus by great devotion
Finished had fully his orison,
The fiend anon, within invisible,
With a voice dredefull and horrible,
Bade him in haste take his voyage
Towrds Thebes, &c⁵.———

In this poem, exclusive of that general one already mentioned, there are some curious mixtures of manners, and of classics and scripture. The nativity of Oedipus at his birth is calculated by the most learned astronomers and physicians⁶. Eteocles defends the walls of Thebes with great guns⁷. And the priest⁸ Amphiorax, or Ampharus, is styled a bishop⁹, whose wife is also mentioned. At a council held at Thebes, concerning the right of succession to the throne, Esdras and Solomon are cited: and the history of Nehemiah rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem is introduced¹⁰. The moral intended by this calamitous tale consists in shewing the pernicious effects of war: the diabolical nature

¹ Pag. 644, col. 2. ² Pag. 635, col. 1. ³ *Afraid*. Fatigued. ⁴ Pag. 631, col. 2.

⁵ Pag. 626, col. 2.

⁶ Pag. 644, col. 2. ⁷ Great and small, and some as large as *tonnes*. ⁸ Pag. 625, col. 1.

⁹ As in Chaucer

¹⁰ Pag. 636, col. 1.

⁹ Pag. 645, col. 1.

of which our author still further illustrates by observing, that discord received its origin in hell, and that the first battle ever fought was that of Lucifer and his legion of rebel angels¹. But that the argument may have the fullest confirmation, Saint Luke is then quoted to prove, that avarice, ambition, and envy, are the primary sources of contention; and that Christ came into the world to destroy these malignant principles, and to propagate universal charity.

At the close of the poem, the mediation of the holy virgin is invoked, to procure peace in this life, and salvation in the next. Yet it should be remembered, that this piece is written by a monk, and addressed to pilgrims².

SECTION XXIII.

THE third of Lydgate's poems which I proposed to consider, is the TROY BOKE, or the DESTRUCTION OF TROY. It was first printed at the command of king Henry VIII., in the year 1513, by Richard Pinson, with this title, 'THE HYSTORY SEGE AND DESTRUCCION OF TROYE. *'The table or rubricke of the content of the chapitres, &c. Here after foloweth the TROYE BOKE, otherwise called the SEGE OF TROYE, Translated by JOHN LYDGATE monke of Bury, and empyrnted at the commaundement of oure souveraygne lorde the kynge Henry the eighth, by Richarde Pinson, &c. the yere of our lorde god a M.CCCC. and XIII³.*' Another, and a much more correct edition followed, by Thomas Marshe under the care of one John Braham, in the year 1555⁴. It was begun in the year 1414, the last year of the reign of king Henry IV. It was written at that prince's command, and is dedicated to his successor. It was finished in the year 1420. In the Bodleian library there is a MSS. of this poem elegantly illuminated, with the picture of a monk

¹ Pag. 660, col. 1.

² Lydgate was near fifty when this poem was written, pag. 622, col. 2.

³ Among other curious decorations in the title page, there are soldiers firing great guns at the city of Troy. Caxton, in his *RECVYLE OF THE HYSTORIES OF TROYE*, did not translate the account of the final destruction of the city from his French author *Rauol le Feure*, 'for as muche as that worshipfull and religious man Dan John Lydgate monke of Burye did *translate it but late*, after whose worke I feare to take upon me, &c.' At the end of B. ii.

⁴ With this title. 'The auncient historie, and only true and syncere chronicle, of the warres betwixte the Grecians and the Troyans, and subsequently of the fyrst evercyon of the aun-cient and famous cyte of Troye under Laomedon the king, and of the last and fynall destruction of the same under Pryam: wrytten by Daretus a Troyan and Dictus a Grecian, both souldiours and present at and in all the sayd warres, and digested in Latyn by the learned Guydo de Columpnis, and sythes translated into Englyshe verse by John Lydgate moncke of Burye and newly imprinted.' The colophon, 'Imprinted at London in Flete-strete at the sygne of the Princes Armes by Thomas Marshe. Anno. do. M.D.L.V.' This book was modernised, and printed in five-lined stanzas, under the title, 'THE LIFE AND DEATH OF HECTOR, &c. written by John Lydgate monk of Berry, &c. At London, printed by Thomas Purfoot. Anno Dom. 1614,' fol. But I suspect this to be a second edition. *'Princip.* 'In Thessalie king Peleus once did raigne.' Farmer's ESSAY, p. 39, 40, edit. 1767. This spurious TROYE-BOKE is cited by Fuller, Winstanley, and others, as Lydgate's genuine work.

presenting a book to a king¹. From the splendour of the decorations, it appears to be the copy which Lydgate gave to Henry V.

This poem is professedly a translation or paraphrase of Guido de Colonna's romance, entitled *HISTORIA TROJANA*². But whether from Colonna's original Latin, or from a French version³ mentioned in Lydgate's Prologue, and which existed soon after the year 1300, I cannot ascertain⁴. I have before observed⁵, that Colonna formed his Trojan History from Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis⁶; who perpetually occur as authorities in Lydgate's translation. Homer is however referred to in this work; particularly in the catalogue, or enumeration, of the ships which brought the several Grecian leaders with their forces to the Trojan coast. It begins thus, on the testimony of Colonna⁷.

*Myne auctor telleth how Agamamnon,
The worthi kynge, an hundred shippis brought.*

And is closed with these lines.

*Full many shippes was in this navye,
More than GUIDO maketh rehersayle,
Towards Troye with Grekes for to sayle:
For as HOMER in his discrypcion
Of Grekes shippes maketh mencion,
Shortly affirminge the man was never borne
That such a nombre of shippes sawe to forne⁸*

In another place Homer, notwithstanding *all his rhetoricke and sugred eloquence*, his *lusty songes* and *dytees swete*, is blamed as a prejudiced writer, who favours the Greeks⁹: a censure, which flowed

¹ MSS. Digb. 232.

² *Princip.* 'Licet cotidie vetera recentioribus obruantur.'

³ Of a Spanish version, by Petro Nunez Degaldo, see Nic. Anton. Bibl. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 179.

⁴ Yet he says, having finished his version, B. v. Signat. EE. i.

I have no more of *Latin* to translate, After Dytes, Dares, and Guydo.

Again, he despairs of translating Guido's *Latin* elegantly. B. ii. c. x. B. iii. Sign. R. iii. There was a French translation of Dares printed, Cadom. 1573. WORKS OF THE LEARNED. A. 1703, p. 222.

⁵ Ibid. p. 126.

⁶ As Colonna's book is extremely scarce, and the subject interesting, I will translate a few lines from Colonna's Prologue and Postscript. From the Prologue. 'These things, originally written by the Grecian Dictys and the Phrygian Dares, (who were present in the Trojan war, and faithful relators of what they saw,) are transferred into this book by Guido, of Colonna, a judge. And although a certain Roman, Cornelius by name, the nephew of the great Sallustius, translated Dares and Dictys into Latin; yet, attempting to be concise, he has very improperly omitted those particulars of the history, which would have proved most agreeable to the reader. In my own book therefore every article belonging to the Trojan story will be comprehended.'—And in his Postscript. 'And I Guido de Colonna have followed the said Dictys in every particular; for this reason, because Dictys made his work perfect and complete in everything.—And I should have decorated this history with more metaphors and ornaments of style, and by incidental digressions, which are the *pictures* of composition. But deterred by the difficulty of the work, &c.' Guido has indeed made Dictys nothing more than the ground-work of his story. All this is translated in Lydgate's Prologue.

⁷ From Dict. Cretens. lib. i. c. xvii. p. 17. seq. edit. Dacer. Amstel. 1702. 4to. And Dar. Phryg. cap. xiv. p. 158. ibid. There is a very ancient edition of Dares in 4to, without name or place. Of Dictys at Milan, 1477. 4to. Dares is in German, with cuts, by Marcus Tatiust August. Vindel. 1536. fol. Dictys, by John Herold, at Basil, 1554. Both in Russian, a Moscow, 1712. 8vo.

⁸ B. ii. c. xvi.

⁹ B. iv. c. xxxi. And in the PROLOGUE, Virgil is censured for following *the traces of*

from the favorite and prevailing notion held by the western nations of their descent from the Trojans. Homer is also said to paint with colours of gold and azure¹. A metaphor borrowed from the fashionable art of illuminating. I do not however suppose, that Colonna, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, had ever seen Homer's poems: he might have known these and many other particulars, contained in the Iliad, from those factitious historians whom he professes to follow. Yet it is not, in the mean time, impossible, that Lydgate might have seen the Iliad, at least in a Latin translation. Leontius Pilatus, already mentioned, one of the learned Constantinopolitan exiles, had translated the Iliad into Latin prose, with part of the Odyssey, at the desire of Boccacio², about the year 1360. This appears from Petrarch's Epistles to his friend Boccacio³: in which, among other curious circumstances, the former requests Boccacio to send him to Venice that part of Leontius's new Latin version of the Odyssey, in which Ulysses's descent into hell, and the vestibule of Erebus, are described. He wishes also to see, how Homer, blind and an Asiatic, had described the lake of Averno and the mountain of Circe. In another part of these letters, he acknowledges the receipt of the Latin Homer; and mentions with how much satisfaction and joy the report of its arrival in the public library at Venice was received, by all the Greek and Latin scholars of that city⁴. The Iliad was also translated into French verse, by Jacques Milet, a licentiate of laws, about the year 1430⁵. Yet I cannot believe that Lydgate had ever consulted these translations, although he had travelled in France and Italy. One may venture to pronounce peremptorily, that he did not understand, as he probably never had seen, the original. After the migration of the Roman emperors to Greece, Boccacio was the first European that could read Homer; nor was there perhaps a copy of either of Homer's poems existing in Europe, till about the time the Greeks were driven by the Turks from Constantinople⁶. Long after Boccacio's time, the knowledge of the Greek

HOMERIS style, in other respects a true writer. We have the same complaint in our author's FALL OF PRINCIS. See *supr.* And in Chaucer's HOUSE OF FAME, Colonna is introduced, among other authors of the Trojan story, making this objection to Homer's veracity. B. iii. p. 468. col. i. v. 389. Urr. edit.

One saied that OMERE made lies,
And was to the Grekes favorable,

And feinyng in his poetries;
And therefore held he it but fable.

¹ B. iv. c. xxxi. Signat. X. ii.

² It is a slight error in Vigneul Marville, that this translation was procured by Petrarch. Mel. Litt. tom. i. p. 21. The author of MEMOIRES POUR LA VIE DE PETRARQUE, is mistaken in saying that Hody supposes this version to have been made by Petrarch himself, liv. vi. tom. iii. p. 633. On the contrary, Hody has adjusted this matter with great perspicuity, and from the best authorities. DE GRÆC. ILLUSTR. lib. i. c. 1. p. 2. seq.

³ SENIL. lib. iii. Cap. 5.

⁴ Hody, *ubi* *supr.* p. 5. 6. 7. 9. The Latin Iliad in prose was published under the name of Laurentius Valla, with some slight alterations, in 1497.

⁵ Mem. de Litt. xvii. p. 761. ed. 4to.

⁶ Boccac. GENEAL. DEOR. xv. 6. 7. Theodorus archbishop of Canterbury in the seventh century brought from Rome into England a manuscript of Homer; which is now said to be in Bennet library at Cambridge. See the SECOND DISSERTATION. In it is written with a modern hand, *Hic liber quondam THEODORI archiepiscopi Cant.* But probably this Theodorus is THEODORE Gaza, whose book, or whose transcript, it might have been. Hody, *ubi* *supr.* Lib. i. c. 3. p. 59. 60.

tongue, and consequently of Homer, was confined only to a few scholars. Yet some French critics have insinuated, that Homer was familiar in France very early; and that Christina of Pisa, in a poem never printed, written in the year 1398, and entitled *L'EPITRE D' OTHEA A HECTOR*¹, borrowed the word *Othea*, or WISDOM, from *ωθεα* in Homer, a formal appellation by which that poet often invokes Minerva².

This poem is replete with descriptions of rural beauty, formed by a selection of very poetical and picturesque circumstances, and cloathed in the most perspicuous and musical numbers. The colouring of our poet's³ mornings is often remarkably rich and splendid.

When that the rowes³ and the rayes redde
Eastward to us full early ginnen spredde,
Even at the twylyght in the dawneyng,
Whan that the larke of custom ginneth synge,
For to salue⁴ in her heavenly laye,
The lusty goddessse of the morowe graye,
I meane Aurora, which afore the sunne,
Is wont t'⁵ enchase the blacke skyes dunne,
And al the darknesse of the dimmy night :
And freshe Phebus, with comforte of his light,
And with the brightnes of his bemes shene,
Hath overgylt the huge hylles grene ;
And floures eke, agayn the morowe-tide,
Upon their stalkes gan playn⁶ their leaves wide⁷.

Again, among more pictures of the same subject.

When Aurora the sylver droppes shene,
Her teares, had shed upon the freshe grene ;
Complaynyng aye, in weping and in sorowe,
Her children's death on every sommer-morowe :
That is to saye, when the dewe so soote.
Embawmed hath the floure and eke roote
With lustie lycour in Aprill and in Maye :
When that the larke, the messenger of daye,
Of custom aye Aurora doth salue,
With sundry notes her sorowe to⁸ transmue⁹.

The spring is thus described, renewing the buds or blossoms of the groves, and the flowers of the meadows.

And them whom winter's blastes have shaken bare
With sote blosomes freshly to repare ;
And the meadows of many a sundry hewe,
Tapitid ben with divers floures newe

¹ In the royal MSS of the British Museum, this piece is called *LA CHEVALERIE SPIRITUELLE de ce monde*. 17 E. iv. 2.

² Mons. L'Abbe Sallier, *Mem. Litt.* xvii. p. 518.

³ Streaks of light. A very common word in Lydgate. Chaucer, *Kn. T.* v. 597. col. 2. *Urr.* p. 455.

And while the twillght and the rowis red

Of Phebus light.——

⁴ Salute.

⁵ Chase.

⁶ Open.

⁷ B. i. c. vi.

⁸ Change.

⁹ B. iii. c. xxiii.

Of sundry motless¹, lusty for to sene ;
And holsome balm is shed among the grene.

Frequently in these florid landscapes we find the same idea differently expressed. Yet this circumstance, while it weakened the description, taught a copiousness of diction, and a variety of poetical phraseology. There is great softness and facility in the following delineation of a delicious retreat.

Tyll at the last, among the bowes glade,
Of adventure, I caught a pleasaunt shade ;
Ful smothe, and playn, and lusty for to sene,
And softe as velvette was the yonge grene :
Where from my hors I did alight as fast,
And on a bowe aloft his reyne cast.
So faynte and mate of werynesse I was,
That I me layd adowne upon the gras,
Upon a brincke, shortly for to telle,
Besyde the river of a cristall well ;
And the water, as I reherse can,
Like quicke-sylver in his streames yran,
Of which the gravell and the bryghte stone,
As any golde, agaynst the sun yshone².

The circumstance of the pebbles and gravel of a transparent stream glittering against the sun, which is uncommon, has much of the brilliancy of the Italian poetry. It recalls to my memory a passage in Theocritus, which has been lately restored to its pristine beauty.

Εύρον αεανναον κραναν ὑπο λισσαδι πετρῇ,
ὕδατι πεπληθησαν ακηρατῶ· αἱ δ' ὑπενερθεν
λαλλαι κρυσταλλῶ ηδ' ἀργυρῶ ἠδ' αὖλλοντο
ἐκ βυθου.

*They found a perpetual spring, under a high rock,
Filled with pure water: but underneath
The pebbles sparkled as with crystal and silver
From the bottom³. — —*

There is much elegance of sentiment and expression in the portrait of Creseide weeping when she parts with Troilus.

And from her eyn the teare's round drops tryll,
That al fordewed have her blacke wede ;
And eke untrussd her haire abrode gan sprede,
Lyke golden wyre, forrent and alto torn.—
And over this, her freshe and rosey hewe,
Whylom ymeynt⁴ with white lyles newe,
Wyth wofull wepyng pyteously disteynd ;
And lyke the herbes in April all bereynd,
Or floures freshe with the dewes swete,
Ryght so her chekes moyste were and wete⁵.

¹ Colours.

² B. ii. cap. xii.

⁴ Mingled.

³ Διοσκουρ. Idyll. xxii. v. 37.

⁵ B. iii. c. xxv. So again of Polyxena, B. iv. c. xxx.

And aye she rente with her fingers smale

Her golden heyre upon her blacke wede

The following verses are worthy of attention in another style of writing, and have great strength and spirit. A knight brings a steed to Hector in the midst of the battle.

And brought to Hector. Sothly there he stooode
Among the Grekes, al bathed in their bloode:
The which in haste ful knightly he bestrode,
And them amonge like Mars himselfe he rode¹.

The strokes on the helmets are thus expressed, striking fire amid the plumes.

But strokys felle, that men might herden rynge,
On bassenetts, the fieldes rounde aboute,
So cruelly, that the fyre sprange oute
Among the tuftes brode, bright and shene,
Of foyle of golde, of fethers white and grene².

The touches of feudal manners, which our author affords, are innumerable: for the Trojan story, and with no great difficulty, is here entirely accommodated to the ideas of romance. Hardly any adventure of the champions of the round table was more chimerical and unmeaning than this of our Grecian chiefs: and the cause of their expedition to Troy was quite in the spirit of chivalry, as it was occasioned by a lady. When Jason arrives at Cholcos, he is entertained by king Oetes in a Gothic castle. Amadis or Lancelot were never conducted to their fairy chambers with more ceremony and solemnity. He is led through many a hall and many a tower, by many a stair, to a sumptuous apartment, whose walls, richly painted with the histories of ancient heroes, glittered with gold and azure.

Through many a halle, and many a rich toure,
By many a tourne, and many divers waye,
By many a gree³ ymade of marbyll graye.—
And in his chambre⁴, englosed⁴ bright and cleare,
That shone ful shene with gold and with asure
Of many image that ther was in picture,
He hath commaunded to his offycers,
Only⁵ in honour of them that were straungers,
Spyces and wyne⁵. — —

The siege of Troy, the grand object of the poem, is not conducted according to the classical art of war. All the military machines, invented and used in the crusades, are assembled to demolish the bulwarks of that city, with the addition of great guns. Among other implements of destruction borrowed from the holy war, the Greek

¹ B. iii. c. xxii.

² B. ii. c. xviii.

³ *Greece. Degree. Step. Stair. Gradus.*

⁴ Painted. Or *r.* Englosed. Skelton's *CROWNE OF LAWRELL*, p. 24. edit. 1736.

Wher the postis wer enbulioned with saphir's indy blew
Englased glitteringe, &c.

⁵ B. i. c. v. See Colonna, Signat. b.

fire, first discovered at Constantinople, with which the Saracens so greatly annoyed the Christian armies, is thrown from the walls of the besieged city¹.

Nor are we only presented in this piece with the habits of feudal life, and the practices of chivalry. The poem is enriched with a multitude of oriental fictions, and Arabian traditions. Medea gives to Jason, when he is going to combat the brazen bulls, and to lull the dragon who guarded the golden fleece asleep, a marvellous ring; in which was a gem whose virtue could destroy the efficacy of poison, and render the wearer invisible. It was the same sort of precious stone, adds our author, which Virgil celebrates, and which Venus sent her son Eneas that he might enter Carthage unseen. Another of Medea's presents to Jason, to assist him in this perilous achievement, is a silver image, or talisman, which defeated all the powers of incantation, and was framed according to principles of astronomy². The hall of king Priam is illuminated at night by a prodigious carbuncle, placed among sapphires, rubies, and pearls, on the crown of a golden statue of Jupiter, fifteen cubits high³. In the court of the palace, was a tree made by magic, whose trunk was twelve cubits high; the branches, which overshadowed distant plains, were alternately of solid gold and silver, blossomed with gems of various hues, which were renewed every day⁴. Most of these extravagancies, and a thousand more, are in Guido de Colonna, who lived when this mode of fabling was at its height. But in the fourth book, Dares Phrygius is particularly cited for a description of Priam's palace, which seemed to be founded by *FAYRIE*, or enchantment; and was paved with crystal, built of diamonds, sapphires, and emeralds, and supported by ivory pillars, surmounted with golden images⁵. This is not, however, in Dares. The warriors who came to the assistance of the Trojans, afford an ample field for invention. One of them belongs to a region of forests: amid the gloom of which wander many monstrous beasts, not real, but appearances or illusive images, formed by the deceptions of necromancy, to terrify the traveller⁶. King Epistrophus brings from the land beyond the Amazons, a thousand knights; among which is a terrible archer, half man and half beast, who neighs like a horse, whose eyes sparkle like a furnace, and strike dead like lightening⁷. This is Shakespeare's *DREADFUL SAGITTARY*⁸. The Trojan horse, in

¹ B. ii. c. xviii. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 157. In Caxton's *TROY-BOOK*, Hercules is said to make the *fire artificiall* as well as Cacus, &c. ii. 24.

² *Ibid.* ³ B. ii. c. xi.

⁴ B. ii. c. xi.

⁵ Cap. xxvi.

⁶ B. ii, c. xviii.

⁷ Described by Colonna, *Signat.* n. 4. seq.

⁸ *Ibid.* And B. iii, c. xxiv. The *Sagittary* is not in Dictys or Dares. In whom also, these warriors are but barely named, and are much fewer in number. Dar. cap. xviii, p. 161. Dict. lib. ii, cap. xxxv, p. 51. The description of the persons of Helen, and of the Trojan and Grecian heroes [B. ii, c. xv.] is from Dares through Colonna, Daret. Hist. c. xiii. p. 156. seq.

the genuine spirit of Arabian philosophy, is formed of brass¹; of such immense size, as to contain a thousand soldiers.

Colonna, I believe, gave the Trojan story its romantic additions. It had long before been falsified by Dictys and Dares; but those writers, misrepresenting or enlarging Homer, only invented plain and credible facts. They were the basis of Colonna: who first filled the faint outlines of their fabulous history with the colourings of eastern fancy, and adorned their scanty forgeries with the gorgeous trappings of Gothic chivalry. Or, as our author expresses himself in his Prologue, speaking of Colonna's improvements on his originals.

For he ENLUMINETH, by crafte and cadence,
This noble story with many a FRESHE COLOURE
Of rhetorike, and many a RYCHE FLOURE
Of eloquence, to make it sound the bett².

Clothed with these new inventions, this favourite tale descended to later times. Yet it appears, not only with these, but with an infinite variety of other embellishments, not fabricated by the fertile genius of Colonna, but adopted from French enlargements of Colonna, and incorporated from romances on other subjects, in the French *RECUVEL OF TROY*, written by a French ecclesiastic, Rauol le Feure, about the year 1464, and translated by Caxton³.

The description of the city of Troy, as newly built by king Priam, is extremely curious; not for the capricious incredibilities and absurd inconsistencies which it exhibits⁴, but because it conveys anecdotes of ancient architecture, and especially of that florid and improved species, which began to grow fashionable in Lydgate's age. Although much of this is in Colonna. He avoids to describe it geometrically having never read Euclid. He says that Priam procured,

———Eche carver, and curious joyner,
To make knottes with many a queint floure
To sette on crestes within and eke without.—

That he sent for such as could 'grave, groupe, or carve, where sotyll
' in their fantasye, good devysours, marveyulous of castinge, who could

¹ In Dictys 'tabulatis extruitur ligneis.' lib. v, c. x, p. 113. In Gower he is also a *hors of brasse*, Conf. Amant. lib. i, fol. xiii, a. col. 2. From Colonna, Signat. t 4. Here also are Shakespeare's fabulous names of the gates of Troy. Signat. d 4. seq.

² Better.

³ As for instance, Hercules having killed the eleven giants of Cremona, builds over them a vast tower, on which he placed eleven images of metal, of the size and figure of the giants. B. ii, c. 24. Something like this, I think, is in *Amadis de Gaul*. Robert Braham, in the *EPISTLE TO THE READER*, prefixed to the edition of Lydgate's *TROY-BOOK* of 1555, is of opinion, that the fables in the French *RECUVEL* ought to be ranked with the *trifeling tales* and *barrayne luerdries* of *ROBYN HODE* and *BEVYS OF HAMPTON*, and are not to be compared with the *faithful* and *trewe* reports of this history given by Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis.

⁴ It is three days journey in length and breadth. The walls are two hundred cubits high, of marble and alabaster, and machiocolated. At every angle was a crown of gold, set with the richest gems. There were great guns in the towers. On each turret were figures of savage and monstrous beasts in Brass. The gates were of brass, and each has a portcullis. The houses were all uniform, and of marble, sixty cubits high.

‘raise a wall with batayling and crestes marciall, every imageour in
 ‘entayle¹, and every portreyour who could paint the work with fresh
 ‘hewes, who could pullish alabaster, and make an ymage.’

And yf I shulde rehersen by and by,
 The corve knottes by craft of masonry ;
 The fresh embowing² with verges right as lynes,
 And the housyng full of bachewines,
 The ryche coynyng, the lusty tablements,
 Vinettes³ running in casements.—
 Nor how they put, instede of mortere,
 In the joyntoures, coper gilt ful clere ;
 To make them joyne by levell and by lyne,
 Among the marbell freshly for to shyne
 Agaynst the sunne, whan that his shene light
 Smote on the golde that was burned bright.

The sides of every street were covered with *fresh alures*⁴ of marble, or cloisters, crowned with rich and lofty pinnacles, and fronted with tabernacular or open work⁵, vaulted like the dormitory of a monastery, and called *deambulatories*, for the accommodation of the citizens in all weathers.

And every house ycovered was with lead⁶ ;
 And many a gargoye, and many a hideous head,
 With spoutes thorough, &c.—

And again, of Priam’s palace.

And the walles, within and eke without,
 Endilong were with knottes graven clere,
 Depeynt with asure, golde, cinople’, and grene.—
 And al the wyndows and eche fenestrall,
 Wrought were with beryll and of clere crystall.

With regard to the reality of the last circumstance, we are told, that in Studley castle in Shropshire, the windows, so late as the reign of Elizabeth, were of beryl⁷.

The account of the Trojan theatre must not be omitted, as it displays the imperfect ideas of the stage, at least of dramatic exhibition, which now prevailed ; or rather, the absolute inexistence of this sort

¹ Intaglia.

² Arching.

³ Vignettes.

⁴ Allies, or covet-ways. Lat. *Alura*. viz. ‘ALURA quæ ducit a coquina conventus, usque ad cameran prioris.’ Hearne’s OTTERB. Præf. Append. p. cxi. Where Hearne derives it from *ALA*, a wing, or side. Rather from *Aller*, whence *Allee*, Fr. *Alley*. Robert of Gloucester mentioned the ladies standing ‘upe [upon] the *alurs* of the castle,’ to see a tournament. The word *Alura* is not in Du Cange.

⁵ Like the latticed stone-work, or *cancelli*, of a Gothic shrine.

⁶ Said to have been invented by Marchion of Arezzo. Walpole, ANECDOTES OF PAINTING i. p. iiii.

⁷ Harrison’s DESCRIPT. BRIT. Cap. xii. p. 188. The occupations of the citizens of Troy are mentioned. There were goldsmiths, jewellers, embroiderers, weavers of wollen and linen, of cloth, of gold, damask, sattin, velvet, *senael*, or a thin silk like cypress, and double *samyte*, or satin. Smiths, who forged poll-axes, speares, and *quarrel-heads*, or cross-bow darts shaped square. Armourers, Bowyers, Fletchers, makers of trappings, banners, standards, penons, and for the field *freshe ana gaye GETOURS*. I do not precisely understand the last word. Perhaps it is a sort of ornamented armour for the legs.

of spectacle. Our author supposes, that comedies and tragedies were first represented at Troy¹. He defines a comedy to begin with complaint and to end with *gladnesse*: expressing the actions of those only who live in the lowest condition. But tragedy, he informs us, begins in prosperity, and ends in adversity: showing the wonderful vicissitudes of fortune which have happened in the lives of kings and mighty conquerours. In the theatre of Troy, he adds, was a pulpit, in which stood a poet, who rehearsed the *noble dedes that were historial of kynges, prynces, and worthy emperours*; and, above all, related those fatal and sudden catastrophes, which they sometimes suffered by murther, poison, conspiracy, or other secret and unforeseen machinations.

And this was tolde and redde by the poete.
 And while that he in the pulpet stode
 With deadlye face all devoyd of blode,
 Syngynge his dities with tresses al to rent;
 Amydde the theatre, shrowded in a tent,
 There came out men, gastfull of there cheres,
 Disfygured their faces with vyseres,
 Playing by signes in the people's syght
 That the poete songe hathe on height²:
 So that there was no maner discourdaunce,
 Atween his dities and their countenaunce.
 For lyke as he alofte dyd expresse
 Wordes of joye or of hevinesse,—
 So craftely they³ could them⁴ transfigure⁵.

It is added, that these plays, or *rytes of tragedyes old*, were acted at Troy, and *in the theatre halowed and yholde*, when the months of April and May returned.

In this detail of the dramatic exhibition which prevailed in the ideal theatre of Troy, a poet, placed on the stage in a pulpit, and characteristically habited, is said to have recited a series of tragical adventures; whose pathetic narrative was afterwards expressed, by the dumb gesticulations of a set of masqued actors. Some perhaps may be inclined to think, that this imperfect species of theatric representation, was the rude drama of Lydgate's age. But surely Lydgate would not have described at all, much less in a long and laboured digression, a public show, which from its nature was familiar and notorious. On the contrary, he describes it as a thing obsolete, and existing only in remote times. Had a more perfect and legitimate stage now subsisted, he would not have deviated from his subject, to communicate unnecessary information, and to deliver such minute definitions of tragedy and comedy. On the whole, this formal history of a theatre conveys nothing more than an affected display of Lydgate's learning; and is col-

¹ All that follows on this subject, is not in Colonna.

² 'That which the poet sung, standing in the pulpit.'

⁴ Themselves.

³ The actors.

⁵ Lib. ii, cap. x. See also, B. iii, c. xxviii.

lected, yet with apparent inaccuracy and confusion of circumstances, from what the ancient grammarians have left concerning the origin of the Greek tragedy. Or perhaps it might be borrowed by our author from some French paraphrastic version of Colonna's Latin romance.

Among the ancient authors, beside those already mentioned, cited in this poem, are Lollius for the history of Troy, Ovid for the tale of Medea and Jason, Ulysses and Polyphemus, the Myrmidons and other stories, Statius for Polynices and Eteocles, the venerable Bede, Fulgentius the mythologist, Justinian with whose institutes Colonna as a civilian must have been well acquainted, Pliny, and Jacobus de Vitriaco¹. The last is produced to prove, that Philometer, a famous philosopher, invented the game of chess, to divert a tyrant from his cruel purposes, in Chaldea; and that from thence it was imported into Greece. But Colonna, or rather Lydgate, is of a different opinion; and contends, in opposition to his authority, that this game, *so sotyll and so marvaylous*, was discovered by *prudent clerkes* during the siege of Troy, and first practiced in that city. Jacobus de Vitriaco was a canon regular at Paris, and, among other dignities in the church, bishop of Ptolemais in Palestine, about the year 1230. This tradition of the invention of chess is mentioned by Jacobus de Vitriaco in his *ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL HISTORY*². The anecdote of Philometer is, I think, in Egidius Romanus on this subject, above-mentioned. Chaucer calls Athalus, that is Attalus Philometer, the same person, and who is often mentioned in Pliny, the inventor of chess³.

I must not pass over an instance of Lydgate's gallantry, as it is the gallantry of a monk. Colonna takes all opportunities of satirising the fair sex; and Lydgate with great politeness declares himself absolutely unwilling to translate those passages of this severe moralist, which contain such unjust and illiberal misrepresentations of the female character. Instead of which, to obviate these injurious reflections, our translator enters upon a formal vindication of the ladies; not by a panegyric on their beauty, nor encomiums on those aimable accomplishments, by which they refine our sensibilities, and give elegance to life; but by a display of that religious fortitude with which some women have suffered martyrdom; or of that inflexible chastity, by means of which others have been snatched up alive into heaven, in a state of genuine virginity. Among other striking examples which the calendar affords, he mentions the transcendent grace of the eleven thousand virgins who were martyred at Cologne in Germany. In the mean time, female saints, as I suspect, in the barbarous ages were regarded with a greater degree of respect, on account of those exaggerated ideas of gallantry which chivalry inspired: and it is not improbable that the

¹ Colonna calls him, *ille FABULARIUS Sulmonensis*,—*fabulose commentans*, &c. Signat. b 2.

² In three books.

³ DREME, p. 408, col. 2, edit. Urr.

distinguished honours paid to the virgin Mary might have partly proceeded from this principle.

Among the anachronistic improprieties which this poem contains, some of which have been pointed out, the most conspicuous is the fiction of Hector's sepulchre, or tomb : which also merits our attention for another reason, as it affords us an opportunity of adding some other notices of the modes of ancient architecture to those already mentioned. The poet from Colonna supposes, that Hector was buried in the principal church of Troy, near the high altar, within a magnificent oratory, erected for that purpose, exactly resembling the Gothic shrines of our cathedrals, yet charged with many romantic decorations.

With crafty archys raysyd wonder clene,
Embowed over all the work to cure,
So marveyulous was the celature :
That al the rofe, and closure envyrowne,
Was of¹ fyne golde plated up and downe,
With knottes grave wonder curyous
Fret ful of stony's rich and precious, &c.

The structure is supported by angels of gold. The steps are of crystal. Within, is not only an image of Hector in solid gold ; but his body embalmed, and exhibited to view with the resemblance of real life, by means of a precious liquor circulating through every part in golden tubes artificially disposed, and operating on the principles of vegetation. This is from the chemistry of the times. Before the body were four inextinguishable lamps in golden sockets. To complete the work, Priam founds a regular chantry of priests, whom he accommodates with mansions near the church, and endows with revenues, to sing in this oratory for the soul of his son Hector².

In the Bodleian library, there is a prodigious folio manuscript on vellum, a translation of Collonna's TROJAN HISTORY into verse³ ; which has been confounded with Lydgate's TROYE-BOKE now before us. But it is an entirely different work, and is written in the short minstrel-metre. I have given a specimen of the Prologue above. It appears to me to be Lydgate's TROYE-BOKE divested of the octave stanza, and reduced into a measure which might more commodiously be sung to the harp⁴. It is not likely that Lydgate is its author : that he

¹ With.

² B. iii, c. xxviii. Joseph of Exeter in his Latin poem entitled ANTIOCHEIS, or the CRUSADE, has borrowed from this tomb of Hector, in his brilliant description of the mausoleum of Teuthras. lib. iv, 451. Signat. i.

³ MSS. Laud. K. 76, fol.

⁴ It may, however, be thought, that this poem is rather a translation or imitation of some French original, as the writer often refers to *The Romance*. If this be the case, it is not immediately formed from the TROYE-BOKE of Lydgate, as I have suggested in the text. I believe it to be about Lydgate's age ; but there is no other authority for supposing it to be written by Lydgate, than that, in the beginning of the Bodleian MSS. now before us, a hand-

should either thus transform his own composition, or write a new piece on the subject. That it was a poem in some considerable estimation, appears from the size and splendour of the manuscript: and this circumstance induces me to believe, that it was at a very early period ascribed to Lydgate. On the other hand, it is extraordinary that the name of the writer of so prolix and laborious a work, respectable and conspicuous at least on account of its length, should have never transpired. The language accords with Lydgate's age, is of the reign of Henry VI.: and to the same age I refer the hand-writing, which is executed with remarkable elegance and beauty.

writing, of about the reign of James I., assigns it to that poet. I will give a few lines from the poem itself: which begins with Jason's expedition to Cholcos, the constant prelude to the Trojan story in all the writers of this school.

In Colkos ile a cite was,
Ffair, and mekel¹, large, and long,
Fful of toures, and heye paleis,
A kyng that tyme hete² Eetes
With his baronage, and his meyne,
Ffor al aboute that riche toun
That were replenysched wonderful
And othir many savage bestis,
Ther was large contray and playn,
Fful of semely-rennyng welles,
Withoute the cite that ther sprong.
Thorow al the zer³ and michel cry,
To that cite [of] Etes
And al the ffelawes that he hadde

That men called hanne Jaconitas;
With walles huge and wondir strong,
Off rich knyghtes, and burgeis:
Gouerned than that lond in pes³,
Dwelleden thanne in that cite:
Stode wodes, and parkis, enviroun,
Of herte, and hynd, bore, and bul,
Betwixt that wode and that forestis.
Ffaire wodes, and champayn
As the ROMAUNCE the sothe⁴ telles,
Ther was of briddes michel song,
Of al joyes gret melody.
Zode⁵ Jason and Hercules,
In clothe of golde as kynges he cladde, &c.

Afterwards, the sorceress Medea, the king's daughter, is thus characterised.

Sche couthe the science of clergy,
Sche coude with conjurisouns,
The day, that was most fair and lyght,
Sche couthe also, in selcouthe wise,
And make him so loude blowe,
Sche couth turne, verament,

And mochel of nigramauncy.—
With here schleyght⁷, and oresouns,
Make as darke as any nyght:
Make the wynde both blowe and rise,
As it schold howses overthrowe.
All weders⁸, and the firmament, &c.

The reader, in some of these lines, observes the appeal to *The romance* for authority. This is common throughout the poem, as I have hinted. But at the close, the poet wishes eternal salvation to the soul of the author of the *Romaunce*.

And he that this *romauce* wrought and made, Lord in heven thow him glade.

If this piece is translated from a French romance, it is not from the ancient metrical one of Benoît, to whom, I believe, Colonna is much indebted; but perhaps from some later French romance, which copied, or translated, Colonna's book. This, among other circumstances, we may collect from these lines.

Dares the herald of Troye says,
And after him cometh *maister Gy*,

And Dites that was of the Gregeis, &c.
That was of Rome a notary.

This *maister Gy*, or *Guy*, that is Guido of Colonna, he adds, wrote this history,

In the *manere* I schall telle.

That is 'my author, or romance, follows Colonna.' *Dares the herald* is Dares Phrygius, and *Dites* Dictys Cretensis.

This poem, in the Bodleian MSS. aforesaid, is finished, as I have observed, with an invocation to God, to save the author, and the readers, or hearers; and ends with this line,

Seythe alle Amen for charite.

But this rubric immediately follows, at the beginning of a page, '*Hic bellum de Troye finit et Grece transierunt versus patriam suam.*' Then follow several lined pages of vellum, without writing. I have never seen any other MSS. of this piece.

¹ Great.

⁴ Truth.

⁵ Year.

² *Hight*, named.

⁶ Came.

⁷ *Slight*, art.

³ Peace.

⁸ *Weathers*.

SECTION XXIV.

TWO more poets remain to be mentioned under the reign of Henry VI., if mere translation merit that appellation. These are Hugh Campeden and Thomas Chester.

The first was a great traveller, and translated into English verse the French romance of SIDRAC². This translation, a book of uncommon rarity, was printed with the following title, at the expence of Robert Saltwood, a monk of St. Austin's convent at Canterbury, in the year 1510. 'The Historie of king Boccus and SYDRACK how he confoundyd his learned men, and in the fight of them dronke stronge venyme in the name of the trinite and dyd him no hurt. Also his divynite that he lerned of the boke of Noe. Also his profesyes that he had by revelation of the angel. Also his aunsweris to the questyons of wysdom both morall and naturall with much wysdom contayned in [the] nnumber CCCLXV. Translated by Hugo of Caumpeden out of French into Englishe, &c¹.' There is no sort of elegance in the diction, nor harmony in the versification. It is in the minstrel-metre².

Thomas Chestre appears also to have been a writer for the minstrels. No anecdote of his life is preserved. He has left a poem

¹ With a wooden cut of Bocchus, and Sidracke. There is a fine MSS. of this translation, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. G. 57, pergam.

² MSS. Laud. G. 57, Princip.

Men may fynde in olde bookes
That men may mooche here
I shall teche yoowe a lytell jeste
There was a kyng that Boctus hyght
His londe lay de grete Inde
After the tyme of Noee even
The kyng Bocchus hym be thought
The rede Jewes fro hym spere
A yerst a kyng that was hys foo
His name was Garaab the kyng
And smartly a towre begonne he
And it was right at the incomyng
The masons with grete laboure
And all that they wroghten on day
On morn when Bochus hit herde
And dyd hyt all new begynne
Off worke when they went to reste
Well vii monthes this thei wrought
Boccus was wroth wonderly
Councellith me lordinges seyde hee
They sayde sir sendith a noon
And the astronomers of your londe

Who soo yat in them lookes
And yefore yff yat yee wolde lere
That befell oonys in the este
And was a man of mooche myght
Bectorye hight hit as we fynde
VIIJte hundred yere fourty and seven
That he would have a citee wrought
And for to mayntene his were
And hath moste of Inde longyng hym too
Bocchus tho proved all this thing
There he wolde make his citee
Of Garabys londe the kyng
Beganne to worke uppon the toure
On night was hit done away
Hee was wroth that hit so ferde
At even whan they shuld blynne
In the night was all downe heste
And in the night avaylid yt nought
And callid his folke that was hym by
Howe I may beste make this citee
Aftir your philosophers everychon
Of hem shall yee counsell fonde.

Afterwards king Tractabare is requested to send

—— the booke of astronomye
Together with his astronomer Sidracke.
At the end.

That this boke hath thorogh soght

Sidrake, who is a christian, at length builds the tower in *Nomine S. Trinitatis*, and he teaches Bocchus, who is an idolater, many articles of true religion. The only MSS. I have seen of this translation is among MSS. Laud. G. 57, fol. ut sup.

That whilom Noe had in baylye,

And that Hugh of Campedene
And untoo Englysh ryme hit brought.

entitled Sir LAUNSALE, one of Arthur's knights : who is celebrated with other champions in a set of French metrical tales or romances, written by some Armorican bard, under the name of LANVAL¹. They are in the British Museum³.

I think I have seen some evidence to prove, that Chestre was also the author of the metrical romance called the ERLE OF THOLOUSE³. This is one of the romances called LAIS by the poets of Britany, or Armorica : as appears from these lines,

In romance this gest
A LEY⁴ of BRITAYN called I wys, &c.

¹ It begins thus.

LAUNFAL MILES.

Le douzty Artours dawes
Ther fell a wondyr cas,
That hyzt LAUNFAL and hatte zette.
Douzty Artour some whyle
With joye and greet solas,
With Artour of the rounde table,
Sere Persevall, and syr Gawyn,
And Lancelot du Lake,
That well couthe fyzt yn playn,
Kyng Ban Boort, and kyng Bos,
Men sawe tho no wher ² her ³ make.
Whereof a noble tale
With Artour ther was a bachelor
LAUNFAL for soot [Soth] he hyzt,
Gold and sylver and clothes ryche,
For hys largesse and hys bounte
Ten yer I you plyzt,
So large ther was noon y founde,
So hyt befyll yn the tenth zere
He radde him for to wende
And fette hym ther a lady bryzt

That held Engelond in good lawe,
Of a ley [Liege] that was ysette,
Now herkeneth how hyt was ;
Sojournede yn Kerdenyle,
And knyztz that wer profitable,
Never no one better ther was.
Syr Gyherther, and syr Agrayn,
Syr Kay, and syr Ewayn.
Bateles for to take.
Of ham ther was a greet los,
Syr Galafre, and syr LAUNFALE,
Among us shall a wake.
And hadde y be well many a zer,
He gaf gyftes largelyche
To squyer and to knyzt.
The kinges steward made was he
Of alle the knyztz of the table rounde
Be days ne be nyzt.
Marlyn was Artours counsalare,
To kyng Ryon of Irlond ryzt,
Gwenere hys doughter hende, &c.

In the conclusion.

THOMAS CHESTER made thys tale
Good of chyvalrye :
Zeve us all hys blessingy

Of the noble knyzt syr Launfale
Jesus that ys hevene kyng
And hys moder Mary².

EXPLICIT LAUNFALE.

Never printed. MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2, f. 33. I am obliged to doctor Percy for this transcript. It was afterwards altered into the romance of sir LAMBWELL.

² MSS. Harl. 978, 112, fol. i. 154.

‘En Bretains l’apelent LAUNVAL.’

See a note at the beginning of DISS. i.

³ Never printed. MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 45, 4to. [6926.] And MSS. More. Camb. 27. *Princip.*

Jesu Crist in trinite,
Lefe frendys I shall you telle
Far in unkouth the lade,

Only god in persons thre, &c.
Of a tale that sometyme befell
Howe a lady had grete myschefe, &c.

⁴ Perhaps *ley* in the fourth line of sir LAUNFAL may mean Lay in this sense. These BRITISH LAIS, of which I have given specimens at the beginning of the FIRST DISSERTATION, and of which sir LAUNFAL is one, are discovered to have been translated into French from the language of Armorican Bretagne, about the thirteenth century, by Marie a French poetess, who made the translation of ESOP abovementioned. See CANT. T. vol. iv, p. 165, edit. 1775. But Marie's was not the only Collection of BRITISH LAIS, in French : as appears not only from the EARL of THOLOUSE, but by the romance of EMARE, a translation from the French, which has this similar passage, St. ult.

Thys ys on of Brytayne layes

That was used of old dayes.

MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A ii, fol. 69. The SONG of SIR GOWTHER is said by the writer to be

¹ Or, Kerdevyle. f. Caerlisle.

² Ther.

³ Match.

And that it is a translation, appears from the reference to an original, 'The Romans telleth so.' I will however give the outlines of the story, which is not uninteresting, nor inartificially constructed.

Dioclesian, a powerful emperor in Germany, has a rupture with

taken from one of the *Layes of Brytayne*: and in another place he calls his story *the first Laye of Britanyne*. MSS. REG. 17 B. xliii. Chaucer's FRANKLEIN'S TALE was also a *Bretagne Lay*, Urr. p. 107. In the Prologue he says,

The olde gentill Bretons in their dayes Of divers aventoures madin their *Layes*,
Rymeyed first in their owne Breton tonge, Whiche *layis* with ther instruments thei songe.

Here he translates from Marie, although this story is not in her manuscript. viz. fol. 181.

Li auntien Bretun curteis.

But in his DREME, he seems to have copied her LAY of ELIDUS. To the *British Lais* I would also refer LA LAI DU CORN, which begins,

De un aventure ci avint

A la court del bon rei Artus.

MSS. DUGB. 86, Bibl. Bodl. membran. 4to. It probably existed before the year 1300. The story, which much resembles the old French metrical romance, called LE COURT MANTEL, is slightly touched in MORTE ARTHUR. ii. 33. A magical horn, richly garnished, the work of a fairy, is brought by a beautiful boy riding on a fleet conser, to a sumptuous feast held at Carleon by king Arthur, in order to try the fidelity of the knights and ladies, who are in number sixty thousand. Those who are false, in drinking from this horn, spill their wine. The only successful knight, or he who accomplishes the adventure, is *Garaduc* or Cradok. I will here give the description of the horn.

————— Un dauncell,
Seur un cheval corant,
En sa main tont un COR
Ci com estoit diveure
Peres ici ont assises,
Berreles et sardoines,
Il fu fust de ollifaunt,
Ne si fort, ne si bel,
Neele de ad argent,
Perfectees de or fin,
Les fist une Fee,
E le corn destina
Qu sour le corn ferroit
Ses eschelettes cent
Qu harpe ne viele
Ne Sereigne du mer

Mout avenaunt et bel,
En palleis vint eraunt;
A quatre bendel de or,
Entaillez de ad trifure³,
Qu en le or furent mises,
Et riches calcedoines;
Ounques ne ni si graunt,
Desus ont un anel,
Eschelettes il ont cent
En le tens Constantin,
Qu preuz ert, et senee,
Si cum vous orres ja:
Un petit de soun doit,
Soument tant doucement,
Ne deduit de pucelle,
Nest tele desconter.

These lines may be thus interpreted. 'A boy, very graceful and beautiful, mounted on a swift horse, came into the palace of king Arthur. He bore in his hand a horn, having four

¹ More properly written *daunzel*, or *danzel*. As in the old French romance of GARIN.

Et li *danzel* que Bues ot norris.

And in other places. So our king Richard I., in a fragment of one of his Provençal sonnets.

E lou *donzel* de Thuscana.

'For Boys Tuscany is the country.' In Spanish, Lo *Donzell*. Andr. Bosch, *Dels Titols de honor de Cathalunya*. L. iii. c. 3. § 16. In some of these instances, the word is restrained to the sense of *Squire*. It is from the Latin DOMICELLUS. Froissart calls Richard II., when Prince of Wales, 'Le jeune Damoisel Richart.' tom. i. c. 325.

² Or rather *trifore*. Undoubtedly from the Latin *triforium*, a rich ornamented edge or border. The Latin often occurs under Dugdale's INVENTORY of St. Paul's, in the MONASTICON, viz. 'Morsus [a buckle] W. de Ely argenteus, cresta ejus argentea, cum TRIFORIO 'exterius aureo et lapillis insitis, &c.' tom. iii. ECCLES. CATH. p. 309. TRIFORIATUS repeatedly occurs in the same page, as thus. 'Morsus Petri de Blois TRIFORIATUS de auro.'—'Medio circulo [of a buckle] aurato, TRIFORIATO, inserto grossis lapidibus, &c.'—'Cum multis lapidibus et perlis insitis in limbis, et quadraturis TRIPHORATUS aureis,' &c. &c. ibid. p. 309. et seq. It is sometimes written TRIFORIA. As, 'Pannus cujus campus purpureus, cum xiv 'listis in longitudine ad modum TRIFORIAE contextis,' ibid. p. 326. col. 2. TRIFURE, in the text, may be literally interpreted *jewel-work*. As in CHRON. S. Dion. tom. iii. Collect. Histor. Franc. p. 183. 'Il estoient de fin or esmere et aourne de tres riches pierres precieuses d'œuvre TRIPHORE.' Which Aimon calls, 'gemmisque ornata Opere incluserio,' that is, *work consisting of jewels set in*. DE GEST. FRANC. Lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 44. G. edit. Paris 1603. fol.

Barnard earl of Tholouse, concerning boundaries of territory. Contrary to the repeated persuasions of the empress, who is extremely beautiful, and famous for her conjugal fidelity, he meets the earl with a numerous army, in a pitched battle, to decide the quarrel. The earl is victorious, and carries home a great multitude of prisoners,

'bandages of gold; it was made of ivory, engraved with *trifoire*: many precious stones were set in the gold, beryls, sardonysces, and rich chalcedonies: it was of elephant [ivory]: nothing was ever so grand, so strong, or so beautiful: at bottom was a ring [or rim] wrought of silver; where were hanging an hundred little bells, framed of fine gold, in the days of Constantine, by a Fairy, brave and wise, for the purpose which ye have just heard me relate. If any one gently struck the horn with his finger, the hundred bells sounded so sweetly, that neither harp nor viol, nor the sports of a virgin, nor the syrens of the sea, could ever give such music.' The author of this *Lai* is one Robert Bizez, as appears by the last lines; in which the horn is said still to be seen at Cirencester. From this tale came Ariosto's ENCHANTED CUP, ORL FURIOS. xlii. 92. And Fontaine's LA COUPE ENCHANTEE. From the COURT MANTEL, a fiction of the same tendency, and which was common among the Welsh bards, Spenser borrowed the wonderful virtues and effects of his FLORIMEL'S GIRDLE, iv. 5. 3. Both stories are connected in an ancient Ballad published by Percy. vol. iii. p. 1.

In the Digby MSS., which contains *La Lai du Corn* are many other curious chansons, romantic, allegorical, and legendary, both in old French and old English. I will here exhibit the rubrics, or titles of the most remarkable pieces, and of such as seem most likely to throw light on the subjects or allusions of our ancient English poetry. *Le Romanz Peres Aunfour* [Alfonse] *coment il aprist et chastia son fils belement.* [See Notes to CANTERB. T. p. 328. vol. iv.] *De un demi ami.—De un bon ami enter.—De un sage homme et de i fol.—De un gopil et de un mul.—De un roi et de un clerc.—De un homme et de une serpente et de un gopil.—De un roi et de un versifour.—De ii clerks escolieres.—De un prodome et de sa male femme.—Del engine de femme del nelons.—Del espee autre engin de femme.—De un roy et de un fableour.—De une veille et de une lisette.—De la gile de la per e el pin.—De un prod-femme bone cointise.* [Pr. 'Un Espagnol ceo vy counter.'] *De ii menestreus.* [Minstrels.] *De une roy et de Platonin.—De un vilein de i lou et de un gopil.—De un roy fol large.—De maimond mal esquier.—De Socrates et de roi Alisaundre.—De roi Alisaundre et de i philosophe.—De un philosofel et del alme.—Ci commence le romanz de Enfer, Le Souenge Rauf de Hodenge de la voie denfer.* [Ad calc. 'Rauf de Hodeng, saunz mensounge,—Qu cest romanz fist de sun songe.' Verdier, BIBL. FR. ii. 394. v. 394 Paris, 1773.] *De un vailet qui soutint dames et dammaisals.—De Romme et de Gerusalem.—La lais du corn.—Le fabel del gelous.—Ci comence la bertournee.—La vie de un vailet amerous.—De iiiii files. . . .* [Pr. 'Un rois estoit de graunt pouer.'] *How Jheu Crift herewede helle, &c. Le xv singnes* [signes] *de donesday.* [Pr. 'Fifteene tokenenich may.' *Ci comence la vie seint Eustace ci ont nom Placidus.*

[Pr. 'Alle atþ loveþ godes lore

'Olde and yonge lasse and more.'

MSS. VERNON, fol. 170, ut supr.] *Le diz de seint Bernard.* [Pr. 'þe blessinge of hevene kinge.'] *Vbi sont ci ante nos fuerount.* [In English.] *—Chauncon de nostre dame.* [Pr. 'Stond wel moder ounder rode.'] *—Here beginneth the sarve of saint Bede preest.* [Pr. 'Holi gost þi migtee.] *—Comment le saunter nostre dame fu primes cuntrone.* [Pr. 'Luedi swete and milde.'] *—Les . . . peines de enfen.* [Pr. 'Oiez Seynours une demande,'] *—Le regret de Maximian.* [Pr. 'Herkenþ to mi ron.'] MSS. HARL. 2253, f. 32.] *Ci comence le content par entre le mavis et la russinole.* [Pr. 'Somer is cumen wiþ love to tonne.'] *—Of the fox and of the wolf.* [Pr. 'A vox gon out of þe wode go.'] *—Hending the hende.* [MSS. HARL. 2253, 89, fol. 125.] *—Les proverbes del vilain.—Les miracles de seint NICHOLAS.—Ragemon le bon.—Chancun del secle.* [In English.] *—Ci comence le fable et la courtise de dame siri . . .* [Pr. 'As I com bi an waie.'] *—Le noms de un leure Engleis.* [i.e. The names of the Hare in English.] *—Ci comence la vie nostre dame.—Ci comence le doctrinal de enseignemens de curteisie.—Ci comence les Aves nostre dame.—De ii chevalers torts þe plenderent aroune.—Bonne prieur a nostre seigneur Jhu Crist.—Ci comence lescrit de ii dames—Hic incipit carmen inter corpus et animam.* [A Dialogue in English verse between a body laid on a bier and its Soul. Pr. 'Hon on . . . stude I stod an lutell escrit to here.'] *—Ci comence la manere que le amour est pur assaier.* [Pr. 'Love is soft, love is swete, love is goed sware.'] *—Chauncon de nostre seigneur.* This MSS. seems to have been written about year 1304. Ralph Houdain, whose poem called VISION D'ENFER it contains, wrote about the year 1230.

The word LAI, I believe, was applied to any subject, and signified only the versification. Thus we have in the Bodleian library *La LUMERE AS LAIS, par Mestre Pierre de Feccham.*

Vrai deu omnipotent

Kestes fin et commencement.

MSS. BODL. 399. It is a system of theology in this species of metre.

the most respectable of which is sir Tralabas of Turkey, whom he treats as his companion. In the midst of their festivities they talk of the beauties of the empress ; the earl's curiosity is inflamed to see so matchless a lady, and he promises liberty to sir Tralabas, if he can be conducted unknown to the emperour's court, and obtain a sight of her without discovery. They both set forward, the earl disguised like a hermit. When they arrive at the emperour's court, sir Tralabas proves false : treacherously imparts the secret to the empress that he has brought with him the earl of Thoulouse in disguise, who is enamoured of her celebrated beauty ; and proposes to take advantage of so fair an opportunity of killing the emperour's great and avowed enemy. She rejects the proposal with indignation, enjoys the knight not to communicate the secret any farther, and desires to see the earl next day in the chapel at mass. The next day the earl in his hermit's weeds is conveniently placed at mass. At leaving the chapel, he asks an alms of the empress ; and she gives him forty florins and a ring. He receives the present of the ring with the highest satisfaction, and although obliged to return home, in point of prudence, and to avoid detection, comforts himself with this reflection.

Well is me, I have thy grace, Of the to have thys thyng!
If ever I have grace of the, That *any love betweene us be,*
 This may be a TOKENYNG.

He then returns home. The emperor is called into some distant country ; and leaves his consort in the custody of two knights, who attempting to gain her love without success, contrive a stratagem to defame her chastity. She is thrown into prison, and the emperor returns unexpectedly¹, in consequence of a vision. The tale of the two treacherous knights is believed, and she is sentenced to the flames: yet under the restriction, that if a champion can be found who can foil the two knights in battle, her honour shall be cleared, and her life saved. A challenge is published in all parts of the world ; and the earl of Tholouse, notwithstanding the animosities which still subsist between him and the emperor, privately undertakes her quarrel. He appears at the emperor's court in the habit of a monk, and obtains permission to act as confessor to the empress, in her present critical situation. In the course of the confession, she protests that she was always true to the emperor ; yet owns that once *she gave a ring to the earl of Tholouse*. The supposed confessor pronounces her innocent of the charge brought against

¹ The emperor's disappointment is thus described.

Anon to the chamber went he,
That was so swete a wyght:
Where is my wif is she on slepe?
The traytors answeryd anon,
The yonge knyght sir Artour,
For bale his armys abroad he sprede.

He longyd sore his wyf to se,
He callyd theym that shulde her kepe,
How farys that byrd so bryght?
And ye wist how she had done, &c.—
That was her hervour, &c.
And fell in swoone on his bed.

her ; on which one of the traiterous knights affirms, that the monk was suborned to publish this confession, and that he deserved to be consumed in the same fire which was prepared for the lady. The monk pretending that the honour of his religion and character was affected by this insinuation, challenges both the knights to combat ; they are conquered ; and the empress, after this trial, is declared innocent. He then openly discovers himself to be the earl of Tholouse, the emperor's ancient enemy. A solemn reconciliation ensues. The earl is appointed seneschal of the emperor's domain. The emperor lives only three years, and the earl is married to the empress.

In the execution of this performance, our author was obliged to be concise, as the poem was intended to be sung to the harp. Yet, when he breaks through this restraint, instead of dwelling on some of the beautiful situations which the story affords, he is diffuse in displaying trivial and unimportant circumstances. These popular poets are never so happy, as when they are describing a battle or a feast.

It will not perhaps be deemed impertinent to observe, that about this period the minstrels were often more amply paid than the clergy. In this age, as in more enlightened times, the people loved better to be pleased than instructed. During many of the years of the reign of Henry VI., particularly in the year 1430, at the annual feast of the fraternity of the HOLIE CROSSE at Abingdon, a town in Berkshire, twelve priests each received four pence for singing a dirge : and the same number of minstrels were rewarded each with two shillings and four pence, beside diet and horse-meat. Some of these minstrels came only from Maydenhithe, or Maidenhead, a town at no great distance in the same county¹. In the year 1441, eight priests were hired from Coventry to assist in celebrating a yearly obit in the church of the neighbouring priory of Maxtoke ; as were six minstrels, called MIMI, belonging to the family of Lord Clinton, who lived in the adjoining castle of Maxtoke, to sing, harp, and play, in the hall of the monastery, during the extraordinary refection allowed to the monks on that anniversary. Two shillings were given to the priests, and four to the minstrels² : and the latter are said to have supped in *camera picta*, or the painted chamber of the convent, with the subprior³, on which occasion the chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax⁴. That the gratuities allowed to priests, even if learned, for their labours, in the same age of devotion, were extremely slender, may be collected from other expences of this priory⁵. In the same year, the prior gives only sixpence⁶ for a sermon, to a DOCTOR PRÆDICANS, or an itinerant

¹ Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. APPEND. p. 598.

² Ex Computis Prioris Priorat. de Maxtoke. penes me. 'Dat. sex Mimis domini Clynton cantantibus, citharisantibus, et ludentibus, in aula in dicta Pietantia, iiii. s.'

³ 'Mimis cenantibus in camera picta cum supprior eodem tempore,' [the sum obliterated.]

⁴ Ex comp. Camerarii, ut supr.

⁵ Ex comp. prædict.

⁶ Worth about five shillings of our present money.

doctor in theology of one of the mendicant orders, who went about preaching to the religious houses.

We are now arrived at the reign of king Edward IV., who succeeded to the throne in the year 1461¹. But before I proceed in my series, I will employ the remainder of this section in fixing the reader's attention on an important circumstance, now operating in its full extent, and therefore purposely reserved for this period, which greatly contributed to the improvement of our literature, and consequently of our poetry : I mean the many translations of Latin books, especially classics, which the French had been making for about the two last centuries, and were still continuing to make, into their own language. In order to do this more effectually, I will collect into one view the most distinguished of these versions : not solicitous about those notices on this subject which have before occurred incidentally ; nor scrupulous about the charge of anticipation, which, to prepare the reader, I shall perhaps incur by lengthening this enquiry, for the sake of comprehension, beyond the limits of the period just assigned. In the mean time it may be pertinent to premise, that from the close communication which formerly subsisted between England and France, manuscript copies of many of these translations, elegantly written, and often embellished with the most splendid illuminations and curious miniatures, were presented by the translators or their patrons to the kings of England ; and that they accordingly appear at present among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum. Some of these, however, were transcribed, if not translated, by command of our kings ; and others brought into England, and placed in the royal library, by John duke of Bedford, regent of France.

It is not consistent with my design, to emunerate the Latin legends, rituals, monastic rules, chronicles, and historical parts of the bible, such as the BOOK OF KINGS and the MACCABEES, which were looked upon as histories of chivalry², translated by the French before the year 1200. These soon became obsolete : and are, besides, too deeply tinctured with the deplorable superstition and barbarity of their age, to bear a recital³. I will therefore begin with the thirteenth century. In the year 1210, Peter Comestor's⁴ HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA. a sort of breviary of the old and new testament, accompanied with

¹ I know not whether it is worth mentioning, that a metrical *Dialogue between God and the penitent Soul*, belonging to the preceding reign, is preserved at Caius college, Cambridge. *Pr.* 'Our gracious lord prince of pite.' MSS. E. 147, 6. With other pieces of the kind. The writer, William Lichfield, a doctor in theology, shone most in prose ; and is said to have written, with his own hand, 3083 English sermons. T. Gascoign, (MS.) Diction. V. PRÆDICATOR. He died 1447. Stowe, Lond. 251, 386. Newcourt, i. 819.

² As 'Puisieurs Battailes des Roys d'Israel en contre les Philistiens et Assyriens, &c., Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 D. 1. 7.

³ I must however except their LAPIDAIRE, a poem on precious stones, from the Latin of Marbodeus ; and the BESTIAIRE, a set of metrical fables, from the Latin Esop. These however ought to be looked upon as efforts of their early poetry, rather than translations.

⁴ Or *Le Mangeur*, because he *devoured* the scriptures.

elaborate expositions from Josephus and many pagan writers, a work compiled at Paris about the year 1175, and so popular, as not only to be taught in schools, but even to be publicly read in the churches with its glosses, was translated into French by Guiart des Moulins, a canon of Aire¹. About the same time, some of the old translations into French made in the eleventh century by Thibaud de Vernon, canon of Rouen, were retouched: and the Latin legends of saints, particularly of saint George, of Thomas a Beckett, and the martyrdom of saint Hugh, a child murdered in 1206 by a Jew at Lincoln², were reduced into French verse. These pieces, to which I must add a metrical version of the bible from Genesis to Hezekiah, by being written in rhyme, and easy to be sung, soon became popular, and produced the desired impression on the minds of the people³. They were soon followed by the version of *ÆGIDIUS DE RIGIMINE PRINCIPUM*⁴, by Henri de Gauchi. Dares Phrygius, *THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME* by Hebers, Eutropius⁵, and Aristotle's *SECRETUM SECRETORUM*⁶, appeared about the same time in French. To say nothing of voluminous versions of *PANDECTS* and feudal *COUTUMES*⁷, Michael de Harnes translated Turpin's *CHARLEMAGNE* in the year 1207⁸. It was into prose, in opposition to the practice which had long prevailed of turning Latin prose into French rhymes. This piece, in compliance with an age addicted to romantic fiction, our translator undoubtedly preferred to the more rational and sober Latin historians of Charlemagne and of France, such as Gregory of Tours, of Fredegaire, and Eginhart. In the year 1245, the *SPECULUM MUNDI*, a system of Theology, the seven sciences, geography, and natural philosophy⁹, was translated at the instance of the duke of Berry and Auvergne¹⁰. Among the royal MSS., is a sort of system of pious tracts, partly of ritual offices, compiled in Latin by the confessors of Philip in 1279, translated into French¹¹;

¹ The French was first published, without date or place, in two tomes. With old woodcuts. Vossius says that the original was abridged by Gualter Hunte, an English Carmelite, about the year 1460. Hist. Lat. lib. iii. c. 9. p. 197. edit. Amst. 1689. fol. It was translated into German rhymes about 1271. Sander. Bibl. Belg. pag. 285. There are numerous and very sumptuous manuscripts of this work in the British Museum. One of them, with exquisite paintings, was ordered to be written by Edward IV. at Bruges, 1470. MSS. Reg. 15 D. i. Another is written in 1382. Ibid. 19. B. xvii.

² Chaucer, PRIORES. T. p. 144. col. 2. v. 3193.

³ It is rather beside my purpose to speak particularly of some of the divine Offices now made French, and of the church-hymns.

⁴ MSS. Reg. 15 E. vi. 11. And ibid. 19 B. i. And ibid. 19 A. xx. 'Stephanus Fortis' cicerius scripsit. An. 1395.

⁵ He was early translated into Greek at Constantinople.

⁶ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. iv. 3.

⁷ French JUSTINIAN, &c. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 D. ix. 2. 3. A MSS. before 1300.

⁸ Caxton printed a life of CHARLES THE GREAT, 1485.

⁹ One of the most eminent astronomers in this work is the poet Virgil.

I know not when the *LE LIVRE ROYAL*, a sort of manual, was made French. The Latin original was compiled at the command of Philip le Bell, king of France, in 1279. Pref. to Caxton's Engl. Translat. 1484. fol.

¹⁰ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. ix. This version was translated into English, and printed, by Caxton, 1480.

¹¹ British Museum MSS. Reg. 19 C. ii.

which translation queen Isabel ordered to be placed in the Church of St. Innocents at Paris, for the use of the people.

The fourteenth century was much more fertile in French translation. The spirit of devotion, and indeed of this species of curiosity, raised by saint Louis, after a short intermission, rekindled under king John and Charles V. I pass over the prose and metrical translations of the Latin bible in the years 1343 and 1380, by Mace, and Raoul de Presles. Under those reigns, St. Austin, Cassianus, and Gregory the Great¹, were translated into French; and they are the first of the fathers that appeared in a modern tongue. St. Gregory's HOMELIES are by an anonymous translator². His DIALOGUES were probably translated by an English ecclesiastic³. St. Austin's DE CIVITATE DEI was translated by Raoul de Presles, who acted professedly both as confessor and translator to Charles V⁴, about the year 1374. During the work he received a yearly pension of 600 livres from that liberal monarch, the first founder of a royal library in France, at whose command it was undertaken. It is accompanied with a prolix commentary, valuable only at present as preserving anecdotes of the opinions, manners, and literature, of the writer's age; and from which I am tempted to give the following specimen, as it strongly illustrates the ancient state of the French stage, and demonstrably proves that comedy and tragedy were now known only by name in France. He observes, that comedies are so denominated from a room of Entertainment, or from those places, in which banquets were accustomed to be closed with singing, called in Greek CONIAS: that they were like those *jeux* or plays, which the minstrel, *le Chanteur*, exhibits in halls or other public places, at a feast: and that they were properly styled INTER-LUDIA, as being presented between the two courses. Tragedies, he adds, were spectacles, resembling those personages which at this day we see acting in the LIFE and PASSION of a martyr⁵. This shews that only the religious drama now subsisted in France. But to proceed, Cassianus's COLLATIONES PATRUM, or the CONFERENCE, was translated by John Goulain, a Carmelite monk, about 1363. Two translations of that theological romance Boethius's CONSOLATION, one by the celebrated Jean de Meun, author of the ROMANCE OF THE ROSE, existed before year 1340. Others of the Latin Christian writers were ordered to be turned into French by queen Jane, about 1332.

¹ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 2.

² Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. v. 1. 20 D. v.

³ It is supposed that they were rendered by an Englishman, or one living in England, as the translator's name is marked by an A. And as there is a prayer in the manuscript to saint Fridewide, an Oxford saint. Mem. Litt. xvii. p. 735. 4to. It is very rare that we find the French translating from us. Yet Fauchett mentions a French poetess, named Marie de France, who translated the Fables of Esop MORALISED, from English into French, about the year 1320. But this was to gratify a *comte Guillaume*, with whom she was in love, and who did not perhaps understand English. Fauchett, RECUEIL, lxxiv. p. 163. edit. 1581. I know nothing of the fables.

⁴ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. iii. With pictures. And 14 D. i.

⁵ Ch. viii. liv. ii.

But finding that the archbishop of Rouen, who was commissioned to execute this arduous task, did not understand Latin, she employed a mendicant friar. About the same period, and under the same patronage, the *LEGENDA AUREA*, written by James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, about the year 1260, that inexhaustible repository of religious fable¹, was translated by Jehan de Vignay, a monk hospitalar². The same translator gave also a version of a famous ritual entitled *SPECULUM ECCLESIE*, or the *MIRROUR OF THE CHURCH*, of *CHESS MORALISED*, written by Jacobus de Casulis³: and of Odoricus's *VOYAGE INTO THE EAST*⁴. Thomas Benoit, a prior of St. Genevieve gratified the religious with a translation into a more intelligible language of some Latin liturgic pieces about the year 1330. But his chief performance was a translation into French verse of the *RULE OF ST. AUSTIN*. This he undertook merely on a principle of affection and charity, for the edification of his pious brethren who did not understand Latin.

Pour l'amour de vous, tres chers freres,
En Francois ai traduit ce Latin.

And in the preface he says, 'Or scai-je quk *plusieurs* de vours n' *entendent pas bien* LATIN auquel il fut chose necessaire de la rieuie [regle] *entendre*.' Benoit's successor in the priorate of St. Genevieve was not equally attentive to the discipline and piety of his monks. Instead of translating monkish Latin, and enforcing the salutary regulations of St. Austin, he wrote a system of rules for *BALLAD-WRITING*, *L'ART DE DICTIER BALLADE ET RONDELS*, the first Art of poetry that ever appeared in France.

Among the moral books now translated, I must not omit the *SPIRITUELLE AMITIE* of John of Meun, from the Latin of Aldred an English monk⁵. In the same style of mystic piety was the treatise of *CONSOLATION*, written in Latin, by Vincent de Beauvais. and sent to St. Louis, translated in the year 1374. In the year 1340, Henri de Suson, a German dominican and a mystic doctor, wrote a most comprehensive treatise called *HOROLOGIUM SAPIENTIE*. This was translated into French by a monk of St. Francois⁶. Even the officers of the court of Charles V. were seized with the ardour of translating religious pieces, no less than the ecclesiastics. The most elegant tract of moral Latinity translated into French,

¹ In the year 1555, the learned Claud. Espence was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it *LEGENDA FERREA*. Thuan. sub. ann. Laun. Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. p. 704. 297.

² Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 B. xvii. The copy was written 1382. This version seems to be the same which Caxton translated, and printed, 1483. While it was printing, William lord Arundel gave Caxton annually a buck in summer and a doe in winter.

³ British Museum MSS. Reg. 19 C. xi. 1. This version was translated in English, and printed, by Caxton, 1474.

⁴ Ibid. 19 D. i. 4. 5.

⁵ It is mentioned in the catalogue of his *traductions*, at the beginning of his *Consolation philosophique*. I am not acquainted with the English monk.

⁶ Englished, and printed by Caxton, very early.

was the celebrated book of our countryman John of Salisbury, *DE NUGIS CURIALIUM*. This version was made by Denis Soulechart, a learned Cordelier, about the year 1360. Notwithstanding the *EPISTLES* of Abelard and Eloisa, not only from the celebrity of Abelard as a Parisian theologian, but on account of the interesting history of that unfortunate pair, must have been as commonly known, and as likely to be read in the original, as any Latin book in France, they were translated into French in this century, by John of Meun; who prostituted his abilities when he relinquished his own noble inventions, to interpret the pedantries of monks, schoolmen, and proscribed classics. I think he also translated Vegetius, who will occur again¹. In the library of St. Genevieve, there is, in a sort of system of religion, a piece called *JERARCHIE*, translated from Latin into French at the command of our queen Elinor in the year 1297, by a French friar². I must not however forget, that amidst this profusion of treatises of religion and instruction, civil history found a place. That immense chaos of events real and fictitious, the *HISTORICAL MIRROR* of Vincent de Beauvais, was translated by Jehan de Vignay above mentioned³. One is not surprised that the translator of the *GOLDEN LEGEND* should have made no better choice.

The desolation produced in France⁴ by the victorious armies of the English, was instantly succeeded by a flourishing state of letters. King John, having indulged his devotion, and satisfied his conscience, by procuring numerous versions of books written on sacred subjects, at length turned his attention to the classics. His ignorance of Latin was a fortunate circumstance, as it produced a curiosity to know the treasures of Latin literature. He employed Peter Bercheur, prior of St. Eloi at Paris, an eminent theologian, to translate Livy into French⁵; notwithstanding that author had been anathematised by pope Gregory. But so judicious a choice was undoubtedly dictated by Petrarch, who regarded Livy with a degree of enthusiasm, who was now resident at the court of France, and who perhaps condescended to direct and superintend the translation. The translator in his Latin work called *REPERTORIUM*, a sort of general dictionary, in which all things are proved

¹ There is a copy written in 1284 [1384.] Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 B. xv. Often, *ibid.* John of Meun is also said to have translated *MIRABILIA HIBERNIÆ*.

² 'Cette *JERARCHIE* translata frere Jehan de Pentham de Latin en Francoys, a la requeste 'la reine d'Engleterre Alienore femme le roy Edward.' There is also this note in the MSS. 'Cest livre resigna frere Jordan de Kyngestone a la commune des freres Menurs de Southampton, par la volonte du graunt frere Willame Notington [f. Northington in Hampshire,] ministre d'Engleterre . . . l'an. de grace m.ccc. xvii.'

³ British Museum MSS. Reg. 14 E. i.

⁴ A curious picture of the distracted state of France is recorded by Petrarch. The king, with the Dauphin, returning from his captivity in England, in passing through Picardy, was obliged to make a pecuniary bargain with the numerous robbers that infested that country, to travel unmolested. *VIE PETR.* iii. 543.

⁵ Henault, *NOUVEL. ABREG. HISTOIRE FRANCAISE* p. 229. edit. 1752. 4to. And *VIE DE PETRARQUE*, iii. p. 547.

to be allegorical, and reduced to a moral meaning, under the word ROMA, records this great attempt in the following manner. 'TITUM LIVIUM, ad requisitionem domini Johannis inclyti Francorum regis, *'non sine labore et sudoribus; in linguam Gallicam transtuli'*. To this translation we must join those of Sallust, Lucan, and Cesar : all which seem to have been finished before the year 1365. This revival of a taste for Roman history, most probably introduced and propagated by Petrarch during his short stay in the French court, immediately produced a Latin historical compilation called ROMULEON, by an anonymous gentleman of France ; who soon found it necessary to translate his work into the vernacular language. Valerius Maximus could not remain long untranslated. A version of that favourite author, begun by Simon de Hesdin, a monk, in 1364, was finished by Nicolas de Gonesse, a master in theology, 1401². Under the last-mentioned reign, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* MORALISED³ were translated by Guillaume de Nangis : and the same poem was translated into French verse, at the request of Jane de Bourbonne, afterwards the consort of Charles V., by Philip de Vitri, bishop of Meaux, Petrarch's friend, who was living in 1361⁴. A bishop would not have undertaken this work, had he not perceived much moral doctrine couched under the pagan stories. Jean le Fevre, by command of Charles V., translated the poem DE VETULA, falsely ascribed to Ovid⁵. Cicero's RHETORICA appeared in French by master John de Antioche, at the request of one friar William, in the year 1383. About the same time, some of Aristotle's pieces were translated from Latin ; his PROBLEMS by Evrard de Conti, physician to Charles V. : and his ETHICS and POLITICS by Nicholas d'Oresme, while canon of Rouen. This was the most learned man in France, and tutor to Charles V. ; who, in consequence of his instructions, obtained a competent skill in Latin, and in the rules of the grammar⁶. Other Greek classics, which now began to be known by being translated into Latin, became still more familiarised, especially to general readers, by

¹ This was the translation of Livy, which, with other books, the duke of Bedford, regent of France, about 1425, sent into England to Humphrey duke of Gloucester. The copy had been a present to the king of France. Mem. Litt. ii. 747. 4to. In the Sorbonne library at Paris, there is a most valuable MSS. of this version in two folio volumes. In the front of each book are various miniatures and pictures, most beautifully finished. Dan. Maichel de Bibliothec. Paris. p. 79. There is a copy, transcribed about the time the translation was finished. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 15 D. vi. DES FAIS DE ROMAINS. With pictures.

² British Museum MSS. Reg. 18 E. iii. iv. With elegant delineations, and often in the same library.

³ Perhaps written in Latin by Joannes Grammaticus, about 1070.

⁴ There was a French Ovid in duke Humphrey's library at Oxford. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17, E. iv. 1. This version, as I apprehend, is the same that Caxton translated into English prose, and printed, 1480. A MSS. is in Bibl. Pepys. Magd. Coll. Cant. Car. MSS. Angl. &c. tom. ii. M. 679r

⁵ Polycarpus Leyserus supposes this piece to be the forgery of one Leo Protonotarius, an officer in the court at Constantinople, who writes the preface. Hist. Poes. Med. Æv. p. 2089. He proves the work supposititious, from its several Arabicisms and scriptural expressions, &c. Brawardine cites many lines from it, Advers. Pelag. p. 33. As does Bacon, in his astrological tracts. It is condemned by Bede as heretical. In Boeth. de Trinit. Selden intended a DISSERTATION on this forgery, De Synedr. iii. 16. It is in hexameters, in three quoks.

⁶ Christin. VIE CHARLES. V.

being turned into French. Thus Poggius Florentinus's recent Latin version of Xenophon's CYROPEdia was translated into French by Vasque de Lucerie, 1370¹. The TACTICS of Vegetius, an author who frequently confounds the military practices of his own age with those of antiquity, appeared under the title of LIVRES DES FAIS D'ARMES ET DE CHEVALLERIE, by Christina of Pisa². Petrarch DE REMEDIIS UTRIUSQUE FORTUNÆ, a set of Latin dialogues, was translated, not only by Nicholas d'Oresme, but by two of the officers of the royal household³, in compliment to Petrarch at his leaving France⁴. Many philosophical pieces, particularly in astrology, of which Charles V., was remarkably fond, were translated before the end of the fourteenth century. Among these, I must not pass over the QUADRIpartitum of Ptolemy, by Nicholas d'Oresme; the AGRICULTURE⁵, or LIBRI RURALIUM Commodorum, of Peter de Crescentiis, a physician of Bononia, about the year 1285, by a nameless friar preacher⁶; and the book DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM of Bartholomew Anglicus, the Pliny of the monks, by John Corbichon, an Augustine monk⁷. I have seen a French manuscript of Guido de Colonna's Trojan romance, the hand-writing of which belongs to this century⁸.

In the fifteenth century it became fashionable among the French, to polish and reform their old rude translations made two hundred years before; and to reduce many of their metrical versions into prose. At the same time, the rage of translating ecclesiastical tracts began to decrease. The latter circumstance was partly owing to the introduction of better books, and partly to the invention of printing. Instead of procuring laborious and expensive translations of the ancient fathers, the printers, who multiplied greatly towards the close of this

¹ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. v. 1. And 16 G. ix. With pictures.

² MSS. Reg. 19 B. xviii. &c. Vegetius was early translated into all the modern languages. There is an English one, probably by John Trevisa, as it is addressed to his patron lord Berkeley, A.D. 1408. MSS. Digb. 233, *Princ.* 'In olde tyme it was the manere.' There is a translation of Vegetius, written at Rhodes, die 25 Octobris, 1459, per Johannem Newton.' ad calc. Bibl. Bodl. K. 53. Laud. MSS. Christina's version was translated, and printed, by Caxton, 1489. See *supr.* p. 67.

³ Nicéron, tom. 28, p. 384.

⁴ Mons. l'Ab. Lebeuf says *Seneca* instead of *Petrarch*, Mem. Litt. xvii, p. 752.

I must not forget to observe, that several whole books in Brunetto's TRESOR consist of translations from Aristotle, Tully, and Pliny, into French. Brunetto was a Florentine, and the master of Dante. He died in 1295. The TRESOR was a sort of Encyclopede, exhibiting a course of practical and theoretic philosophy, of divinity, cosmography, geography, history sacred and profane, physics, ethics, rhetoric, and politics. It was written in French by Brunetto during his residence in France: but he afterwards translated it into Italian, and it has been translated by others into Latin. It was the model and foundation of Bartholomeus of the PROPERTIES of THINGS, of Bercheur's REPERTORIUM, and of many other works of the same species, which soon followed. Brit Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. i. It will occur again.

⁵ DES PROUFFITZ CHAMPESPRES ET RURAUX. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 14 E.

⁶ In twelve books. Jacob Quetif. tom. i, p. 666.

⁷ Leland says, that this translation is elegant; and that he saw it in duke Humfrey's library at Oxford. Script. Brit. cap. cccxviii. Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 E. iii. With pictures. Ibid. 15 E. ii. Where the translation is assigned to the year 1362. The writing of the MSS. to 1482. With pictures.

⁸ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 F. ix. A new translation seems to have been made by Raoul le Feure, in 1464. Englished by Caxton, and printed, 1471. Caxton's GODEFROY OF BOLOGNE, translated from the French, and printed 1481, had a Latin original. The French, a fine copy. is in British Museum 17 F. v, MSS. Reg. Sæpius *ibid.*

century, found their advantage in publishing new translations of more agreeable books, or in giving ancient versions in a modern dress¹. Yet in this century some of the more recent doctors of the church were translated. Not to mention the epistles of saint Jerom, which Antoine Dufour, a Dominican friar, presented in French to Anne de Bretagne, consort to king Charles VIII., we find st. Anselm's CUR DEUS HOMO², LAMENTATIONS OF ST. BERNARD, SUM OF THEOLOGY of Albertus Magnus, The PRICK OF DIVINE LOVE³ of st. Bonaventure a seraphic doctor⁴, with other pieces of the kind, exhibited in the French language before the year 1480, at the petition and under the patronage of many devout duchesses. Yet in the mean time, the lives of saints and sacred history gave way to a species of narrative more entertaining and not less fabulous. Little more than Josephus, and a few MARTYRDOMS, were now translated from Latin into French.

The truth is, the French translators of this century were chiefly employed on profane authors. At its commencement, a French abridgement of the three first decads of Livy was produced by Henri Romain a canon of Tournay. In the year 1416, Jean de Courci, a knight of Normandy, gave a translation of some Latin chronicle, a HISTORY OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, entitled BOUQUASSIERE. In 1403, Jean de Courteauisse, a doctor in theology at Paris, translated Seneca on the FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES². Under the reign of king Charles VII. Jean Cossa translated the CHRONOLOGY of Mattheus Palmerius a learned Florentine, and a writer of Italian poetry in imitation of Dante. In the dedication to Jane III., queen of Jerusalem, and among other titles countess of Provence, the translator apologises for supposing her highness to be ignorant of Latin; when at the same time he is fully convinced, that a lady endowed with so much natural grace, must be perfectly acquainted with that language. 'Mais pour se que le vulgar

¹ I take this opportunity of observing, that one of these was the romance of sir LANCELOT DU LAC, translated from the Latin by Robert de Borron, at the command of our Henry II. or III. This new LANCELOT, I believe, is the same which was printed at Paris by Antony Verard, 1494. In three vast folio volumes. Another, is the romance of GYRON LE COURTOIS, translated also from Latin, at the command of the same monarch, by Lucas, or Luce, *chevalier du Chateau du Gast*, or *Gat*, or *Gal*, and printed by Verard as above. Lenglet, Bibl. Rom. ii, p. 117. The old GUIRON LE COURTOIS is said to be translated by 'Luce' *chevalier seigneur du chateau du Gal*. [perhaps *Sal*, an abbreviation for Salisbury,] voisin 'prochain du sire du Sablieres, par le commandement de tres noble et tres puissant prince M. 'le roy Henry jadis roy d'Angleterre.' Bibl. Reg. Paris, Col. 7586.

² Written in 1098.

³ He flourished in Italy, about the year 1270. The enormous magnificence of his funeral deserves notice, more than any anecdote of his life; as it paints the high devotion of the times, and the attention formerly paid to theological literature. There were present pope Gregory X. the emperor of Greece by several Greek noblemen his proxies, Baldwin II. the Latin eastern emperor, James king of Arragon, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, all the cardinals, 500 bishops and archbishops, 60 abbots, more than 1000 prelates and priests of lower rank, the ambassadors of many kings and potentates, the deputies of the Tartars and other nations, and an innumerable concourse of people of all orders and degrees. The sepulchral ceremonies were celebrated with the most consummate pomp, and the funeral oration was pronounced by a future pope. Miræi Auctar. Script. Eccles. pag. 72, edit. Fabric.

⁴ It is supposititious. It was forged, about the year 560, by Martianus an archbishop of Portugal, whom Gregory of Tours calls the most eminent writer of his time. Hist. Franc. v. 38. It was a great favourite of the theological ages.

'Francoys est plus commun, j' ai pris peine y translater ladite oeuvre.' Two other translations were offered to Charles VII. in the year 1445. One, of the FIRST PUNIC war of Leonard of Arezzo, an anonymous writer, who does not chuse to publish his name *a cause de sa petitesse*; and the STRATAGEMS of Frontinus, often cited by John of Salisbury, and mentioned in the Epistles of Peter of Blois, [Epist. 94.] by Jean de Rouroy, a Parisian theologist. Under Louis XI., Sebastian Mamerot of Soissons, in the year 1466, attempted a new translation of the ROMULEON: and he professes, that he undertook it solely with a view of improving or decorating the French language¹.

Many French versions of classics appeared in this century. A translation of Quintus Curtius is dedicated to Charles duke of Burgundy, in 1468². Six years afterwards, the same liberal patron commanded Cæsar's COMMENTARIES to be translated by Jean du Chesne³. Terence was made French by Guillaume Rippe, the king's secretary, in the year 1466. The following year a new translation of Ovid's METAMORPHOSES was executed by an ecclesiastic of Normandy⁴. But much earlier in the century, Laurence Premierfait, mentioned above, translated, I suppose from the Latin, the OECONOMICS of Aristotle, and Tully's DE AMICITIA and DE SENECTUTE, before the year 1426⁵. He is said also to have translated some pieces, perhaps the EPISTLES, of Seneca⁶. Encouraged by this example, Jean de Luxembourg, Laurence's cotemporary, translated Tully's Oration against Verres. I must not forget, that Hippocrates and Galen were translated from Latin into French in the year 1429. The translator was Jean Tourtier, surgeon to the duke of Bedford, then regent of France; and he humbly supplicates Rauoul Palvin, confessor and physician to the duchess, and John Major, first physician to the duke, and graduate *en l'estude d'Auxonford*⁷, and master Roullan, physician and astronomer of the university of Paris, amicably to amend the faults of this translation, which is intended to place the science and practice of medicine on a

¹ I am not sure whether this is not much the same as LE GRANDE HISTOIRE CÆSAR, &c. Taken from Lucan, Suetonius, Orosius, &c. Written at Bruges at the command of our Edward IV. in 1479. That is, ordered to be written by him. A MSS. with pictures. MSS. Reg. 17 F. ii, 1. Brit. Mus. Ibid. ROMULEON, ou des Faits des Romains, in ten books. With pictures. MSS. Reg. 19 E. v. Also 20 C. i.

² Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 17 F. i. With beautiful pictures.

³ British Museum MSS. Reg. 16 G. viii. With pictures. Another appeared by Robert Gaguin in 1485.

⁴ Perhaps this might be Caxton's copy.

⁵ The two latter versions were translated in English by William Botoner, and John Tiptoft earl of Worcester, and printed by Caxton, 1481. Botoner presented his MSS. copy to William of Waynflete bishop of Winchester in 1473. Caxton's English CATO, printed 1483, was from the French. As were his FABLES OF ÆSOP, printed 1483.

⁶ Crucimanius mentions a version of Seneca by Premierfait, as printed at Paris. in 1500. Bibl. Gall. p. 287. A translation of Seneca's DE QUATUOR VIRTUTIBUS CARDINALIBUS, but supposititious, is given to Premierfait, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 A. xii. Sanders recites the EPISTLES of Seneca, translated into French by some anonymous writer, at the command of Messire Barthelemi Signulfe a nobleman of Naples. Bibl. Cathedr. Tornacens. p. 209. Pieces of Seneca have been frequently translated into French, and very early.

⁷ Oxonford. Oxford.

new foundation. I presume it was from a Latin version that the *ILIAD*, about this period, was translated into French metre.

Among other pieces that might be enumerated in this century, in the year 1412, Guillaume de Tignonville, provost of Paris translated the *Dicta Philosophorum*¹: as did Jean Gallopes dean of the collegiate church of St. Louis, of Salsoye, in Normandy, the *ITER VITÆ HUMANÆ* of Guillaume prior of Chalis². This version, entitled *LE PELERINAGE DE LA VIE HUMAINE*, is dedicated to Jean queen of Sicily, above mentioned; a duchess of Anjou and a countess of Provence: who, without any sort of difficulty, could make a transition from the Life of sir Lancelot to that of st. Austin, and who sometimes quitted the tribunal of the COURT OF LOVE to confer with learned ecclesiastics, in an age when gallantry and religion were of equal importance. He also translated, from the same author, a composition of the same ideal and contemplative cast, called *LE PELERIN DE L'ÂME*, highly esteemed by those visionaries who preferred religious allegory to romance, which was dedicated to the duke of Bedford³. In Bennet college library at Cambridge, there is an elegant illuminated MSS. of Bonaventure's *LIFE OF CHRIST*, translated by Gallopes; containing a curious picture of the translator presenting his version to our Henry V⁴. About the same time, but before 1427, Jean de Guerre translated a Latin compilation of all that was marvellous in Pliny, Solinus, and *OTIA IMPERIALIA*, a book abounding in wonders, of our countryman Gervais of Tilbury⁵. The French romance, entitled *L' ASSAILLANT*, was now translated from the Latin chronicles of the kings of Cologne: and the Latin tract *DE BONIS MORIBUS* of Jacobus Magnus, confessor to Charles VII., about the year 1422, was made French⁶. Rather earlier, Jean de Premierfait translated *BOCCACCIO DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM*⁷. Nor shall I be thought to deviate too far from my detail, which is confined to Latin originals, when I mention here a book, the translation of which into French conduced in an eminent degree to circulate materials for poetry: this is Boccaccio's *DECAMERON*, which Premierfait also translated, at the command of queen Jane of Navarre, who seems to have made no kind of conditions about suppressing the licentious stories, in the year 1414⁸.

¹ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 A. viii, Sæpius *ibid.* This version was translated into English by lord Rivers, and printed by Caxton, 1477.

² Labb. Bibl. MSS. p. 317. Bibl. Roman. ii, 236. Oudin. iii. 976. Guillaume lived about 1352. Some of the French literary antiquaries suppose this to be a Latin piece. It is however, in French verse, which was reduced into prose by Gallopes.

³ I am not certain, whether this is Caxton's *PILGRIMAGE OF THE SOWLE*, an English translation from the French, printed in 1483. fol. Ames says, that Antonine Gerard is the author of the French, which was printed at Paris, 1480. Hist. Print. p. 34.

⁴ *ARCHÆOL.* vol. ii, p. 194. And Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 16 G. iii, 20 B. iv. Englished about 1410, and printed by Caxton very early. The English translator, I believe, is John Morton, an Augustine friar.

⁵ He flourished about the year 1218.

⁶ There is a version of Boccaccio's *DE CLARIS MULIERIBUS*, perhaps by Premierfait, Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 20 C. v.

⁷ This version was Englished, and printed by Caxton, 1487.

⁸ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 19 E. i. Where it is said that the Decameron was first translated into Latin. It is not very literal. It was printed at Paris 1485. fol. Again, *ibid.* 1534. 8vo.

I am not exactly informed, when the *ENEID* of Virgil was translated into a sort of metrical romance or history of Eneas under the title of *LIVRE D'ENEIDOS COMPILE PAR VIRGILE*, by Guillaume de Roy. But that translation was printed at Lyons in 1483, and appears to have been finished not many years before. Among the translator's historical additions, are the description of the first foundation of Troy by Priam, and the succession of Ascanius and his descendants after the death of Turnus. He introduces a digression upon Boccaccio, for giving in his *FALL OF PRINCES* an account of the death of Dido, different from that in the fourth book of the *Eneid*. Among his omissions, he passes over Eneas's descent into hell, as a tale manifestly forged, and not to be believed by any rational reader: as if many other parts of the translator's story were not equally fictitious and incredible¹.

The conclusion intended to be drawn from this long digression is obvious. By means of these French translations, our countrymen, who understood French much better than Latin, became acquainted with many useful books which they would not otherwise have known. With such assistances, a commodious access to the classics was opened, and the knowledge of ancient literature facilitated and familiarised in England, at a much earlier period than is imagined; and at a time, when little more than the productions of speculative monks, and irrefragable doctors, could be obtained or were studied. Very few Englishmen, I will venture to pronounce, had read Livy before the translation of Bercheur was imported by the regent duke of Bedford. It is certain that many of the Roman poets and historians were now read in England, in the original. But the Latin language was for the most part confined to a few ecclesiastics. When these authors, therefore, appeared in a language almost as intelligible as the English, they fell into the hands of illiterate and common readers, and contributed to sow the seeds of a national erudition, and to form a popular taste. Even the French versions of the religious, philosophical, historical, and allegorical compositions of those more enlightened Latin writers who flourished in the middle ages, had their use, till better books came into vogue: pregnant as they were with absurdities, they communicated instruction on various and new subjects, enlarged the field of information, and promoted the love of reading, by gratifying that growing

It was again translated by Antoine le Macon, fol. Paris 1543. And often afterwards. 'In Jean Petit's edition in 1535, and perhaps in that of 1485, of Premierfaict's translation of the *DECAMERON*, it is said to be translated from Latin into French. But *Latin* here means *Italian*. Hence a mistake arose, that Boccaccio wrote his *DECAMERON* in Latin. The Italian, as I have before observed, was anciently called *Il volgare Latino*. Thus the French romance of *MELIADUS DE LEONNOIS* is said to be *translate du LATIN*, by Rusticien de Pisa, edit. Par. 1532. fol. This also *BYRON LE COURTOIS* is called a version from the Latin. M. de la Monnoye observes. 'Que quand on trouve que certains *VIEUX ROMANS* ont ete traduits de *'LATIN* en Francoise, par Lucus de Balesberies, Robert de Borron, Rusticien de Pisa, ou *'autres*, cela signifie que c' a ete d'*ITALIEN* en Francoise.' REM. au BIBL. FR. du La Croix du Maine, &c. to ii. p. 33, edit. 1772. Premierfaict's French *DECAMERON*, which he calls *CAMERON*, is a most wretched caricature of the original.

¹ It was translated, and printed, by Caxton, 1490.

literary curiosity which now began to want materials for the exercise of its operations. How greatly our poets in general availed themselves of these treasures, we may collect from this circumstance only: even such writers as Chaucer and Lydgate, men of education and learning, when they translate a Latin author, appear to execute their work through the medium of a French version. It is needless to pursue this history of French translation any farther. I have given my reason for introducing it at all. In the next age, a great and universal revolution in literature ensued; and the English themselves began to turn their thoughts to translation.

These French versions enabled Caxton, our first printer, to enrich the state of letters in this country with many valuable publications. He found it no difficult task, either by himself, or the help of his friends, to turn a considerable number of these pieces into English, which he printed. Ancient learning had as yet made too little progress among us, to encourage this enterprising and industrious artist to publish the Roman authors in their original language¹: and had not the French furnished him with these materials, it is not likely, that Virgil, Ovid,

¹ It is, however, remarkable, that from the year 1471, in which Caxton began to print, down to the year 1540, during which period the English press flourished greatly under the conduct of many industrious, ingenious, and even learned artists, only the very few following classics, some of which hardly deserve that name, were printed in England. These were, *BOETHIUS de Consolatione*; both Latin and English, for Caxton, without date. The Latin *ESOPIAN Fables*, in verse, for Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. 4to. [And once or twice afterwards.] *TERENCE*, with the Comment of Badius Ascensius, for the same, 1504. 4to. *VIRGIL'S BUCOLICS*, for the same, 1512. 4to. [Again, 1533. 4to.] *TULLY'S OFFICES*, Latin and English, the translation by Whittington, 1533. 4to. The university of Oxford, during this period, produced only the first book of *TULLY'S EPISTLES*, at the charge of cardinal Wolsey, without date, or printer's name. Cambridge not a single classic.

No Greek book, of any kind, had yet appeared from an English press. I believe the first Greek characters used in any work printed in England, are in Linacer's translation of *Galen de Temperamentis*, printed at Cambridge in 1521, 4to. A few Greek words, and abbreviations, are here and there introduced. The printer was John Siberch, a German, a friend of Erasmus, who styles himself *primus utriusque lingue in Anglia impressor*. There are Greek characters in some of his other books of this date. But he printed no entire Greek book. In Linacer's treatise *Le emendata Structura Latini sermonis*, printed by Pinson in 1524, many Greek characters are intermixed. In the sixth book are seven Greek lines together. But the printer apologises for his imperfections and unskilfulness in the Greek types: which, he says, were but recently cast, and not in sufficient quantity for such a work. The passage is curious. 'Æquo animo feras siquæ literæ. in exemplis Hellenismi, vel tonis vel spiritibus careant. His enim non satis instructus erat typographus, videlicet recens ab eo 'fusus characteribus Græcis, nec parata ei copia qua ad hoc agendum opus est.' About the same period of the English press, the same embarrassments appear to have happened with regard to Hebrew types; which yet were more likely, as that language was so much less known. In the year 1524, doctor Robert Wakefield, chaplain to Henry VIII., published his *Oratio de laudibus et utilitate trium linguarum Arabicæ Chaldaicæ, et Hebraicæ, &c.*, 4to. The printer was Wynkyn de Worde; and the author complains, that he was obliged to omit his whole third part, because the printer had no Hebrew types. Some few Hebrew and Arabic characters, however, are introduced; but extremely rude, and evidently cut in wood. They are the first of the sort used in England. This learned orientalist was instrumental in preserving, at the dissolution of monasteries, the Hebrew manuscripts of Ramsey abbey, collected by Holbech one of the monks, together with Holbech's *Hebrew Dictionary*. Wood, Hist. Ant. Univ. Oxon. ii. 251. Leland. Scriptor. v. HOLBECCUS.

It was a circumstance favourable at least to English literature, owing indeed to the general illiteracy of the times, that our first printers were so little employed on books written in the learned languages. Almost all Caxton's books are English. The multiplication of English copies multiplied English readers, and these again produced new vernacular writers. The existence of a press induced many persons to turn authors, who were only qualified to write in their native tongue.

Cicero, and many other good writers, would by the means of his press have been circulated in the English tongue, so early as the close of the fifteenth century.

SECTION XXV.

THE first poet that occurs in the reign of Edward IV. is John Harding¹. He was of northern extraction, and educated in the family of lord Henry Percy²: and, at twenty-five years of age hazarded his fortunes as a volunteer at the decisive battle of Shrewsbury, fought against the Scots in the year 1403. He appears to have been indefatigable in examining original records, chiefly with a design of ascertaining the

² To the preceding reign of Henry VI., belongs a poem written by James I., king of Scotland, who was atrociously murdered at Perth in the year 1436. It is entitled the KING'S COMPLAINT, is allegorical, and in the seven-lined stanza. The subject was suggested to the poet by his own misfortunes, and the mode of composition by reading Boethius. At the close he mentions Gower and Chaucer as seated on the *steppys of rhetorike*. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Selden. Archiv. H. 24. chart. fol. [With many pieces of Chaucer.] This unfortunate monarch was educated while a prisoner in England, at the command of our Henry IV., and the poem was written during his captivity there. The Scotch historians represent him as a prodigy of erudition. He civilised the Scotch nation. Among other accomplishments, he was an admirable musician, and particularly skilled in playing on the harp. Lesley, DE REB. GEST. SCOT. lib. vii. p. 257, 266, 267, edit. 1675. 4to. The same historian says, 'ita orator erat, ut ejus dictione nihil fuerit artificiosius: ita POETA, ut carmina non tam arte strinxisse, quam natura sponte didisse videretur. Cui rei fidem faciunt carmina diversi generis, quæ 'in rhythmum Scotice illigavit, eo artificio, &c.' Ibid. p. 267. Buchanan, RER. SCOT. lib. x. p. 186.—196. Opp. tom. i. Edingb. 1715. Among other pieces, which I have never seen, Bale mentions his CANTILENÆ SCOTICÆ, and RHYTHMI LATINI. Bale, paral. post. Cent. xiv. 56, page 217. It is not the plan of this work to comprehend and examine in form pieces of Scotch poetry, except such only as are of singular merit. Otherwise, our royal bard would have been considered at large, and at his proper period, in the text. I will, however, add here, two stanzas of the poem contained in the Selden MSS., which seems to be the most distinguished of his compositions, and was never printed.

In ver that full of vertue is and gude,
That guilham was be cruell frost and flude,
And Cynthus gynneth to aryse

Heigh in the est a morrow soft and swete

Passit bot mydday foure grees evyn
He spred uppon the ground down fro the hevyn;

And with the tiklyng of
The tender floures opinyt thanne and sprad

When nature first begynneth her emprys^a
And shoures scharp, opprest in many wyse;
Upwards his course to drive in Ariete:

Offlenth and brede, his angel wingis bright

That for gladness and comfort of the sight,
His hete and light

And in thar nature thankit him for glad.

This piece is not specified by Bale, Dempster, or Mackenzie. Bale, ubi supr. Dempster, SCOT. SCRIPTOR. ix. 714, p. 380, edit. 1622. Mackenzie, vol. i. p. 318. Edingb. 1708. fol.

John Major mentions the beginning of some of his other poems, viz. 'Yas sen, &c.' And 'At Beltayn, &c.' Both these poems seem to be written on his wife, Joan, daughter of the duchess of Clarence, with whom he fell in love while a prisoner in England. Major mentions besides, a *libellus artificiosus*, whether verse or prose I know not, which he wrote on this lady in England, before his marriage; and which Bale entitles, *Supr Uxore futura*. This historian, who flourished about the year 1520, adds, that our monarch's CANTILENÆ were commonly sung by the Scotch as the most favorite compositions: and that he played better on the harp, than the most skilful Irish or highland harper. Major does not enumerate the poem I have here cited. Major, GEST. SCOT. lib. vi. cap. xiv. fol. 135, edit. 1521. 4to. Doctor Percy has one of James's CANTILENÆ, in which there is much merit.

² One William Peiris, a priest, and secretary to the fifth earl of Northumberland, wrote in verse, *William Peiris's discente of the Lord Percis*. Pr. Prol. 'Cronykills and 'annuel books of kyngs.' British Mus. MSS. Reg. 18 D. 9. Then immediately follows (10. in the same MSS., perhaps written by the same author, a collection of metrical proverbs painted in several chambers of Lekingfield and Wresille, ancient seats of the Percy family.

fealty due from the Scottish kings to the crown of England : and he carried many instruments from Scotland, for the elucidation of this important enquiry, at the hazard of his life, which he delivered at different times to the V. and VI. Henry, and to Edward IV¹. These investigations seem to have fixed his mind on the study of our natural antiquities and history. At length he clothed his researches in rhyme, which he dedicated under that form to Edward IV., and with the title of *The Chronicle of England unto the reigne of king Edward IV. in verse*². The copy probably presented to the king, although it exhibits at the end the arms of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, most elegantly transcribed on vellum, and adorned with superb illuminations, is preserved among Selden's MSS. in the Bodleian library². Our author is concise and compendious in his narrative of events from Brutus to the reign of king Henry IV. : he is much more minute and diffuse in relating those affairs of which, for more than the space of sixty years, he was a living witness, and which occurred from that period to the reign of Edward IV. The poem seems to have been completed about the year 1470. In his final chapter he exhorts the king, to recall his rival king Henry VI. and to restore the partisans of that unhappy prince.

This work is almost beneath criticism, and fit only for the attention of an antiquary. Harding may be pronounced to be the most important of our metrical historians, especially when we recollect the great improvements which English poetry had now received. I will not even except Robert of Gloucester, who lived in the infancy of taste and versification. The chronicle of this authentic and laborious annalist has hardly those more modest graces, which could properly recommend and adorn a detail of the British story in prose. He has left some pieces in prose : and Winstanly says, 'as his prose was very usefull, 'so was his poetry as much delightfull.' I am of opinion, that both his prose and poetry are equally useful and delightful. What can be more frigid and unanimated than these lines ?

Kyng Arthur then in Avalon so dyed,
Where he was buryed in a chapel fayre

¹ Henry VI. granted immunities to Harding in several patents for procuring the Scottish evidences. The earliest is dated an. reg. xviii. [1440.] There is a memorandum in the exchequer, that in 1458, John Harding of Kyme delivered to John Talbot, treasurer of England and chancellor of the exchequer, five Scottish letters patent, acknowledging various homages of the kings and nobility of Scotland. They are enclosed in a wooden box in the exchequer, kept in a large chest, under the mark, SCOTIA. HARDING. So says Ashmole [MSS. Ashmol. 860. p. 186.] from a register in the exchequer called the YELLOW-BOOK.

² Printed, at London, 1543. 4to. by Grafton, who has prefixed a dedication of three leaves in verse to Thomas duke of Norfolk. A continuation in prose from Edward IV. to Henry VIII., is added, probably by Grafton. Grafton's Preface to his ABRIDGEMENT OF THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, edit. 1570.

³ MSS. Archiv. Seld. B. 26. It is richly bound and studded. At the end is a curious map of Scotland ; together with many prose pieces by Harding of the historical kind. The Ashmolean MSS. is entitled, *The CHRONICLE OF JOHN HARDING in metre from the beginning of England unto the reign of Edward the Fourth*. MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 34. membran.

Which nowe is made, and fully edified,
 The mynster church, this day of great repayre
 Of Glastenbury, where nowe he hath his layre ;
 But then it was called the blacke chapell
 Of our lady, as chronicles can tell.
 Where Geryn earle of Chartres then abode
 Besyde his tombe, for whole devocion,
 Whither Lancelot de Lake came, as he rode
 Upon the chase, with trompet and claryon ;
 And Geryn told hym, ther all up and downe
 How Arthur was there layd in sepulture
 For which with hym to abyde he hyght ful sure¹.

Fuller affirms our author to have 'drunk as deep a draught of Helicon as any of his age.' An assertion partly true : it is certain, however, that the diction and imagery of our poetic composition would have remained in just the same state had Harding never wrote.

In this reign, the first mention of the king's poet, under the appellation of LAUREATE, occurs. John Kay was appointed poet Laureate to Edward IV. It is extraordinary, that he should have left no pieces of poetry to prove his pretensions in some degree to this office, with which he is said to have been invested by the king, at his return from Italy. The only composition he has transmitted to posterity is a prose English translation of a Latin history of the Siege of Rhodes² : in the dedication addressed to king Edward, or rather in the title, he styles himself *hys humble poete laureate*. Although this our laureate furnishes us with no materials as a poet, yet his office, which here occurs for the first time under this denomination, must not pass unnoticed in the annals of English poetry, and will produce a short digression.

Great confusion has entered into this subject, on account of the degrees in grammar, which included rhetoric and versification³,

¹ Ch. lxxxiv. fol. lxxvii. edit. Graet. 1543.

² MSS. Cotton. Brit. Mus. VITELL. D. xii. 10. It was printed at London, 1506. This impression was in Henry Worsley's library, Cat. MSS. Angl. etc. tom. ii. p. 202. N. 6873. 25. I know nothing of the Latin ; except that Gulielmus Caorsinus, vice-chancellor for forty years of the knights of Malta, wrote an OESIDIO RHODIÆ URBS, when it was in vain attempted to be taken by the Turks in 1480. Separately printed without date or place in quarto. It was also printed in German, Argentorat. 1513. The works of this Gulielmus, which are numerous, were printed together, at Ulm, 1496. fol. with rude wooden prints. See an exact account of this writer, Diar. Eruditor. Ital. tom. xxi. p. 412.

³ One John Caius a poet of Cambridge is mentioned in sir T. More's WORKS, p. 204. And in Parker's *Def. of Pr. Marr. against Martin*, p. 99.

⁴ In the ancient statutes of the university of Oxford, every Regent Master in Grammar is prohibited from reading in his faculty, unless he first pass an examination DE MODO VERSIFICANDI et distandi, &c. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. fol. membran. Arch. A. 91. [nunc 2874.] 55. b. This scholastic cultivation of the art of PROSODY gave rise to many Latin systems of METRE about this period. Among others, Thomas Langley, a monk of Hulm in Norfolk, in the year 1430, wrote, in two books, DE VARIETATE CARMINUM. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Digb. 100. One John Segward, a Latin poet and rhetorician of Norwich, about the year 1414, wrote a piece of this kind called METRISTENCHIRIDION, addressed to Courtney bishop of Norwich, treating of the nature of metre in general, and especially of the common metres of the *Hymns* of Boecius and *Oracius* [Horace.] Oxon. MSS. Coll. Merton. Q. iii. 1.

anciently taken in our universities, particularly at Oxford : on which occasion, a wreath of laurel was presented to the new graduate, who was afterwards usually styled *poeta laureatus*¹. These scholastic laureations, however, seem to have given rise to the appellation in question. I will give some instances at Oxford, which at the same time will explain the nature of the studies for which our accademical philologists received their rewards. About the year 1470, one John Watson, a student in grammar, obtained a concession to be graduated and laureated in that science ; on condition that he composed one hundred Latin verses in praise of the university, and a Latin comedy². Another grammarian was distinguished with the same badge, after having stipulated, that, at the next public Act, he would affix the same number of hexameters on the great gates of St Mary's church, that they might be seen by the whole university. This was at that period the most convenient mode of publication. [Ibid fol. 162.] About the same time, one Maurice Byrchensaw, a scholar in rhetoric, supplicated to be admitted to read lectures, that is, to take a degree, in that faculty ; and his petition was granted, with a provision, that he should write one hundred verses on the glory of the university, and not suffer Ovid's ART OF LOVE, and the Elegies of Pamphilus³, to be studied in his auditory⁴. Not long afterwards, one John Bulman, another rhetorician, having complied with the terms imposed, of explaining the first book of Tully's OFFICES, and likewise the first of his EPISTLES, without any pecuniary emolument, was graduated in rhetoric : and a crown of laurel was publicly placed on his head by the hands of the chancellor of the university⁵. About the year 1489⁶, Skelton was laureated at Oxford, and in the year 1493, was permitted to wear his laurel at Cambridge⁷. Robert Whittington

¹ When any of these graduated grammarians were licenced to teach boys, they were publicly presented in the Convocation-house with a rod and ferrel. Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 72. a.

² Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 143. I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the learned Mr. Swinton, keeper of the Archives at Oxford, for giving me frequent and free access to the Registers of that university.

³ Ovid's supposititious pieces, and other verses of the lower age, were printed together by Goldastus, Francof. 1610. 8vo. Among these is, 'Pamphili Mauriliani PAMPHILUS sive de 'Arte Amandi, Elegiæ lxxiii.' This is from the same school with Ovid DE VETULA, and by some thought to be forged by the same author.

⁴ Registr. Univ. Oxon. G. fol. 134. a.

⁵ Register. ut supr. G. fol. 124. b.

⁶ Caxton, in the preface to his English ENEYDOS, mentions 'mayster John Skelton, late 'created poete laureate in the university of Oxenford, &c.' This work was printed in 1490. Churtyard mentions Skelton's accademical laureation, in his poem prefixed to Skelton's works, Lond. 1568. 8vo.

Nay Skelton wore the laurel wreath,

And past in scholes ye knoe.

And again,

That war the garland wreath

Of laurel leaves so late.

⁷ Registr. Univ. Cantabrig. sub. anno. 'Conceditur Johanni Skelton poetæ in partibus 'transmarinis atque Oxonii laurea ornato, ut apud nos eadem decoraretur.' And afterwards, Ann. 1504. 5. 'Conceditur Johanni Skelton poete laureato quod possit constare eodem gradu 'hic quo stetit Oxonii, et quod possit uti habitu sibi concesso a principe.' The latter clause, I believe, relates to some distinction of habit, perhaps of fur or velvet, granted him by the king. Skelton is said to have been poet laureate to Henry VIII. He also styles himself *Orator regius*, p. i. 6. 109. 107. 284. 285. 287. Works, 1736.

affords the last instance of a rhetorical degree at Oxford. He was a secular priest, and eminent for his various treatises in grammar, and for his facility in Latin poetry : having exercised his art many years, and submitting to the customary demand of an hundred verses, he was honoured with the laurel in the year 1512¹. This title is prefixed to one of his grammatical systems. 'ROBERTI WHITTINTONI *Lichfeldiensis, Grammatices Magistri, PROTOVATIS Angliæ, in florentissima Oxoniensi Achademia LAUREATI, DE OCTO PARTIBUS ORATIONIS*'²." In his PANEGYRIC to cardinal Wolsey, he mentions his laurel,

Suscipe LAURICOMI Munuscula parva Roberti³.

With regard to the Poet Laureate of the kings of England, an officer of the court remaining under that title to this day, he is undoubtedly the same that is styled the KING'S VERSIFIER, and to whom one hundred shillings were paid as his annual stipend, in the year 1251. But when or how that title commenced, and whether this officer was ever solemnly [crowned with laurel at his first investiture, I will not pretend to determine, after the searches of the learned Selden on this question have proved unsuccessful. It seems most probable, that the barbarous and inglorious name of VERSIFIER gradually gave place to an appellation of more elegance and dignity : or rather, that at length, those only were in general invited to this appointment, who had received accademical sanction, and had merited a crown of laurel in the universities for their abilities in Latin composition, particularly Latin versification. Thus the *king's Laureate* was nothing more than 'a *graduated* rhetorician employed in the service 'of the king.' That he originally wrote in Latin, appears from the ancient title *versificator*: and may be moreover collected from the two Latin poems, which Baston and Gulielmus, who appear to have respectively acted in the capacity of royal poets to Richard I. and Edward II. officially composed on Richard's crusade, and Edward's siege of Striveling castle⁴.

Andrew Bernard, successively poet laureate of Henry VII., affords a still stronger proof that this officer was a Latin Scholar. He was a native of Thoulouse, and an Augustine monk. He was not only the king's

¹ Registr. Univ. Oxon. ut supr. G. 173. b. 187. b.

² Lond. 1513. See the next note.

³ In his 'Opusculum Roberti Whittintoni in florentissima Oxoniensi achademia laureati.' Signat. A. iii. Bl. Let. 4to. Colophon, 'Explicitunt Roberti Whittintoni Oxonii protovatis epigrammata, una cum quibusdam panegyricis, impressa Londini per me Wynandum de Worde. Anno post virgineum partum M.CCCCC. xix. decimo vero Kal. Maii.' The Panegyrics are on Henry VIII. and cardinal Wolsey. The Epigrams, which are long copies of verse, are addressed to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas More, and to Skelton, under the title *Ad lepidissimum poetam SCHELTONEM carmen*, &c. Some of the lines are in a very classical style, and much in the manner of the earlier Latin Italian poets. At the end of these Latin poems is a defence of the author, called ANTILYCON, &c. This book is extremely scarce, and not mentioned by Wood, Ames, and some other collectors. These pieces are in manuscript, Oxon. MSS. Bodl. D. 3. 22.

⁴ By the way, Baston is called by Bale '*laureatus apud Oxonienses*.' Cent. iv. cap. 92.

poet Laureate¹, as it is supposed, but his historiographer², and preceptor in grammar to prince Arthur. He obtained many ecclesiastical preferments in England.³ All the pieces now to be found, which he wrote in the character of poet laureate, are in Latin⁴. These are, an ADDRESS to Henry the eight for the most auspicious beginning of the tenth year of his reign, with an EPITHALAMIUM on the marriage of Francis the Dauphin of France with the king's daughter⁵. A NEW YEAR'S GIFT for the year 1515⁶. And verses wishing prosperity to his majesty's thirteenth year⁷. He has left some Latin hymns⁸: and many of his Latin prose pieces, which he wrote in the quality of historiographer to both monarchs are remaining⁹.

I am of opinion, that it was not customary for the royal laureate to write in English, till the reformation of religion had begun to diminish the veneration for the Latin language: or rather, till the love of novelty, and a better sense of things, had banished the narrow pedantries of monastic erudition, and taught us to cultivate our native tongue. In the mean time it is to be wished, that another change might at least be suffered to take place in the execution of this institution, which is confessedly Gothic, and unaccommodated to modern manners. I mean, that the more than annual return of a composition on a trite

¹ See an instrument PRO POETA LAUREATO. dat. 1486. Rymer's FOED. tom. xii. 317. But, by the way, in this instrument there is no specification of any thing to be done *officially* by Bernard. The king only grants to Andrew Bernard, *Poete laureato*, which we may construe either *THE laureated poet*, or *A poet laureate*, a salary of ten marks, till he can obtain some equivalent appointment. This, however, is only a precept to the treasurer and chamberlains to disburse the salary, and refers to letters patent, not printed by Rymer. It is certain that Gower and Chaucer were never appointed to this office, notwithstanding this is commonly supposed. Skelton, in his CROWNE OF LAWRELL, sees Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate approach: he describes their whole apparel as glittering with the richest precious stones, and then immediately adds,

They wanted nothing but the LAURELL.

Afterwards, however, there is the rubric *Maister Chaucer, LAUREATE poete to Skelton*. Works, p. 21. 22. edit. 1736.

² Apostolo Zeno was both poet and historiographer to his imperial majesty. So was Dryden to James II. It is observable that Petrarch was laureated as poet and historian.

³ One of these, the mastership of St. Leonard's hospital at Bedford, was given him by bishop Smith, one of the founders of Brasenose college, Oxford, in the year 1498. Registr. SMITH, episc. Lincoln. sub. ann.

⁴ Some of Skelton's Latin poems seem to be written in the character of the *Royal laureate*, particularly one, 'Hæc Laureatus Skeltonus, orator reginæ, super triumphali, &c. It is subscribed 'Per Skeltonida Laureatum, oratorem regium.' Works, p. 110. edit. ut supr. Hardly any of his English pieces, which are numerous, appear to belong to that character. With regard to the ORATOR REGIUS, I find one John Mallard in that office to Henry VIII. and his epistolary secretary. He has left a *Latin elegiac paraphrase on the lord's prayer*, MSS. Bibl. Reg. 7 D. xiii. Dedicated to that king. *Le premier liere de la cosmographie*, in verse, *ibid.* 20 B. xii. And a *Psalter*, beautifully written by himself, for the use of the king. In the margin, are short notes in the hand-writing, and two exquisite miniatures, of Henry VIII. *Ibid.* 2 A. xvi.

⁵ MSS. olim penes Thom. Martin de Palgrave.

⁶ MSS. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 287.

⁷ Brit. Mus. MSS. Reg. 12 A. x. The copy presented. In paper. There is a wretched false quantity in the first line,

Indue, honor, cultus, et *adole* munera flammis.

⁸ And a Latin life of St. Andrew. MSS. Cotton. DOMITIAN. A. xviii. 15.

⁹ A chronicle of the life and achievements of Henry VII. to the taking of Perkin Warbeck, MSS. Cotton. DOMITIAN. A. xviii. 15. Other historical commentaries on the reign of that king. *Ibid.* JUL. A. 4. JUL. A. 3.

argument would be no longer required. I am conscious I say this at a time, when the best of kings affords the most just and copious theme for panegyric: but I speak it at a time, when the department is honourably filled by a poet of taste and genius, which are idly wasted on the most splendid subjects, when they are imposed by constraint, and perpetually repeated.

To what is here incidentally collected on an article more curious than important, I add an observation, which shews that the practice of other nations in this respect altogether correspond with that of our own. When we read of the laureated poets of Italy and Germany, we are to remember, that they most commonly received this honour from the state, or some university; seldom at least not immediately, from the prince: and if we find any of these professedly employed in the department of a court-poet, that they were not, in consequence of that peculiar situation, styled poets laureate. The distinction, at least in general, was previously conferred¹.

John Scogan is commonly supposed to have been a contemporary of Chaucer, but this is a mistake². He was educated at Oriel college in Oxford: and being an excellent mimic, and of great pleasantry in conversation, became the favorite buffoon of the court of Edward IV., in which he passed the greatest part of his life. Bale inaccurately calls Scogan, the JOCULATOR of Edward IV.: by which word he seems simply to understand the king's JOKER, for he certainly could not mean that Scogan was his majesty's MINSTREL³. Andrew Borde a mad physician and a dull poet in the reign of Henry VIII., published his JESTS, under the title of SCOGIN'S JESTS⁴, which are without humour or invention; and give us no very favourable idea of the delicacy of the king and courtiers, who could be exhilarated by the merriments of such a writer. A MORAL BALADE, printed in Chaucer's

¹ The reader who requires a full and particular information concerning the first origin of the laureation of poets, and the solemnities with which this ceremony was performed in Italy and Germany, is referred to Selden's *TIT. HON. Op. tom. p. 457. seq.* *VIE DE PETRARQUE*, tom. iii. *Notes, &c.* p. 1. *Not. quat.* And to a memoir of M. l'Abbe du Resnel, *MEM. LIT.* x. 507. 4to. I will only add, the form of the creation of three poets laureate by the chancellor of the university of Strasbourg, in the year 1621. 'I create you, being placed in a chair of state, crowned with laurel and ivy, and wearing a ring of gold, and the same do pronounce and constitute, POETS LAUREATE, in the name of the holy Trinity, the father, son, and holy ghost. Amen.'

² Hollinsh. *Chron.* iii. f. 710. It is uncertain whether the poem addressed by Chaucer to Scogan, was really written by the former, *MSS. Fairfax.* xvi.

³ *Script.* xi. 70. By the way, the SERJEANT of the King's Minstrels occurs under this reign: and in a manner, which shews the confidential character of this officer, and his facility of access to the king at all hours and on all occasions. 'And as he [k. Edw. iv.] was in the north contray in the moneth of Septembre, as he laye in his bedde, one namid Alexander Carlisle, that was *sariaunt of the mynstrallis*, cam to him in grete haste, and bade hym 'arise, for he hadde enemys cummyng, &c.' A REMARKABLE FRAGMENT, etc. [an. ix. Edw. iv.] *ad calc.* SPORRTI *CHRON.* edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1729. 8vo. Compare Percy's *Ess. MINSTR.* p. 56. *Antis.* ORD. GART. ii. 303.

⁴ It is from these pieces we learn that he was of Oriel college: for he speaks of retiring, with that society, to the hospital of St. Bartholomew, while the plague was at Oxford. These JESTS are sixty in number. *Pr. Pref.* 'There is nothing besides.' *Pr.* 'On a time in Lent.' They were reprinted about the restoration. 4to

works, addressed to the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester, and sent from a tavern in the Vintry at London, is attributed to Scogan¹. But our jocular bard evidently mistakes his talents when he attempts to give advice. This piece is the dullest sermon that ever was written in the octave stanza. Bale mentions his COMEDIES, [xi. 70.] which certainly mean nothing dramatic, and are perhaps only his JESTS above-mentioned. He seems to have flourished about the year 1480.

Two didactic poets on chemistry appeared in this reign, John Norton and George Ripley. Norton was a native of Bristol², and the most skilful alchemist of his age³. His poem is called the ORDINAL, or a manual of the chemical art⁴. It was presented to Nevil archbishop of York, who was a great patron of the hermetic philosophers⁵; which were lately grown so numerous in England, as to occasion an act of parliament against the transmutation of metals. Norton's reason for treating his subject in English rhyme, was to circulate the principles of a science of the most consummate utility among the unlearned. [Pag 106.] This poem is totally void of every poetical elegance. The only wonder which it relates, belonging to an art, so fertile in striking inventions, and contributing to enrich the store-house of Arabian romance with so many magnificent imageries, is that of an alchemist, who projected a bridge of gold over the river Thames near London, crowned with pinnacles of gold, which being studied with carbuncles, diffused a blaze of light in the dark. [Page 26.] I will add a few lines only, as a specimen of his versification.

Wherefore he would set up in high
That bridge, for a wonderfull sight.
With pinnacles guilt, shininge as goulde,
A glorious thing for men to behoulde.
Then he remembered of the newe,
Howe greater fame shulde him pursewe,
If he mought make that bridge so brighte,
That it mought shine alsoe by night:

¹ It may yet be doubted whether it belongs to Scogan; as it must have been written before the year 1447, and the writer complains of the approach of old age. col. i. v. 10. It was first printed, under Scogan's name, by Caxton, in the COLLECTION OF CHAUCER'S and LYDGATE'S POEMS. The little piece, printed as Chaucer's [Urr. ed. p. 548.] called FLEE FROM THE PRESSE, is expressly given to Scogan, and called PROVERBIUM JOANNIS SKOGAN, MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 203.

² He speaks of the wife of William Canning, who will occur again below, five times mayor of Bristol, and the founder of St. Mary of Radcliffe church there. ORDINAL, p. 34.

³ Printed by Ashmole, in his THEATRUM CHEMICUM Lond. 1652. 8vo. p. 6. It was finished A.D. 1477. ORDIN. p. 106. It was translated into Latin by Michael Maier, M.D. Francof. 1618. 4to. Norton wrote other chemical pieces.

⁴ ORDIN. p. 9. 10. Norton declares, that he learned his art in 40 days, at 28 years of age. Ibid. p. 33. 88.

⁵ Ashmole, ubi supr. p. 455. Notes.

And so continewe and not breake,
Then all the londe of him would speake, &c. [Page 26.]

Norton's heroes in the occult sciences are Bacon, Albertus Magnus, and Raymond Lully, to whose specious promises of supplying the coinage of England with inexhaustible mines of philosophical gold, king Edward III. became an illustrious dupe¹.

George Ripley, Norton's contemporary, was accomplished in many parts of erudition; and still maintains his reputation as a learned chemist of the lower ages. He was a canon regular of the monastery of Bridlington in Yorkshire, a great traveller², and studied both in France and Italy. At his return from abroad, pope Innocent the eighth absolved him from the observance of the rules of his order, that he might prosecute his studies with more convenience and freedom. But his convent not concurring with this very liberal indulgence, he turned Carmelite at St. Botolph's in Lincolnshire, and died an anchorite in that fraternity in the year 1490³. His chemical poems are nothing more than the doctrines of alchemy cloathed in plain language, and a very rugged versification. The capital performance is *THE COMPOUND OF ALCHEMIE*, written in the year 1471⁴. It is in the octave metre and dedicated to Edward IV⁵. Ripley has left a few other compositions on his favorite science, printed by Ashmole, who was an enthusiast in this abused species of philosophy⁶. One of them, the *MEDULLA*, written in 1476, is dedicated to archbishop Nevil⁷. These pieces have no other merit, than that of serving to

¹ Ashmol. ubi supr. p. 443. 467. And Camden's *REM.* p. 242. edit. 1674. By the way, Raymond Lully is said to have died at eighty years of age, in the year 1315. Whart. *APP. Cave*, cap. p. 6.

² Ashmole says, that Ripley, during his long stay at Rhodes, gave the knights of Malta 100,000 l. annually, towards maintaining the war against the Turks. Ubi supr. p. 458. Ashmole could not have made this incredible assertion, without supposing a circumstance equally incredible, that Ripley was in actual possession of the Philosopher's Stone.

³ Ashmol. p. 455. seq. Bale, viii 49. Pits. p. 677.

⁴ Ashmol. *THEATR. CHEM.* p. 193. It was first printed in 1591. 4to. Reprinted by Ashmole, *THEATR. CHEM.* ut supr. p. 107. It has been thrice translated into Latin, Ashm. ut supr. p. 465. Ibid. p. 108. 110. 122. Most of Ripley's Latin works were printed by Lud. Combachius, Cassel. 1619. 12mo.

⁵ He mentions the abbey church at Westminster as unfinished. Page. 154. st. 27. P. 156. and st. 34.

⁶ Ashmole conjectures, that an English chemical piece in the octave stanza, which he has printed, called *HERMES'S BIRD*, no unpoetical fiction, was translated from Raymond Lully, by Cremer, abbot of Westminster, a great chemist: and adds, that Cremer brought Lully into England, and introduced him to the notice of Edward III. about the year 1334. Ashmol. ubi supr. p. 213. 467. The writer of *HERMES'S BIRD*, however, appears by the versification and language, to have lived at least an hundred years after that period. He informs us, that he made the translation 'owte of the Frensche. Ibid. p. 214. Ashmole mentions a curious picture of the *GRAND MYSTERIES OF THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE*, which abbot Cremer ordered to be painted in Westminster abbey, upon an arch where the waxen kings and queens are placed, but that it was obliterated with a plasterer's brush by the puritans in Oliver's time. He also mentions a large and beautiful window, behind the pulpit in the neighbouring church of St. Margaret, painted with the same subject, and destroyed by the same ignorant zealots, who mistook these innocent hieroglyphics for some story in a popish legend. Ashmol. ibid. 211. 466. 467. Compare Widmore's *Hist. WESTMINSTER-ABBEY.* p. 174. seq. edit. 1751. 4to.

⁷ Ashm. p. 389. See also p. 374. seq.

develope the history of chemistry in England. They certainly contributed nothing to the state of our poetry¹.

SECTION XXVI.

BUT a want of genius will be no longer imputed to this period of our poetical history, if the poems lately discovered at Bristol, and said to have been written by Thomas Rowlie, a secular priest of that place, about the year 1470, are genuine.

It must be acknowledged, that there are some circumstances which incline us to suspect these pieces to be a modern forgery. On the other hand, as there is some degree of plausibility in the history of their discovery, as they possess considerable merit, and are held to be the real productions of Rowlie by many respectable critics; it is my duty to give them a place in this series of our poetry, if it was for no other reason than that the world might be furnished with an opportunity of examining their authenticity. By exhibiting therefore the most specious evidences, which I have been able to collect, concerning the manner in which they were brought to light¹, and by producing such specimens, as in another respect cannot be deemed unacceptable; I will endeavour, not only to gratify the curiosity of the public on a subject that has long engaged the general attention, and has never yet been fairly or fully stated, but to supply the more inquisitive reader with every argument, both external and internal, for determining the merits of this interesting controversy. I shall take the liberty to add my own opinion, on a point at least doubtful: but with the greatest deference to decisions of much higher authority.

About the year 1470, William Cannyng, an opulent merchant and an alderman of Bristol, afterwards an ecclesiastic, and dean of Westbury college, erected the magnificent church of St. Mary of Redcliffe,

¹ It will be sufficient to throw some of the obscurer rhymers of this period into the Notes. Osbern Bokenham wrote or translated metrical lives of the saints, about 1445. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 14. *Notes.* Gilbert Banester wrote in English verse the *Miracle of St. Thomas*, in the year 1467. CCCC. MSS. Q. viii. See *supr.* vol. i. p. 75. *Notes.* And *Lel. COLLECTAN.* tom. i. (p. ii.) pag. 510. edit. 1770. Wydville earl of Rivers, already mentioned, translated into English distichs, *The morale Proverbs of Crystyne of Pyse*, printed by Caxton, 1477. They consist of two sheets in folio. This is a couplet;

Little vailleth good example to see

For him that wole not the contrarie flee.

The poem on this subject in the addition to the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, by William This nobleman's only original piece is a *Balet* of four stanzas, preserved by Rouse, a contemporary historian, *Ross. Hist.* p. 213. edit. Hearn. apud Leland. *Itin.* tom. x. edit. Oxon. 1745. I refer also the *NOTBROWNE MAYDE* to this period. *Capel's PROLUSSIONS*, p. 23. seq. edit. 1760. Of the same date is perhaps the *DELECTABLE HISTORIE of king Edward IV and the Tanner of Tamworth &c. &c.* Percy, ubi *supr.* p. 81. Hearne affirms, that in this piece there are some 'romantic assertions:—' otherwise 'tis a book of *value*, and more *authority* is to be given to it than is given to *poetical books* of LATE YEARS.' Hearne's Leland, ut *supr.* vol. ii. p. 103.

² I acknowledge myself greatly indebted to Dr. Harrington, of Bath, for facilitating my enquiries on this subject.

or Radcliff, near Bristol¹. In a muniment-room over the northern portico of the church, the founder placed an iron chest, secured by six different locks²; which seems to have been principally intended to receive instruments relating to his new structure, and perhaps to his other charities³, inventories of vestments and ornaments⁴, accompts of church-wardens, and other parochial evidences. He is said to have directed, that this venerable chest should be annually visited and opened by the mayor and other chief magistrates of Bristol, attended by the vicar and church-wardens of the parish: and that a feast should be celebrated every year, on the day of visitation. But this order, that part at least which relates to the inspection of the chest, was soon neglected.

In the year 1768, when the present new bridge at Bristol was finished and opened for passengers, an account of the ceremonies observed on occasion of opening the old bridge, appeared in one of the Bristol Journals; taken, as it was declared, from an ancient manuscript⁵. Curiosity was naturally raised to know from whence it came. At length, after much enquiry concerning the person who sent this singular memoir to the newspaper, it was discovered that he was a youth about seventeen years old, whose name was Chatterton; and whose father had been sexton of Radcliffe church for many years, and also master of a writing-school in that parish, of which the church-wardens were trustees. The father however was now dead: and the son was at first unwilling to acknowledge, from whom, or by what means, he had procured so valuable an original. But after many promises, and some threats, he confessed that he received a MSS. on parchment containing the narrative above-mentioned, together with many other MSS. on parchment, from his father; who had found them in an iron chest, the same that I have mentioned, placed in a room situated over the northern entrance of the church.

It appears that the father became possessed of these MSS. in the year 1748. For in that year, he was permitted, by the church-wardens of Radcliffe church, to take from this chest several written pieces of parchment, supposed to be illegible and useless, for the purpose of con-

¹ He is said to have rebuilt Westbury college. Dugd. WARWICKSH. p. 634, edit. 1730. And Atkyns, GLOCESTERSH. p. 802. On his monument in Radcliffe-church, he is twice represented, both in an alderman's and a priest's habit. He was five times mayor of Bristol. See Godwin's BISH. p. 446. [But see edit. fol. p. 467.]

² It is said there were four chests; but this is a circumstance of no consequence.

³ These will be mentioned below.

⁴ See an inventory of ornaments given to this church by the founder, Jul. 4, 1470, formerly kept in this chest, and printed by Walpole, ANECD. PAINT. i. p. 45.

⁵ The old bridge was built about the year 1248. HISTORY OF BRISTOL, MSS. Archiv. Bodl. C. iii. By Abel Wantner.

Archdeacon Furney, in the year 1755, left by will to the Bodleian library, large collections, by various hands, relating to the history and antiquities of the city, church, and county of Gloucester, which are now preserved there, Archiv. C. ut supr. At the end of N. iii. is the MSS. HISTORY just mentioned, supposed to have been compiled by Abel Wantner, of Minchin-Hampton in Gloucestershire, who published proposals and specimens for a history of that county, in 1683.

verting them into covers for the writing-books of his scholars. It is impossible to ascertain, what, or how many, writings were destroyed, in consequence of this unwarrantable indulgence. Our school-master, however, whose accomplishments were much above his station, and who was not totally destitute of a taste for poetry, found, as it is said, in this immense heap of obsolete MSS., many poems written by Thomas Rowlie above mentioned, priest of St. John's church in Bristol, and the confessor of alderman Cannynge, which he carefully preserved. These at his death, of course fell into the hands of the son of Cannynge.

Of the extraordinary talents of this young man more will be said hereafter. It will be sufficient to observe at present, that he saw the merit and value of these poems, which he diligently transcribed. In the year 1770, he went to London, carrying with him these transcripts, and many originals, in hopes of turning so inestimable a treasure to his great advantage. But from these flattering expectations, falling into a dissipated course of life, which ill suited with his narrow circumstances, and finding that a writer of the most distinguished taste and judgment, Mr. Walpole, had pronounced the poems to be suspicious, in a fit of despair, arising from distress and disappointment, he destroyed all his papers, and poisoned himself. Some of the poems, however, both transcripts and originals, he had previously sold, either to Mr. Catcott, a merchant of Bristol, or to Mr. Barrett, an eminent surgeon of the same place, and an ingenious antiquary, with whom they now remain¹. But it appears, that among these there were but very few of parchment: most of the poems which they purchased were poems in his own hand. He was always averse to give any distinct or satisfactory account of what he possessed: but from time to time, as his necessities required, he produced copies of his originals, which were bought by these gentlemen. The originals, one or two only excepted, he chose to retain in his possession.

The chief of these poems are, the TRAGEDY of ELLA, the EXECUTION of sir CHARLES BAUDWIN, ODE to ELLA, the BATTLE of HASTINGS, the TOURNAMENT, one or two DIALOGUES, and a Description of CANNYNGE'S FEAST.

The TRAGEDY OF ELLA has six characters; one of which is a lady, named Birtha. It has a chorus consisting of minstrels, whose songs are often introduced. Ella was governor of the castle of Bristol, and a puissant champion against the Danes, about the year 920. The story seems to be the poet's invention. The tragedy is opened with the following soliloquy.

CELMONDE *atte* *Brystowe*.

Before yonne roddie sonne has droove hys wayne

¹ Mr. Barrett, to whom I am greatly obliged for his unreserved and liberal information on this subject, is now engaged in writing the ANTIQUITIES of BRISTOL.

'Through half hys joornie, dyghte yn gites of gowlde,
 Mee, hapless me, he wylle a wretch behowlde,
 Myselfe, and alle thatts myne, bounde yn Myschaunche's chayne!
 Ah Byrtha, whie dydde nature frame thee fayre,
 Whie art thou alle that poyntelle¹ canne bewreene?
 Whie art thou notte as coarse as odhers are?
 Botte thenne thie soughle² woulde throwe thie vysage sheene,
 Yatte³ shemres⁴ onne thie comlie semlykeene⁵,
 Or scarlette with waylde lynnenn clothe⁶,
 Lyke would thie sprite⁷ [shine] upon thie vysage:
 This daie brave Ella dothe thyne honde and harte
 Clayme as hys owne to bee, whyche nee⁸ from hys moste parte.
 And cann I lynne to see herre with anere⁹?
 Ytte cannotte, must notte, naie ytte shall notte bee!
 Thys nyght I'lle putt strong poysonne yn the beere,
 And hymme, herre, and myselfe attones¹⁰ wylle slea.
 Assyst, me helle, lette devylles rounde me tende,
 To slea myselfe, my love, and eke my doughhtie friende!

The following beautiful descriptions of SPRING, AUTUMN, and MORNING, are supposed to be sung in the tragedy, by the chorus of minstrels.

SPRING.

The boddyng flowrettes blashes at the lyhte,
 The mees be springede¹¹ with the yellowe hue,
 Yn daiseyed mantells ys the monntayne dyghte,
 The neshe¹² younge cowslepe bendethe wythe the dewe;
 The trees enleafede, into heaven straught¹³,
 Whanne gentle wyndes doe blowe, to whestlynge dynne ys¹⁴ brought.
 The evenynge commes, and brynges the dewe alonge,
 The rodie welkynne sheeneth toe the eyne,
 Arounde the alestake¹⁵ mynstrelles synge the songe,
 Yonge ivie rounde the doore-post doth entwyne;
 I laie mee on the grasse: yette to mie wylle,
 Albeytte alle ys fayre, theere lackethe sommethynge styile.

AUTUMN.

Whanne Autumne, blake, and sonne-brente doe appere,
 Wythe hys goulde honde, guylteynge the falleynge lefe,
 Bryngeynge oppe Wynterre to folfylle the yere,
 Beereynge uponne hys backe the riped shefe;

1 Pencil. 2 Soul. 3 That. 4 Glimmers. 5 Seemliness. Beauty.

6 Perhaps we should read,

Or scarlette vailed with a linnen clothe.

7 Soul.

11 The meadows are sprinkled, &c.

13 Stretching. Stretched.

15 A sign-post before an alehouse. In Chaucer, the HOSTE says,

— Here at this alehouse-stake,

I wol both drinke, and etin of a cake.

8 Never. 9 Another. 10 At once.

12 Tender.

14 i.e. Are.

WORDES HOST. v. 1835. Urr. p. 131. And in the SHIP OF FOOLLES, fol. 9, a. edit. 1570.

By the ale-stake knowe we the ale-house, And everie inne is knowen by the signe.

Whanne alle the hylls wythe woddie seede is whyte,
 Whanne levynne fyres, ande lemes, do mete fromme farr the syghte
 Whanne the fayre apple, rudde as even skie,
 Doe bende the tree untoe the fructyle grounde,
 Whanne joicie peres, and berryes of blacke die,
 Doe daunce ynne ayre, and calle the eyne arounde:
 Thanne, bee the even fowle, or even fayre,
 Meethynckes mie hartys joie ys steyned wythe somme care.

MORNING.

Bryghte sonne han ynne hys roddie robes byn dyghte,
 Fro the redde easte hee flytted wythe hys trayne;
 The howers drawe awaie the geete of nyghte,
 Herre sable tapistrie was rente ynne twayne:
 The dauncynge streakes bedeckedd heavenne's playne,
 And onne the dewe dydd smyle wythe shemrynge¹ eie,
 Lyche gottes² of blodde whyche doe blacke armoure steyne,
 Sheenynge uponne the borne whyche stonde the bye:—
 The souldyerrs stooode uponne the hyllis syde,
 Lyche yonge enlefed trees whych ynne a forreste byde³.

But the following ode, belonging to the same tragedy, has much more of the choral or lyric strain.

I. O! synge unto mie roundelaie, O! drop the bryny tear with me,
 Daunce ne moe atte hallie day, Lyke a running river bee.
 My love is dedde, Gone to his death bedde,
 Al under the willowe tree.

II. Blacke his cryne⁴ as the wyntere night,
 Whyte his rode⁵ as summer snowe,
 Rodde his face as morning lyght, Cold he lies in the grave below,
 My love is dedde, &c.

III. Swote his tounge as the throstle's note,
 Quicke in daunce as thought can be,
 Deft his tabor, codgelle stote, Oh! he lies by the willowe tree.
 My love is dedde, &c.

IV. Hark! the raven flaps his wynges,
 In the brier'd dells belowe;
 Hark! the dethe owl loud doth sing
 To the night mares as they go.
 My love is dedde, &c.

¹ Glimmering.² Drops.³ There is a description of morning in another part of the tragedy.

The mornynge gynes alonge the east to sheene,
 Darkling the lyghte does on the waters plaie;
 The feynthe rodde beam slowe creepethe over the leene,
 To chase the morkynesse of nyghte awaie.
 Swift fleis the hower that will brynge oute the daie,
 The softe dewe falleth onne the greeynge grasse;
 The shepster mayden dyghtynge her arraie,
 Scanto sees her vysage ynne the wavie glasse:
 By the fulle daylight wee scalle ELLA see,
 Or BRISTOWE'S walled towne. Damoysele followe mee.

⁴ Hair.⁵ Neck.

V. See the white moon sheenes on hie !

Whyter is my true love's shrowde,

Whyter than the morning skie, Whyter than the evening cloud.

My love is dedde, &c.

VI. Here upon my true love's grave

Shall the garen¹ fleurs be layde :

Ne one hallie saynte to save Al the celness of a mayde

My love is dedde, &c.

VII. With my hondes I'll dente² the brieres,

Round his hallie corse to gre³,

Ouphante⁴ faeries, light your fyres, Here my bodie still shall bee.

My love is dedde, &c.

VIII. Come with acorne-cup, and thorne,

Drain mie harty's blodde awaie :

Lyfe and all its goodes I scorne, Daunce by night, or feast by day,

My love is dedde, &c.

IX. Watere wythes crownde with reytes⁵,

Bere me to your lethale tyde ;

I die—I come—My true love waytes !

Thos the damselle spake, and dy'd.

According to the date assigned to this tragedy, it is the first drama extant in our language. In an Epistle prefixed to his patron Cannyng, the author thus censures the MYSTERIES, or religious interludes, which were the only plays then existing.

Plaies made from HALLIE⁶ TALES I hold unmete ;

Let some *great story of a man* be songe ;

Whanne, as a man, we Godde and Jesus trete,

Ynne mie poore mynde we doe the godhead wronge.

The ODE TO ELLA is said to have been sent by Rowlie in the year 1468, as a specimen of his poetical abilities, to his intimate friend and cotemporary Lydgate, who had challenged him to write verses. The subject is a victory obtained by Ella over the Danes, at Watchett near Bristol⁷. I will give this piece at length.

¹ Bright.

² Indent. Bent into the ground.

³ Grow.

⁴ Ouphan. Elphin.

⁵ Reeds.

⁶ Holy.

⁷ With this address to Lydgate prefixed.

Well thenne, good John, sythe ytt muste needes so be,

That thou, and I a bowtyng matche muste have ;

Lett ytt ne breakyng of oulde friendshippe bee,

Thys ys the onelic allaboone I crave.

Remember Stowe, the Bryghtstowe Carmalyte,

Who, when John Clackynge, one of myckle lore,

Dydd throwe hys gauntlette penne wythe hym to wryte,

He shewde smalle wytte, and shewde his weaknesse more.

Thys ys mie 'formance, whiche I now have wrytte,

The best performance of mie lyttel wytte.

Stowe should be *Stowe*, a Carmelite friar of Bristol, educated at Cambridge, and a famous preacher. Lydgate's answer on receiving the ode, which certainly cannot be genuine, is beneath transcription. The writer, freely owning his inferiority, declares, that Rowlie rivals Chaucer and Turgotus, who both lived in *Norman times*. The latter, indeed, may in some measure be said to have flourished in that era, for he died bishop of St. Andrews in 1015. But

SONGE TO AELLE LORDE OF THE CASTLE OF BRISTOWE
ynne daies of yore.

Oh! thou (orr whatt remaynes of thee)
 EALLE the darlynge of futuritie!
 Lette thys mie songe bolde as thie courage bee,
 As everlastynge to posteritie!
 Whanne Dacya's sonnes, whose hayres of bloude redde hue,
 Lyche kynge cuppes brastyng wythe the mornynge due,
 Arraung'd ynn dreare arraie,
 Uppone the lethale daie,
 Spredde farr and wyde onn Watchett's shore:
 Thenn dyddst thou furyouse stonde,
 And bie thie brondeous honde
 Beesprengedd all the mees with gore.
 Drawne bie thyne anlace felle¹, Downe to the depthe of helle,
 Thousandes of Dacyanns wente; Brystowannes menne of myghte,
 Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte, And actedd deedes full quente.
 Oh! thou, where'er (thie bones att reste)
 Thie spryte to haunt delyghteth beste,
 Whytherr upponn the bloude-embrewedd pleyne,
 Orr whare thou kennst fromme farre
 The dysmalle crie of warre,
 Orr seeste somme mountayne made of corse of sleyme:
 Orr seeste the harnessd steede,
 Yprauncynge o'er the meede,
 And neighe to bee amonge the poynctedd speeres;
 Orr ynn blacke armoure staulke arounde
 Embattell'd Brystowe, once thie grounde,
 And glowe ardorous onn the castell steeres:
 Orr fierie rounde the mynster² glare:
 Lette Brystowe styлле bee made thie care,
 Garde ytte fromme foemenne and consumynge fyre,
 Lyche Avone streme ensyrke ytt rounde;
 Ne lett a flame enharme the grounde,
 'Tyll ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyres.

The BATTLE OF HASTINGS is called a translation from the Saxon: and contains a minute description of the persons, arms, and characters of many of the chiefs, who fought in that important action. In this poem, Stonehenge is described as a Druidical temple.

The poem called the TOURNAMENT, is dramatically conducted, among others, by the characters of a herald, a knight, a minstrel, and a king, who are introduced speaking.

he is oddly coupled with Chaucer in another respect, for he wrote only some Latin chronicles. Besides, Lydgate must have been sufficiently acquainted with Chaucer's age; for he was living, and a young man, when Chaucer died. The writer also mentions Stone, the Carmelite, as living with Chaucer and Turgotus: whereas he was Lydgate's cotemporary. These circumstances, added to that of the extreme and affected meanness of the composition, evidently prove this little piece a forgery.

¹Sword.

²The monastery. Now the cathedral.

The following piece is a description of an alderman's feast at Bristol ;
or, as it is entitled, *ACCOMTE OF W. CANNYNGE'S FEAST*

Thorowe the hall the belle han sounde,
Byalccoyle¹ doe the grave beseeme ;
The ealdermenne doe sytte arounde,
And snoffelle² opp the cheorte steeme.
Lyke asses wylde in deserte waste
Swotely the morneynge doe taste,
Syke kene thei ate : the mynstrells plaie,
The dynne of angelles doe thei kepe :
Thei style³ : the gwestes ha ne to saie,
But nodde ther thankes, and falle asleepe,
Thos echeone daie bee I to deene⁴,

Gyff Rowley, Ischamm, or Tybb Gorges, be ne seen,

But a dialogue between two ladies, whose knights, or husbands, served in the wars between York and Lancaster, and were now fighting at the battle of Saint Albans, will be more interesting to many readers. This battle happened in the reign of Edward V., about the year 1471.

ELINOUR and JUGA.

Anne Ruddeborne⁵ bank twa pynynge maydens sate
Theire teares faste dryppeynge to the waterre cleere ;
Echone bementynge⁶ for her absente mate,
Who atte Seyncte Albonns shouke the morthyng⁷ speare.
The nottebrowne Ellynor to Juga fayre,
Dyde speke acroole⁸, with languyshmente of eyne,
Lyke droppes of pearlie dewe, lemed⁹ the quyvrynge brine.

ELINOUR.—O gentle Juga ! hear mie dernie¹⁰ plainte,
To fyghte for Yorke mie love is dyght¹¹ in stele ;
O mai ne sanguen steine the whyte rose peyncte,
Maie good Seyncte Cuthberte watch syrr Robynne wele !
Moke moe thanne death in phantasie I feelle ;
See ! see ! upon the grounde he bleedyng lies !
Inhild¹² some joice¹³ of life, or else my deare love dies.

JUGA.—Systers in sorrowe on thys daise ey'd banke,
Where melancholych broods, we wylle lamente :
Be wette with mornyng dewe and evene danke ;
Lyche levynde¹⁴ okes in eche the oder bente :
Or lyke forletten¹⁵ halles of merriemente,
Whose gastlie¹⁶ nitches holde the traine of fryghte¹⁷,
Where lethale¹⁸ ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.
No mo the miskynette¹⁹ shalle wake the morne,

¹ BELLACCOYLE. A personage in Chaucer's *Rom. R.* v, 2984, &c. i.e. *KIND WELCOME*.
From the Fr. *Bel accueil*.

² *Snuff up*.

³ The minstrels cease.

⁴ *Dine*.

⁵ Rudborn, in Saxon, red-water, a river near Saint Albans.

⁶ Lamenting.

⁷ Murdering.

⁸ Faintly.

⁹ Glistened.

¹⁰ Sad complaint.

¹¹ Arrayed, or cased.

¹² Infuse.

¹³ Juice

¹⁴ Blasted.

¹⁵ Forsaken.

¹⁶ Ruins.

¹⁷ Fear.

¹⁸ Deadly, or death-hoding.

¹⁹ A small bagpipe.

The minstrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie ;
 No mo the amblynge palfrie and the horne,
 Shall from the lessel¹ rouze the foxe awaie :
 Ill seke the foreste alle the lyve-longe daie :
 Alle nete amenge the gravde cherche² glebe wyll goe,
 And to the passante spryghtes lecture³ mie tale of woe.
 Whan mokie⁴ cloudes do hange upon the leme
 Of leden⁵ moon, ynn sylver mantels dyghte :
 The tryppeynge faeries weve the golden dreme
 Of selyness⁶, whyche flyethe with the nyghte ;
 Thenne (but the seynctes forbydde) gif to a spryghte
 Syrre Rychardes forme is lyped ; I'll holde dysstraughte
 His bledeynge clai-colde corse, and die eche daie yn thoughte.

ELINOUR.—Ah, woe-bementynge wordes ; what wordes can showe !
 Thou limed⁷ river, on thie linche⁸ mai bleede
 Champyons, whose bloude wylle wythe thie waterres flowe,
 And Rudborne streeme be rudborne streeme indeede !
 Haste gentle Juga, trippe ytte o'ere the meade
 To know or wheder wee muste waile agayne,
 Or whythe oure fallen knyghte be menged onne the plain.
 So saicing, lyke twa levyn-blasted trees,
 Or twain of cloudes that holdeth stormie raine,
 Theie moved gentle o'ere the dewe mees⁹ ;
 To where Seyncte Albon's holie shrynes remayne.
 There dyd theye finde that bothe their knyghtes were sleyn ;
 Distraughte¹⁰, theie wandered to swollen Rudborne's syde,
 Yelled theye leathalle knelle, sonke in the waves and dyde.

In a DIALOGUE, or ECLOGUE, spoken by two ladies, are these lines.

Sprytes of the blaste, the pious Nygelle fedde
 Powre oute your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde.
 Richard of lyonn's harte to fyghte is gonne,
 Uppon the broad sea doe the banners gleme ;
 The aminusedd natyons be astonn
 To ken syke¹¹ large a slete, syke fyne, syke breme¹² :
 The barkis hefoods coupe the lymed¹³ streme :
 Oundes¹⁴ synkyng oundes uppon the hard ake¹⁵ rise ;
 The waters slughornes wyth a swoty cleme
 Conteke¹⁶ the dynninge¹⁷ ayre, and reche¹⁸ the skies.
 Sprytes of the blaste, on gouldenn trones astedde¹⁹,
 Powre oute your pleasaunce on mie fadres hedde !

I am of opinion, that none of these pieces are genuine, The EXECUTION of SIR CHARLES BAUDWIN is now allowed to be modern, even

¹ In a confined sense, a bush or hedge, though sometimes used as a forest.

² Church-yard, full of graves.

³ Relate.

⁴ Black.

⁵ Decreasing.

⁶ Happiness. Chaucer, Tr. CRES. iii. 815.

⁷ Glassy.

⁸ Bank.

⁹ Meads.

¹⁰ Distracted.

¹¹ So.

¹² Fierce.

¹³ Polished. Bright.

¹⁴ Waters.

¹⁵ Oak.

Ship.

¹⁶ Contend with.

¹⁷ Noisy.

¹⁸ Reach.

¹⁹ Seated.

by those who maintain all the other poems to be ancient¹. The ODE TO ELLA, and the EPISTLE to Lydgate, with his ANSWER, were written on one piece of parchment; and, as pretended, in Rowlie's own hand. This was shewn to an ingenious critic and intelligent antiquary of my acquaintance; who assures me, that the writing was a gross and palpable forgery. It was not even skilfully counterfeited. The form of the letters, although artfully contrived to wear an antiquated appearance, differed very essentially from every one of our early alphabets. Nor were the characters uniform and consistent: part of the same manuscript exhibiting some letters shaped according to the present round hand, while others were traced in imitation of the ancient court and text hands. The parchment was old; and that it might look still older, was stained on the outside with ochre, which was easily rubbed off with a linen cloth. Care had also been evidently taken to tincture the ink with a yellow cast. To communicate a stronger stamp of rude antiquity, the ODE was written like prose: no distinction, or termination, being made between the several verses. Lydgate's ANSWER, which makes a part of this MSS., and is written by the same hand, I have already proved to be a manifest imposition. This parchment has since been unfortunately lost². I have myself carefully examined the original MSS., as it is called, of the little piece entitled, ACCOUNT OF W. CANNYNGE'S FEAST. It is likewise on parchment, and I am sorry to say, that the writing betrays all the suspicious signatures which were observed in that of the ODE TO ELLA. I have repeatedly and diligently compared it with three or four authentic MSS. of the time of Edward IV., to all which I have found it totally un-

¹ It contains 98 stanzas, and was printed at London, in the year 1772. 4to. I am told, that in the above-mentioned chest, belonging to Radcliffe-church, an ancient Record was discovered, containing the expenses for Edward IV. to see the execution of sir Charles Baldwin; with a description of a canopy under which the king sat at this execution. This Record seems to have given rise to the poem. A bond which sir Charles Baldwin gave to Henry VI, I suppose about seizing the earl of Warwick, is said to have been mentioned in one of Rowlie's MSS., called the YELLOW ROLL, perhaps the same, found in Cannyng's chest, but now lost. Stowe's CHRON. by Howes, edit. fol. 1615. p. 406, col. 2. And Speed's, p. 669, col. 2, edit. 1611. Stowe says, that Edward IV. was at Bristol, on a progress through England, in the *harvest season* of the year 1462. And that he was *most royally received*. Ibid. p. 416, col. 2. Cannyng was then mayor of Bristol. Sir Charles Baldwin is said to have been executed at Bristol, in the presence of Edward IV. in the year 1463. MSS. Wantn. Bibl. Bodl. ut supr. The same king was at Bristol, and lodged in St. Augustine's abbey, in 1472, when he received a large gratuity from the citizens for carrying on the war against France. Watner, *ibid*. 'I have received some notices from the old registers of St. Ewin's church at Bristol, anciently called the MINISTER, which import, that the church pavement was *washed* against the coming of king Edward. But this does not at all prove or imply that the king *sat at the grete mynsterr windowe* to see the gallant Lancastrian Baldwin pass to the scaffold; a circumstance, and a very improbable one, mentioned in Rowlie's pretended poem on this subject. The notice at most will prove only, that the king assisted at mass in this church, when he came to Bristol. Nor is it improbable, that the other churches of Bristol were cleaned, or adorned, at the coming of a royal guest. Wanter, above quoted, is evidently wrong in the date 1463, which ought to be 1461, or 1462,

² At the same time, another MSS. on parchment, written, as pretended, by Rowlie, was shewn to this gentleman: which, tallying in every respect with the ODE TO ELLA, plainly appeared to be forged, in the same manner, and by the same modern hand. It was in prose; and contained an account of Saxon coins, and the rise of coining in England, with a list of coins, poems, ancient inscriptions, monuments, and other curiosities, in the cabinet of Cannyng above-mentioned. This parchment is also lost; and, I believe, no copy remains.

like. Among other smaller vestiges of forgery, which cannot be so easily described and explained here, at the bottom are added in ink two coats of arms, containing empalements of Cannyng and of his friends or relations, with family-names, apparently delineated by the same pen which wrote the verses. Even the style and the drawing of the armorial bearings discover the hand of a modern herald. This, I believe, is the only pretended original of the poetry of Rowlie, now remaining.

As to internal arguments, an unnatural affectation of ancient spelling and of obsolete words, not belonging to the period assigned to the poems, strikes us at first sight. On these old words combinations are frequently formed, which never yet existed in the unpolished state of the English language: and sometimes the antiquated diction is inartificially misapplied, by an improper contexture with the present modes of speech. The attentive reader will also discern, that our poet sometimes forgets his assumed character, and does not always act his part with consistency: for the chorus, or interlude, of the damsel who drowns herself, which I have cited at length from the TRAGEDY of ELLA, is much more intelligible, and free from uncouth expressions, than the general phraseology of these compositions. In the BATTLE OF HASTINGS, said to be translated from the Saxon, Stonehenge is called a Druidical temple. The battle of Hastings was fought in the year 1066. We will grant the Saxon original to have been written soon afterwards: about which time, no other notion prevailed concerning this miraculous monument, than the supposition which had been delivered down by long and constant tradition, that it was erected in memory of Hengist's massacre. This was the established and uniform opinion of the Welsh and Armorican bards, who most probably received it from the Saxon minstrels: and that this was the popular belief at the time of the battle of Hastings, appears from the evidence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote his history not more than eighty years after that memorable event. And in this doctrine Robert of Gloucester and all the monkish chroniclers agree. That the Druids constructed this stupendous pile for a place of worship, was a discovery reserved for the sagacity of a wiser age, and the laborious discussion of modern antiquaries. In the EPISTLE to Lydgate, prefixed to the TRAGEDY, our poet condemns the absurdity and impropriety of the religious dramas, and recommends SOME GREAT STORY OF HUMAN MANNERS, as most suitable for theatrical representation. But this idea is the result of that taste and discrimination, which could only belong to a more advanced period of society.¹

¹ It would be tedious and trifling to descend to minute particulars. But I will mention one or two. In the ODE TO ELLA, the poet supposes, that the spectre of Ella sometimes appears in the *mynster*, that is Bristol-cathedral. But when Rowlie is supposed to have lived, the

But, above all, the craft of thought, the complexion of the sentiments, and the structure of the composition, evidently prove these pieces not ancient. The ODE TO ELLA, for instance, has exactly the air of modern poetry; such, I mean, as is written at this day, only disguised with antique spelling and phraseology. That Rowlie was an accomplished literary character, a scholar, an historian, and an antiquarian, if contended for, I will not deny¹. Nor is it impossible that he might write English poetry. But that he is the writer of the poems which I have here cited, and which have been so confidently ascribed to him, I am not yet convinced.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe, that these poems were composed by the son of the school-master before mentioned; who inherited the inestimable treasures of Cannynge's chest in Radcliffe-church, as I have already related at large. This youth, who died at eighteen, was a prodigy of genius: and would have proved the first of English poets, had he reached a maturer age. From his childhood, he was fond of reading and writing verses: and some of his early compositions, which he wrote without any design to deceive, have been judged to be most astonishing productions by the first critic of the present age. From his situation and connections, he became a skilful practitioner in various kinds of hand-writing. Availing himself therefore of his poetical talent, and his facility in the graphic art, to a miscellany of obscure and neglected parchments, which were commodiously placed in his own

present cathedral of Bristol was nothing more than an Augustine monastery, in which Henry VIII. established long afterwards a bishop, and a dean and chapter, in the year 1542. *Minster* is a word almost appropriated to Cathedrals: and I will venture to say, that the church of this monastery, before the present foundation took place, never was called *Bristol-minster*, or *The minster*. The inattention to this circumstance, has produced another unfortunate anachronism in some of Rowlie's papers. Where, in his panegyric on Cannynge he says, 'The favouryte of godde, the fryende of the chyrche, the companyonne of kynges, and 'the fadre of hys natyve CITE, the grete and good Wyllyamme Canynge.' Bristol was never styled a CITY till the erection of its bishoprick in 1542. Willis's NOTIT. PARLIAMENT, p. 43. Lond. 1750. See also king Henry's Patent for creating the bishoprick of Bristol, in Rymer, dat. Jun. 4. A.D. 1542. An. reg. 34. Where the king orders, 'Ac quod tota Villa nostra 'Bristollicæ exnunc et deinceps imperpetuum sit Civitas, ipsamque CIVITATEM BRISTOLLICÆ 'appellari et nominari, volumus et decernimus, &c.' FOED. tom. xv. p. 749. Bristol was proclaimed a CITY, an. 35 Henr. viii. MSS. Wantner, ut supr. In which MSS., to that period it is constantly called *town*. I have observed, but for what reason I know not, that St. Ewin's church at Bristol was called the *minster*. I, however, suspect that the poet here means *Bristol cathedral*. He calls, with his accustomed misapplication of old words, *Worcester cathedral* the *minster of our ladia*. But I do not think this was a common appellation for that church. In Lydgate's LIFE OF SAINT ALBAN, *Minster* is used in its first simple acceptance. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. Num. xxxviii. fol. 19.

————— Seynt Albone Of that mynstre leyde the first stone.

That is, of St. Alban's monastery.

The description of Cannynge's feast, is called an ACCOUNTE OF CANNYNGE'S FEAST. I do not think, that so early as the year 1470, the word *Accounte* had lost its literal and original sense of a *computus*, or *computation*, and was used in a looser acceptance for *narrative* or *detail*. Nor had it even then lost its true spelling *accompt*, in which its proper and primary signification is preserved and implied.

¹ He is also said to have been an eminent mechanic and mathematician. I am informed, that one of Rowlie's MSS. discovered in Cannynge's iron chest, was a plan for supporting the tower of the Temple-church in Bristol, which had greatly declined from its perpendicular. In a late reparation of that church, some subterraneous works were found, minutely corresponding with this MSS.

possession, he was tempted to add others of a more interesting nature, and such as he was enabled to forge, under these circumstances, without the fear of detection. As to his knowledge of the old English literature, which is rarely the study of a young poet, a sufficient quantity of obsolete words and phrases were readily attainable from the glossary to Chaucer, and to Percy's Ballads. It is confessed, that this youth wrote the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN : and he who could forge that poem, might easily forge all the rest.

In the mean time, we will allow, that some pieces of poetry written by Rowlie might have been preserved in Cannyng's chest : and that these were enlarged and improved by young Chatterton. But if this was the case, they were so much altered as to become entirely new compositions. The poem which bids the fairest to be one of these originals is CANNYNGE'S FEAST. But the parchment MSS. of this little poem has already been proved to be a forgery. A circumstance which is perhaps alone sufficient to make us suspect that no originals ever existed.

It will be asked, for what end or purpose did he contrive such an imposture ? I answer, from lucrative views ; or perhaps from the pleasure of deceiving the world, a motive which, in many minds, operates more powerfully than the hopes of gain. He probably promised himself greater emoluments from this indirect mode of exercising his abilities : or, he might have sacrificed even the vanity of appearing in the character of an applauded original author, to the private enjoyment of the success of his invention and dexterity.

I have observed above, that Cannyng ordered his iron chest in Radcliffe-church to be solemnly visited once in every year, and that an annual entertainment should be provided for the visitors. In the notices relating to this matter, which some of the chief patrons of Rowlie's poetry have lately sent me from Bristol, it is affirmed, that this order is contained in Cannyng's will : and that he specifies therein, that not only his MSS. evidences above-mentioned, but that the POEMS OF HIS CONFESSOR ROWLIE, which likewise he had deposited in the aforesaid iron chest, were also to be submitted to this annual inspection. This circumstance at first strongly inclined me to think favourably of the authenticity of these pieces. At least it proved, that Rowlie had left some performances in verse. But on examining Cannyng's will, no such order appears. All his bequests relating to Radcliffe-church, of every kind, are the following. He leaves legacies to the vicar, and the three clerks, of the said church : to the two chantry-priests, or chaplains, of his foundation : to the keeper of the PYXIS OBLATIONUM, in the north door : and to the fraternity *commemoracionis martirum*. Also vestments to the altars of Saint Catherine, and saint George. He mentions his tomb built near the altar of St. Catherine, where his late wife is interred. He gives augmentations to the endowment

of his two chantries¹, at the altars of St. Catherine and St. George, above-mentioned. To the choir, he leaves two service-books, called *Liggers*, to be used there, on either side, by his two chantry-priests. He directs, that his funeral shall be celebrated in the said church with a *month's mind*, and the usual solemnities².

Very few anecdotes of Rowlie's life have descended to posterity. The following MEMOIRS of his life are said to have been written by himself in the year 1460, and to have been discovered with his poetry: which perhaps to many readers will appear equally spurious.

'I was fadre confessor to masteres Roberte and mastre William Cannings. Mastre Roberte was a man after his fadre's own harte, greedie of gaynes and sparyng of alms deedes; but master William was mickle courteous, and gave me many marks in my needs. At the age of twenty-two years decesd master Roberte, and by master William's de-syre, bequeathed me one hundred marks; I went to thank master William for his mickle courtesie, and to make tender of my selfe to him.—Fadre, quod he, I have a crotchett in my brayne that will need your aide. Master William, said I, if you command me I will go to Roome for you; not so farr distant, said he: I ken you for a mickle learned priest, if you will leave the parysh of our ladie, and travel for mee, it shall be mickle to your profits.

'I gave my hands, and he told mee I must goe to all the abbies and pryorys, and gather together auncient drawyngs³, if of anie account at any price. Consented I to the same, and pursuant sett out the Mundaie

¹ Compare Willis, *Mitr. Abb.* ii. 83.

² This will is in Latin, dated Nov. 12, 1474. Proved Nov. 59. It was made in Westbury college. Cur. Prærog. Cant. Registr. WATTIS, quatern. xvii. fol. 125. Beside the bequests mentioned in the text, he leaves legacies to all the canons, the chaplains and deacons, and the twelve choristers, of Westbury college. To the six priests, six almsmen and six almswomen, founded in the new chapel at Westbury by Carpenter, bishop of Worcester. To many of the servants of the said college. To the fabric of the church of that college, xls. To rebuilding the tower of the church of Compton Graynefield, xls. He also makes bequests to his almshouses at Bristol, and to the corporation of that town. He remembers some of the religious foundations, (chiefly the mendicants, at Bristol. He styles himself, *nuper mercator villæ Bristoll, et nunc decanus collegii S. Trin. de Westbury*. The subdean of Westbury college is one of the executors. In this will the name of ROWLIE is not mentioned. Compare Tanner, *NOTIT. MONAST.* p. 484. And Atkyns's *GLOUCESTERSH.* p. 802.

Bishop Carpenter, about the year 1460, was a considerable benefactor to Westbury college. He pulled down the old college, 'and in the new building, enlarged it very much, compassing 'it about with a strong wall embattled, adding a faire gate with divers towers, more like unto 'a castle than a college: and lastly, bestowed much good land for augmenting the revenew 'of the same.' Godwin, *SUCCESS. BISHOPS.* p. 446, edit. 1, ut supr. And Leland speaks much to the same purpose. 'Hic [Carpenter] ex veteri collegio, quod erat Westberia, novum 'fecit, et prædiis auxit, addito pinnato muro, porta, et turribus, instar castelli.' *ITIN.* vol. viii. fol. 112, a. And hence it appears to be a mistake, that Cannynge, who was indeed dean while these benefactions took place, rebuilt the college. As Dugd. *WARWICKSH.* p. 634, edit. 1730. Atkyns, *GLOUCESTERSH.* p. 802, supr. citat. p. 140.

³ I much doubt, if this word now existed, in the modern, or any, sense. Indeed, the phrase *to draw a picture* might have been now known: but *to draw*, in its present uncombined use, had not yet acquired this meaning. So late as the reign of James I., a Painter was often called a *picture-drawer*. In ancient inventories of furniture, a *drawing* never occurs as any species of production of the art of designing: it became a technical and distinguishing term when that art began to attain some degree of maturity. *Pictures*, although this word is now confined to a precise signification, would not have been improper here. Yet the word *Picture*, was not anciently used in its present sense and manner: but, a *picture with a cloth, a table with a picture, &c.*

following for the minster of our ladie¹ and St. Goodwyne, where a drawing of a steeple, contrvyd for the belles when runge to swaie out of the syde into the ayre, had I thence, it was done by syr Symon de Mambrie², who in the troublesomme rayne of kyng Stephen devoted himselfe, and was shorne.

'Hawkes showd me a manuscript³ in Saxonne, but I was onley to bargayne for drawyngs.—The next drawyngs I metten with was a church to be reard, so as in form of a cross, the end standing in the ground, a long MSS. was annexd. Master Canning thought no workman culd be found handie enough to do it.—The tale of the drawers deserveth relation.—Thomas de Blunderville, a preeste, although the preeste had no allows, lovd a fair mayden. and on her begett a sonn. Thomas educated his sonn; at sixteen years he went into the warrs, and neer did return for five years.—His mother was married to a knight, and bare a daughter, then sixteen, who was seen and lovd by Thomas, son of Thomas, and married to him unknown to her mother, by Ralph de Mesching, of the Minster, who invited, as custom was, two of his brothers, Thomas de Blunderville and John Heschamme. Thomas nevertheless had not seen his sonn for five years, kenning him instantly; and learning the name of the bryde, toke him asyde and disclozd to him that he was his sonn, and was weded to his own sistre.—Yoyng Thomas toke on so that he was shorne.

'He drew manie fine drawings on glass.

'The abbot of the minster of Peterburrow sold it me, he might have bargaynd twenty marks better, but master William would not depart with it. The prior of Coventree did sell me a picture of great account, made by Badilian Y'allyanne, who did lyve in the rayne of kyng Henrie I., a mann of fickle temper, havyng been tendred syx pounds of silver for it, to which he said naie, and afterwards did give it to the then abbott⁴ of Coventree. In brief, I gathered together manie marks value of fine drawyngs, all the works of mickle cunning.—Master William culld the moist choise parts, but hearing of a drawyng in Durham church hee did send me.

'Fadree you have done mickle well, all the chatills are more worth than you gave; take this for your payness: so saying, he did put into my hands a purse of two hundreds good pounds, and did say that I should note be in need, I did thank him most heartily.—The choise drawyng, when his fadre did dye, was begunn to be put up, and somme houses neer the old church erased; it was drawn by Aslema, preest of

¹ I suppose, Worcester cathedral.

² Or Malmesbury.

³ This was not an English word at this early period; it was not used, and for obvious reasons, till after the invention of printing. So again we have below, 'the Saxon *manuscript*.' These, at this time, would have been called *books*.

⁴ This should have been *Prior*. An *abbot* was never the title of the superiour in cathedral-convents. The PRIOR OF COVENTRY must have been a dignitary well-known by that name, as he sate in parliament.

St. Cutchburts, and offerd as a drawing for Westminster, but cast asyde, being the tender did not speak French.

'I had now mickle of ryches, and lyvd in a house on the hyll, often repaying to mastere William, who was now lord of the house. I sent him my verses touching his church, for which he did send me mickle good things.

'In the year kyng Edward came to Bristow, Master Cannings send for me to avoid a marriage which the kyng was bent upon between him and a ladie he neer had seen, of the familie of the Winddivilles, the danger where nigh, unless avoided by one remidee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a sonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of kyniges in that cause, and can be wedded.—Mr. Cannings instantly sent me to Carpenter, his good friend, bishop of Worcester, and the Fryday following was prepaired and ordaynd the next day, the daie of St. Mathew, and on Sunday sung his first mass in the church of our ladie¹, to the astonishing of kyng Edward, who was so furiously madd and ravyns withall, that master Cannings was wyling to give him three thousand markes, which made him peace again, and he was admyted to the presence of the kyng, staid in Bristow, partook of all his pleasures and pastimes till he departed the next year.

'I gave master Cannings my Bristow tragedy², for which he gave me in hands twentie pound, and did praise it more than I did think myself did deserve, for I can say in troth I was never proud of my verses since I did read master Chaucer; and now haveing nought to do, and not wyling to be ydle, I went to the minster of our Ladie and St. Goodwin, and then did purchase the Saxon manuscripts, and sett myself diligently to translate and worde it in English metre, which in one year I performd and settled in the Battle of Hastyngs; master William did bargyin for one to be manuscript, and John Pelham, an esquire, of Ashley, for another.—Master William did praise it muckle greatly, but advisd me to tender it to no man, beyng the mann whose name where therein mentioned would be offended. He gave me twenty markes, and I did go to Ashley, to master Pelham, to be payd of him for the other one I left with him.

'But his ladie being of the family of the Fiscamps³, of whom some things are said, he told me he had burnt it, and would have me burnt too if I did not avaunt. Dureing this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn to speake by a figure would have over founded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe; and I was fain content to gett away in a safe skin.

¹ Most probably Worcester cathedral.

² That is, the poem called the EXECUTION OF SIR CHARLES BAWDWIN, mentioned above p. 153. What is there said concerning this poem, greatly invalidates the authenticity of these MEMOIRS. Rowlie might indeed write a poem on this subject; but not the poem which was circulated as his.

³ A Norman family.

‘I wrote my Justice of Peace¹, which master Cannings advisd me secrett to keep, which I did; and now being grown auncient I was seizd with great pains, which did cost me mickle of marks to be cured off.—Master William offered me a canon’s place in Westbury collige, which gladly had I accepted, but my pains made me to staie at home. After this mischance I livd in a house by the Tower, which has not been repaird since Robert Consull of Gloucester repayrd the castle and wall; here I livd warm, but in my house on the hyll the ayre was mickle keen, some marks it cost me to put it in repair my new house, and brynging my chattels from the ould; it was a fine house, and I much marville it was untenanted. A person greedy of gains was the then possessour, and of him I did buy it at a very small rate, having lookd on the ground works and mayne supports, and fynding them staunch, and repays no need wanting, I did buy of the owner, Geoffry Coombe, on a *repayring lease* for ninety-nine years², he thinkyng it would fall down everie day; but with a few marks expense did put it up in a manner neat, and therein I lyvd.’

It is with regret that I find myself obliged to pronounce Rowlie’s poems to be spurious. Ancient remains of English poetry, unexpectedly discovered, and fortunately rescued from a long oblivion, are contemplated with a degree of fond enthusiasm: exclusive of any real or intrinsic excellence, they afford those pleasures, arising from the idea of antiquity, which deeply interest the imagination. With these pleasures we are unwilling to part. But there is a more solid satisfaction, resulting from the detection of artifice and imposture.

What is here said of Rowlie, was not only written, but printed, almost two years before the correct and complete edition of his Poems appeared. Had I been apprised of that publication, I should have been much more sparing in my specimens of these forgeries, which had been communicated to me in MSS., and which I imagined I was imparting to my readers as curiosities. I had as yet seen only a few extracts of these poems; nor were those transcripts which I received, always exact. Circumstances which I mention here, to shew the inconveniences under which I laboured, both with regard to my citations and my criticisms. These scanty materials, however, contained sufficient evidence to convince me, that the pieces were not genuine.

The entire and accurate collection of Rowlie’s now laid before the public, has been so little instrumental in inducing me to change my opinion, that it has served to exemplify and confirm every argument which I have produced in support of my suspicions of an imposition. It has likewise afforded some new proofs.

Those who have been conversant in the works even of the best of

¹ I know nothing of this piece.

² I very much question, whether this technical law-term, or even this mode of contract, existed in the year 1460.

our old English poets, well know, that one of their leading characteristics is inequality. In these writers, splendid descriptions, ornamental comparisons, poetical images, and striking thoughts, occur but rarely : for many pages together, they are tedious, prosaic, and uninteresting. On the contrary, the poems before us are every where supported ; they are throughout, poetical and animated. They have no imbecilities of style or sentiment. Our old English bards abound in unnatural conceptions, strange imaginations, and even the most ridiculous absurdities. But Rowlie's poems present us with no incongruous combinations, no mixture of manners, institutions, customs, and characters. They appear to have been composed after ideas of discrimination had taken place ; and when even common writers had begun to conceive, on most subjects, with precision and propriety. There are indeed, in the *BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, some great anachronisms ; and practices are mentioned which did not exist till afterwards. But these are such inconsistencies, as proceeded from fraud as well as ignorance : they are such as no old poet could have possibly fallen into, and which only betray an unskilful imitation of ancient manners. The verses of Lydgate and his immediate successors are often rugged and unmusical : but Rowlie's poetry sustains one uniform tone of harmony ; and, if we brush away the asperities of the antiquated spelling, conveys its cultivated imagery in a polished and agreeable strain of versification. Chatterton seems to have thought, that the distinction of old from modern poetry consisted only in the use of old words. In counterfeiting the coins of a rude age, he did not forget the usual application of an artificial rust : but this disguise was not sufficient to conceal the elegance of the workmanship.

The *BATTLE OF HASTINGS*, just mentioned, might be proved to be a palpable forgery for many other reasons. It is said to be translated from the Saxon of Turgot. But Turgot died in 1015, and the battle of Hastings was fought in 1066. We will, however, allow, that Turgot lived in the reign of the Conqueror. But, on that supposition, is it not extraordinary, that a contemporary writer should mention no circumstances of this action which we did not know before, and which are not to be found in Malmesbury, Ordericus Vitalis, and other ancient chroniclers ? Especially as Turgot's description of this battle was professedly a detached and separate performance, and at least, on that account, would be a minute circumstantial. An original and a contemporary writer, describing this battle, would not only have told us something new, but would otherwise have been full of particularities. The poet before us dwells on incidents common to all battles, and such as were easily to be had from Pope's *HOMER*. We may add, that this piece not only detects itself, but demonstrates the spuriousness of all the rest. Chatterton himself allowed the first part of it to be a forgery of his own. The second part, from what has been said,

could not be genuine. And he who could write the second part was able to write every line in the whole collection. But while I am speaking of this poem, I cannot help exposing the futility of an argument which has been brought as a decisive evidence of its originality. It is urged, that the names of the chiefs who accompanied the Conqueror, correspond with the Roll of Battle-Abbey. As if a modern forger could not have seen this venerable record. But, unfortunately, it is printed in Hollinshead's Chronicle.

It is said that Chatterton, on account of his youth and education, could not write these poems. This may be true; but it is no proof that they are not forged. Who was their author, on the hypothesis that Rowlie was not, is a new and another question. I am, however, of opinion that it was Chatterton. For if we attend only to some of the pieces now extant in a periodical magazine, which he published under his own signature, and which are confessedly of his composition, to his letters now remaining in MSS., and to the testimony of those that were acquainted with his conversation, he will appear to have been a singular instance of a prematurity of abilities; to have acquired a store of general information far exceeding his years, and to have possessed that comprehension of mind, and activity of understanding, which predominated over his situations in life, and his opportunities of instruction. Some of his publications in the magazines discover also his propensity to forgery, and more in the walk of ancient manners, which seem greatly to have struck his imagination. These, among others, are *ETHELGAR*, a *Saxon poem* in prose; *KENRICK*, translated from the *Saxon*; *CERDICH*, translated from the *Saxon*; *GODRED CROVAN* a Poem, composed by *Dothnel Syrric king of the isle of Man*; *The HIRLAS*, composed by *Blythyn, prince of North Wales*; *GOTHMUND*, translated from the *Saxon*; *ANECDOTE OF CHAUCER*, and of the *ANTIQUITY OF CHRISTMAS GAMES*. The latter piece, in which he quotes a register of *Keinsham NUNNERY*, which was a priory of Black canons, and advances many imaginary facts, strongly shews his track of reading, and his fondness for antiquarian imagery. In this monthly collection he inserted ideal drawings of six achievements of Saxon heraldry, of an inedited coin of queen *Sexburgeo*, wife of king *Kinewalch*, and of a Saxon amulet; with explanations equally fantastic and arbitrary. From Rowlie's pretended parchments he produced several heraldic delineations. He also exhibited a draught by Rowlie of *Bristol castle* in its perfect state. I very much doubt if this fortress was not almost totally ruinous in the reign of *Edward IV.* This draught, however, was that of an edifice evidently fictitious. It was exceedingly ingenious; but it was the representation of a building which never existed, in a capricious and affected style of Gothic architecture, reducible to no period or system.

To the whole that is here suggested on this subject, let us add Chat-

terton's inducements and qualifications for forging these poems, arising from his character, and way of living. He was an adventurer, a professed hireling in the trade of literature, full of projects and inventions, artful, enterprising, unprincipled, indigent, and compelled to subsist by expedients.

SECTION XXVII.

THE subsequent reigns of Richard III., Edward V., and Henry VII., abounded in obscure versifiers.

A mutilated poem which occurs among the Cotton MMS. in the British Museum, and principally contains a satire on the nuns, who not less from the nature of their establishment, than from the usual degeneracy which attends all institutions, had at length lost their originally purity, seems to belong to this period¹. It is without wit, and almost without number. It was written by one Bertram Walton, whose name now first appears in the catalogue of English poets; and whose life I calmly resign to the researches of some more laborious and more patient antiquary.

About the year 1480, or rather before, Benedict Burgh, a master of arts of Oxford, among other promotions in the Church, archdeacon of Colchester, prebendary of St. Paul's and canon of St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster², translated Cato's MORALS into the royal stanzas, for the use of his pupil lord Bouchier son of the earl of Essex³.

¹ Disadvantageous suspicions against the chastity of the female religious were pretended in earlier times. About the year 1250, a bishop of Lincoln visited the nunneries of his diocese: on which occasion, says the continuator of Matthew Paris, 'ad domos religiosarum veniens, fecit EXPRIMI MAMILLAS earundem, ut sic physice, si esset inter eas corruptela, experiretur.' Matt. Paris. Hist. p. 789. HENRICUS iii. edit. Tig. 1589. fol. An anecdote, which the historian relates with indignation; not on account of the nuns, but of the bishop.

² Newcourt, Repertor. i. 90. ii. 517. The university sealed his letters testimonial, jul. 3. A.D. 1433. Registr. Univ. Oxon. supr. citat. T. f. 27. b. He died A.D. 1483. In the British Museum, there is a poem entitled, A CRISTEMASSE GAME made by maister BENET howe God Almighty seyed to his apostelys and echeon of them were baptiste and none knew of othir.' The piece consists of twelve stanzas, an apostle being assigned to each stanza. Probably maister Benet is Benedict Burgh. MSS. HARL. 7333. This is saint Paul's stanza.

Doctour of gentiles, a perfite Paule,
By grace convertid from thy grete erreure,
And cruelte, changed to Paule from Saule,
Of fayth and trouth most perfyte prechoure,
Slayne at Rome undir thilke emperoure
Cursyd Nero, Paule syt down in thy place
To the ordayned by purveaunce of grace.

³ Gascoigne says that 'rithme royal is a verse of ten syllables, and ten such verses make a staffe, &c.' Instructions for verse, &c. Sign. D. i. ad calc. WORKES, 1587. Burgh's stanza is here called *balade royall*: by which, I believe, is commonly signified the *octave stanza*. All those pieces in Chaucer, called *Certaine Ballads*, are in this measure. In Chaucer's LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN, written in long verse, a song of three octave stanzas is introduced; beginning, *Hide Absolon thy gilte trossis clere*. v. 249. p. 340. Urr. Afterwards, Cupid says, v. 537. p. 342.

Encouraged by the example and authority of so venerable and ecclesiastic, and tempted probably by the convenient opportunity of pilfering phraseology from a predecessor in the same arduous task, Caxton translated the same Latin work; but from the French version of a Latin paraphrase, and into English prose, which he printed in the year 1483. He calls, in his preface, the measure, used by Burgh, the BALAD ROYAL. Caxton's translation, which superseded Burgh's work, and with which it is confounded, is divided into four books, which comprehended seventy-two heads.

I do not mean to affront my readers, when I inform them, without any apology, that the Latin original of this piece was not written by Cato the censor, nor by Cato Uticensis¹: although it is perfectly in the character of the former, and Aulus Gellius has quoted Cato's poem DE MORIBUS². Nor have I the gravity of the learned Boxhornius, who in a prolix and elaborate dissertation has endeavoured to demonstrate, that these distichs are undoubtedly supposititious, and that they could not possibly be written by the very venerable Roman whose name they bear. The title is DISTICHA DE MORIBUS AD FILIUM, which are distributed into four books, under the name of Dionysius Cato. But he is frequently called MAGNUS CATO.

This work has been absurdly attributed by some critics to Seneca, and by others to Ausonius³. It is, however, more ancient than the time of the emperor Valentinian III., who died in 455⁴. On the other hand, it was written after the appearance of Lucan's PHARSALIA, as the author, at the beginning of the second book, commends Virgil, Macer⁵, Ovid, and Lucan. The name of Cato probably became prefixed to these distichs, in a lower age, by the officious ignorance of transcribers, and from the acquiescence of readers equally ignorant, as Marcus Cato

— a ful grete negligence
Was it to thee, that ilke time thou made,
Hide Absolon thy tressis, in BALADE.

In the British Museum there is a *Kalandre in Englyshe, made in BALADE by Dann John Lydgate monke of Bury*. That is, in this stanza. MSS. Harl. 1706. 2. fol. 10. b. The reader will observe, that whether there are eight or seven lines, I have called it the *octave stanza*. Lydgate has, most commonly, only seven lines. As in his poem on Guy earl of Warwick, MSS. Laud. D. 31. fol. 64. *Here ginneth the lyff of Guy of Warwyk*. Pr. from Criste's birth complet nine 100 yere.] He is speaking of Guy's combat with the Danish giant Colbrand, at Winchester.

Without the gate remembered as I rede, The place callyd of antiquyte
In Inglysh tonge named *hyde mede*, Or ellis *denmarch* nat far from the cyte:
Meeting to gedre, there men myght see
Terryble strokys, lyk the dent of thonder; Sparklys owt of thar harnys, &c.

¹ Vignol. Marville. Miscell. tom. i. p. 56.

² Noct. Att. xi. 2.

³ It was printed under the name of Ausonius, Rostoch. 1572. 8vo.

⁴ Ex. Epistol. Vindiciani Medici, ad Valent. They are mentioned by Notkerus, who flourished in the tenth century, among the *Metrorum, Hymnorum, Epigrammatumque conditores*. Cap. vi. DE ILLUSTRIB. VIR. etc. printed by Fabric. M. Lat. v. p. 904.

⁵ The poem DE VIRTUTIBUS HERBARUM, under the name of Macer, now extant, was written by Odo, or Odobonus, a physician of the dark ages. It was translated into English by John Lelarmoner, or Lelamar, master of Hereford school, about the year 1373. MSS. Sloane. 29. *Prince*. 'Apium, Ache is hote and drie. There is *Macer's Herbal*, ibid. 43. This seems to have been printed, see Ames, p. 158.

had written a set of moral distichs. Whoever was the author, this metrical system of ethics had attained the highest degree of estimation in the barbarous ages. Among Langbain's MMS. bequeathed to the university of Oxford by Antony Wood, it is accompanied with a Saxon paraphrase¹. John of Salisbury, in his POLYCRATICON, mentions it as the favorite and established manual in the education of boys².

¹ Cod. 12. [8615.]

² Polycrat. vii. g. p. 373. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. It is cited, *ibid.* p. 116, 321, 512. In the ART OF VERSIFICATION, a Latin poem, written by Eberhardus Bethuniensis, about the year 1212, there is a curious passage, in which all the classics of that age are recited; or the best authors, then in vogue, and whom he recommends to be taught to youth. [Leyser. Poet. Med. æv. p. 825.] They are, CATO the moralist. THEODULUS, the author of a leonine Eclogue, a dialogue between Truth and Falsehood, written in the tenth century, printed among the OCTO MORALES, and by Goldastus, Man. Bibl. 1620. 8vo. MSS. Harl. 3093. 4. Wynkyn de Worde printed this piece under the title of *Theodoli liber, cum commento satis prolixo auctoris cujusdam Anglici qui multa Anglicana ubique miscuit.* 1515. 4to. It was from one of Theodulus's ECLOGUES, beginning *Æthiopum terras*, that Field, master of Fotheringay college, about the year 1480, *sette the versis of the book caullid Æthiopum terras, in the glasse windowe, with figures very neatly.* Leland. ITIN. i. fol. 5. (p. 7. edit. 1745.) This seems to have been in a window of the new and beautiful cloister, built about that time. FLAVIUS AVIANUS, a writer of Latin fables, or apologues, Lugd. Bat. 1731. 8vo. ÆSOP, or the latin fabulist, printed among the OCTO MORALES, Lugd. Bat. 1505. 4to. MAXIMIANUS, whose six elegies, written about the seventh century, pass under the name of Gallus. Chaucer cites this writer; and in a manner, which shews his elegies had not then acquired the name of Gallus. COURT OF L. v. 798. 'MAXIMINIAN truly thus doeth 'he write.' PAMPHILUS MAURILIANUS, author of the hexametrical poem de *Vetula*, and the elegies de *Arte amendi*, entitled PAMPHILUS, published by Goldastus, Catalect. Ovid. Francos. 1610. 8vo. GETA, or *Yosidius Geta*, who has left a tragedy on Medea, printed in part by Pet. Scriverius, Fragm. Vett. Tragic. Lat. p. 187. DARES PHRYGIUS, on the destruction of Troy. MACER. MARBODEUS, a Latin poet on *Gems*. PETRUS DE RIGA, canon of Rheims, whose AURORA, or the *History of the Bible allegorised*, in Latin verses, some of which are in rhyme, was never printed entire. He has left also *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, with other pieces, in Latin poetry. He flourished about the year 1130. SEDULIUS, PROSPER, ARATOR, PRUDENTIUS, BOETHIUS, ALANUS, author of the *Vnticlaudian*, a poem in nine books, occasioned by the scepticism of Claudian. VIRGIL, HORACE, OVID, LUCAN, STATIUS, JUVENAL, and PERSIUS. JOHN HANVILLE, an Englishman, who wrote the ARCHITRENIUS, in the twelfth century, a Latin hexameter poem in nine books. PHILIP GUALTIER, of Chatillon, who wrote about the same period, the ALEXANDREID, an heroic poem on Alexander the great. SOLYMARIUS, or GUNTHER, a German Latin poet, author of the ZOLYMARIUM, or *Crusade*. GALEFRIDUS, our countryman, whose NOVA POETRIA was in higher celebrity than Horace's *Art of Poetry*. MATTHEWS, of Vendosme, who in the year 1170, paraphrased the *Book of Tobit* into Latin elegiacs, from the Latin Bible of saint Jerom, under the title of the TOBIAD, sometimes called the THEBAID, and first printed among the OCTO MORALES. ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, whose DOCTRINALE, or Grammar in Leonine verse, superseded Priscian about the year 1200. It was first printed at Venice, fol. 1473. And by Wynkyn de Worde, 1503. He was a French frier minor, and also wrote the ARGUMENTS of the chapters of all the books of either Testament, in 212 hexameters. With some other forgotten pieces. MARCIANUS CAPELLA, whose poem on the MARRIAGE OF MERCURY with PHILOLOGY rivalled Boethius. JOANNES DE GARLANDIA, an Englishman, a poet and grammarian, who studied at Paris about the year 1200. The most eminent of his numerous Latin poems, which crowd our libraries, seem to be his EPITHALAMIUM on the Virgin Mary in ten books of elegiacs. MSS. Cotton. CLAUD. A. x. And DE TRIUMPHIS ECCLESIE, in eight books, which contains much English history. MSS. *ibid.* Some of his pieces, both in prose and verse, have been printed. BERNARDUS CARNOTENSIS, or *Sylvester*, much applauded by John of Salisbury, who styles him the most perfect Platonic of that age. Metallog. iv. c. 33. His MEGACOSM and MICROCOSM, a work consisting both of verse and prose, is frequently cited by the barbarous writers. He is imitated by Chaucer, *Man of L. Tale*, v. 4617. In sterres many a winter, &c.' PHYSIOLOGUS, or THEOBALDUS EPISCOPUS, who wrote in Latin verse *Le Naturis xii. animalium*, MSS. Harl. 3093. 5. He is there called *Italicus*. There is also a *Magister FLORINUS*, styled also PHYSIOLOGUS, on the same subject. Chaucer quotes PHYSIOLOGUS, whom I by mistake have supposed to be Pliny. 'For PHYSIOLOGUS says sikerly.' NONNES PR. TALE. v. 1527. SIDONIUS, who wrote a metrical dialogue between a Jew and a Christian on both the Testaments. And a SIDONIUS, perhaps the same, *regis qui fingit praelia*. To these our author adds his own GRECISMUS, or a poem in hexameters on rhetoric and grammar; which, as Du Cange [Præf. Lat. Gloss. XLV.] observes, was anciently a common manual in the seminaries of France, and, I suppose, also of England.

To enumerate no others, it is much applauded by Isidore the old etymologist¹, Alcuine², and Abelard³: and we must acknowledge, that the writer, exclusively of the utility of his precepts, possesses the merit of a nervous and elegant brevity. It is perpetually quoted by Chaucer. In the MILLER'S TALE, he reproaches the simple carpenter for having never read in Cato, that a man should marry his own likeness. [V. 3227.] And in the MARCHAUNT'S TALE, having quoted Seneca to prove that no blessing is equal to an humble wife, he adds Cato's precept of prudently bearing a scolding wife with patience. [V. 9261.] It was translated into Greek at Constantinople by Maximus Planudes, who has the merit of having familiarised to his countrymen many Latin classics of the lower empire, by metaphrastic version⁴: and at the restoration of learning in Europe, illustrated with a commentary by Erasmus, which is much extolled by Luther. [Colloqu. Mensal. c. 37.] There are two or three French translations⁵. That of Mathurine Corderoy is dedicated to Robert Stephens. In the British Museum, there is a French translation by Helis de Guincestre, or Winchester; made, perhaps, at the time when our countrymen affected to write more in French than English⁶. Chaucer constantly calls this writer CATON or CATHON, which shews that he was more familiar in French than in Latin. Caxton in the preface to his aforesaid translation affirms, that Poggius Florintinus, whose library was furnished with the most valuable authors, esteemed CATHON GLOSED, that is, Cato with notes, to be the best book in his collection⁷. The glossarist I take to be Philip de Pergamo, a prior at Padua; who wrote a most elaborate MORALISATION on Cato, under the title of SPECULUM REGIMINIS, so early as the year 1380⁸. In the same preface, Caxton observes, that it is *the beste boke for to be taught to yonge children in scole*. But he supposes the author to be Marcus Cato, whom he duly celebrates with the two Scipios and other *noble Romaynes*. A kind of supplement to this work, and often its companion, under the title of CATO PARVUS, or *Facetus*, or *Urbanus*, was written by Daniel Churchc, or Ecclesiensis, a domestic in the court of Henry II., a learned prince and a patron of scholars, about the year 1180⁹. This

¹ Etymol. V. OFFICIPERDA.

² Lib. i. Theol. Christ. p. 1183.

³ Contra Elipand. lib. ii. p. 949.

⁴ It occurs often among the Baroccian MSS., Bibl. Bodl. viz. 64. 71, bis. 95. III. 104. The first edition of Cato, soon followed by many others, I believe, is Aug. A.D. 1485. The most complete edition is that of Christ. Daumius, Cygn. 1672. 8vo. Containing the Greek metaphrases of Maximus Planudes, Joseph Scaliger, Matthew Zuber, and John Mylius, a German version by Martinus Apicius, with annotations and other accessions. It was before translated into German rhymes by Abraham Morterius, of Wissenburgh, Francos. 1590. 8vo.

⁵ One by Peter Grosnet, *Les mots dorez du sage Caton*. Paris. 1543.

⁶ MSS. Harl. 4388. This MSS. is older than 1400. Du Cange quotes a CATO in French rhymes. Gl. Lat. V. LECATOR. MSS. Ashmol. 789. 2. [6995.] In Bennet college library, there is a copy of the French CATO by Helis de Winchester, MSS. ccccv. 24. fol. 317. It is entitled and begins thus. *Les Distiches Morales de CATON mises en vers par Helis de Guincestre*.

Ki vout saver la faitement

Ki Catun a sun fiz a prent,

was also translated by Burghe; and in the British museum, both the CATOS of his version occur, as forming one and the same work, viz. *Liber MINORIS Catonis, et MAJORIS, translatus a Latino in Anglicum per Mag. Benet Borugh*¹. Burghe's performances, is too jejune for the transcription; and, I suspect, would not have afforded a single splendid extract, had even the Latin possessed any sparks of poetry. It is indeed true, that the only critical excellence of the original, which consist of a terse conciseness of sentences, although not always expressed in the purest latinity, will not easily bear to be transfused. Burghe, but without sufficient foundation, is said to have finished Lydgate's GOVERNAUNCE OF PRINCIS².

About the year 1481, Julian Barnes, more properly Berners, sister of Richard lord Berners, and prioress of the nunnery of Sopewell, wrote three English tracts on *Hawking, Hunting, and Armory, or Heraldry*, which were soon afterwards printed in the neighbouring³ monastery of St. Alban's⁴. From an abbess disposed to turn author, we might

Si en Latin nel set entendre, Jci le pot en rumainz¹ aprendre,
Cum Helis de Guyncestre

Ki deu met a se destre La translate si fatemente.

Cod. membran. 4to. The transcript is of the fourteenth century. Compare Verdier, BIBL. FRANC. tom. iii. p. 288. edit. 1772. In the Latin Chronicle of Anonymus Salernitanus, written about the year 900, the writer mentions a description in Latin verse of the palace of the city of Salerno, but laments that it was rendered illegible through length of time; 'Nam si unam paginam fuisset nacti, comparare illos [versus] profecto potuissimus Maroni in voluminibus, CATONIQUE, sive profecto aliis Sophistis,' cap. xxviii. col. 195, B. tom. ii. P. ii. SCRIPTOR. RER. ITAL. Mediolan. 1726.

⁷ Many of the glossed manuscripts, so common in the libraries, were the copies with which pupils in the university attended their readers, or lecturers; from whose mouths paraphrastic notes were interlined or written in the margin, by the more diligent hearers. In a Latin translation of some of Aristotle's philosophical works, once belonging to Rochester priory, and transcribed about the year 1350, one Henry de Rewham is said to be the writer; and to have glossed the book, during the time he heard it explained by a public reader in the schools of Oxford. 'Et audivit in scholis Oxonie, et emendavit et GLOSAVIT audiendo.' MSS. Reg. 12 G. ii. 4to. In the mean time, I am of opinion, that the word 'reader' originally took its rise from a paucity of books: when there was only ONE book to be had, which a professor or lecturer recited to a large audience.

⁸ Printed Aug. 1475. In Exeter college library, there is CATO MORALISATUS, MSS. 37. [337.] And again at All Souls, MSS. g. (1410.) Compare MSS. More, 35. [9221.] And Bibl. Coll. Trin. Dublin, 651. 14. And MSS. Harl. 6294.

⁹ MSS. Coll. Trin. Dublin. 275. And Bibl. Eccles. Vigorn sub. Tit. URBANUS, MSS. 147. One Tedbaldus, of the same age, is called the author, from a MSS. cited, Giornal. Lett. d'Ital. iv. p. 181. In Lewis's CAXTON, in a collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's poems by Caxton, without date, are recited 3. PARVUS CATO. 4. MAGNUS CATO. p. 104. What these translations are I know not. Besides Caxton's CATO, mentioned above, there is a separate work by Caxton, 'Hic incipit PARVUS CATON,' in English and Latin. No date. Containing 37 leaves in 4to. I find PARVUS CATO in English rhyme, MSS. Vernon. Bibl. Bodl. fol. cccx. The Latin of the lesser CATO is printed among AUCTORES OCTO MORALES, Lugd. 1538. Compare MSS. Harl. 2251. iii. fol. 174. 112. fol. 175. A translation into English verses of both CATOS, perhaps by Lydgate. MSS. Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. The PROVERBIA CATONIS are a different work from either of these, written in hexameters by Marbodeus, Opp. Hildebert. p. 1634. Paris 1708. fol.

¹ MSS. Harl. 116. 2. See also, 271. 2.

² There is a translation of the *Wyz Cato*, and *Æsop's Fables*, into English dogrell, by one William Bulloker, for Edm. Bollifant. 1585. This W. Bolloker wrote a *Pamphlet for grammar*, for the same, 1586. 12mo.

³ There was a strong connection between the two monasteries. In that of St. Alban's a monk was annually appointed, with the title of *Custos monialium de Sopewelle*. Registr. Abbat. Wallingford, [Sub. an. 1430.] MSS. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Tanner.

⁴ In the year 1486. fol. Again, at Westminster, by W. de Worde. 1496, 4to. The bar-

more reasonably have expected a manual of meditations for the closet, or select rules for making salves, or distilling strong waters. But the diversions of the field were not thought inconsistent with the character of a religious lady of this eminent rank, who resembled an abbot in respect of exercising an extensive manorial jurisdiction; and who hawked and hunted in common with other ladies of distinction¹. This work, however, is here mentioned, because the second of these treatises is written in rhyme. It is spoken in her own person; in which, being otherwise a woman of authority, she assumes the title of dame. I suspect the whole to be a translation from the French and Latin².

barism of the times strongly appears in the indelicate expressions which she often uses; and which are equally incompatible with her sex and profession. The poem begins thus. (I transcribe from a good MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. papyr. fol.)

Mi dere sones, where ye fare, by frith, or by fell.¹
 Take good hede in his tyme how Tristrem² wol tell;
 How many maner bestes of venery there were,
 Listenes now to our Dame, and ye shullen here.
 Ffowre maner bestes of venery there are,
 The first of hem is a hart, the second is an hare;
 The boor is one of tho,
 The wolff, and no mo.
 And wherso ye comen in play³ or in place,
 Now shal I tel you which ben bestes of chace:
 One of the a buck, another a doo,
 The fflox, and the marteryn, and the wilde roo:
 And ye shall, my dere sones, other bestes all,
 Where so ye hem finde, rascall hem call,
 In frith or in fell,
 Or in florrest, y yow tell.
 And to speke of the hert, if ye wil hit lere,
 Ye shall call him a calfe at the first yere;
 The second yere a broket, so shall he be,
 The third yere a spayard, lerneth this at me;
 The iiiii yere calles hem a stagge be any way
 The fifth yere a grete stagge, my dame bade you say.

Among Crynes's books [911. 4to. Bibl. Bodl.] there is a bl. lett. copy of this piece, 'Im-
 pynted at London in Paul's churchyarde by me Hary Tab.' Again by William Copland
 without date, 'The boke of hawkyng, hunting, and fishing, with all the properties and me-
 decynes that are necessary to be kept.' With wooden cuts. Here the tract on *armory* is
 omitted, which seems to have been first inserted that the work might contain a complete course
 of education for a gentleman. The same title is in W. Powel's edit. 1550. The last edit. is
 'The GENTLEMAN'S ACADEMY, or the book of St. Albans, concerning hawking, hunting, and
 'armory.' Lond. 1595. 4to.

¹ At the magnificent marriage of the princess Margaret with James IV. of Scotland, in
 1503, his majesty sends the new queen, 'a grett tame hart, for to have a corse.' Leland. Coll.
 APPEND. iii. 280. edit. 1770.

² This is the latter part of the colophon at the end of the St. Alban's edition. 'And here
 'now endeth the boke of blasyng of armys, translatyt and compylt togedyr at saynt Albons
 'the yere from thyncarnacyon of oure lorde Jhesu Christ MCCCCLXXXVI.' [This very scarce
 book, printed in various inks, was in the late Mr. West's library.] This part is translated or
 abstracted from Upton's book *De re militari et factis illustribus*, written about the year
 1441. See the fourth book *De insignibus Anglorum nobilium*. Edit. Biss. Lond. 1654. 4to.
 It begins with the following curious piece of sacred heraldry. 'Of the offspring of the
gentilman Jafeth, come Habraham, Moyses, Aron, and the profetys, and also the kyng of the
 'right lyne of Mary, of whom that *gentilman* Jhesus was borne, very god and man: after
 'his manhode kyng of the land of Jude and of Jues, *gentilman* by is moder Mary, *prince*
of Cote armure, &c.'

Nicholas Upton, above mentioned, was a fellow of New college Oxford, about the year 1430.
 He had many dignities in the church. He was patronised by Humphrey duke of Gloucester,
 to whom he dedicates his book.

³ Wood or field.

⁴ Sir Tristram. See OBSERVAT. SPENS. i. p. 21.

⁴ Plain.

To this period I refer William of Nassyngton, a proctor or advocate in the ecclesiastical court at York. He translated into English rhymes, as I conjecture, about the year 1480, a theological tract, entitled *A treatise on the Trinity and Unity with a declaration of God's Works and of the Passion of Jesus Christ*, written by John of Waldenby, an Augustine frier of Yorkshire, a student in the Augustine convent at Oxford, the provincial of his order in England, and a strenuous champion against the doctrines of Wiccliffe¹. I once saw a MSS. of Nassyngton's translation in the library of Lincoln cathedral²; and was tempted to transcribe the few following lines from the prologue, as they convey an idea of our poet's character, record the titles of some old popular romances, and discover ancient modes of public amusement.

I warne you firste at the begynnyng,
That I will make no vayne carpyng,
Of dedes of armes, ne of amours,
As does MYNSTRELLIS and GESTOURS,
That maketh carpyng in many a place
Of OCTOVIANE and ISENBRACE,
And of many other GESTES,
And namely when they come to festes;
Ne of the lyf of BEVYS OF HAMPTOUNE,
That was a knyght of grete renoune:
Ne of syr GYE OF WARWYKE, &c.

Our translator in these verses formally declares his intention of giving his reader no entertainment; and disavows all concern with secular vanities, especially those unedifying tales of love and arms, which were the customary themes of other poets, and the delight of an idle age. The romances of OCTAVIAN, sir BEVIS, and sir GUY, have already been discussed at large. That of sir ISEMBRAS was similiar in the time of Chaucer, and occurs in the RIME of SIR THOPAS. In

¹ Wood, Ant. Univ. Oxon. i. 117.

² MSS. Reg. 17 C. viii. p. 2. But the same lines occur in the Prologue to Hampole's *Speculum Vitæ*, or *MIRROUR OF LIFE*, as it has been called, written about the year 1350. [See MSS. Bodl. 48. p. 47. a. Bibl. Bodl. And ibid. MSS. LANGB. 5. p. 64.] From which, that those who have leisure and opportunity may make a farther comparison of the two Prologues, I will transcribe a few more dull lines.

Latyn als, I trowe canne nane
Som canne *frankes* and *latyn*
And som canne o *latyn* a party
And som vnderstandes in *inglys*
Bot lered and lewed alde and younge
Thare fore I halde it maste syker thon
And for all lewed men namely
To kenne thanne what ware maste nede,

Bot thase that it of scole hane tane,
That hanes vsed covrte and dwelled theryn,
That canne *frankes* bot febelly,
That canne nother *latyn* ne *frankys*,
All vnderstands *inglysche* tounge:
To schewe that langage that ilk a man konne,
Thet can no maner of clergy,
Ffor clerkes canne bathe se and rede, &c.

This poem, consisting of many thousand verses, begins with the spiritual advantages of the Lord's Prayer, of its seven petitions, their effects, &c. &c. And ends with the seven Beatitudes, and their rewards. These are the two concluding lines.

To whylk blysse he vs bryng

That on the crosse for vs all wulde hyng.

This is supposed to be a translation from a Latin tract, afterwards printed at Cologne, 1536. fol. But it may be doubted, whether Hampole was the translator. It is, however, most probably of the fourteenth century.

Mr. Garrick's curious library of chivalry, which his friends share in common with himself, there is an edition by Copland, extremely different from the manuscript copies preserved at Cambridge¹, and in the Cotton collection. [CALIG. A. 12. f. 128.] I believe it to be originally a French romance, yet not of very high antiquity. It is written in the stanza of Chaucer's sir THOPAS. [Percy's BALL. i. 306.] The incidents are for the most part those trite expedients, which almost constantly form the plan of these metrical narratives.

I take this opportunity of remarking, that the MINSTRELS, who in this prologue of Nassyngton are named separately from the GESTOURS, or tale-tellers, were sometimes distinguished from the harpers. In the year 1374, six Minstrels, accompanied with four Harpers, on the anniversary of Alwyne the bishop, *performed* their *minstrelsies*, at dinner, in the hall of the convent of St. Swithin at Winchester: and during supper, sung the same GEST, or tale, in the great *arched* chamber of the prior: on which solemn occasion, the said chamber was hung with the arras, or tapestry, of THE THREE KINGS OF COLOGNE². These minstrels and harpers belonged, partly to the royal household in Winchester castle, and partly to the bishop of Winchester. There was an annual mass at the shrine or tomb of bishop Alwyne in the church, which was regularly followed by a feast in the convent. It is probable, that the GEST here specified was some poetical legend of the prelate, to whose memory this yearly festival was instituted, and who was a Saxon bishop of Winchester about the year 1040³. Although songs of chivalry were equally common, and I believe more welcome to the monks, at these solemnities. In an accompt-roll of the priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire, [In The. Coll. Trin. Oxon.] I find a parallell instance, under the year 1432. It is in this entry. '*Dat. sex Ministrallis*

¹ MSS. Caius Coll. Class. A. 9. (2.)

² Registr. Priorat. S. Swithini Winton. ut supr. [vol. i. p. 89.] 'In festo Alwyni episcopi Et durante pietancia in aula conventus, sex MINISTRALLI, cum quatuor CITHARISATORIBUS, faciebant ministralcias suas. Et post cenam, in magna camera arcuata dom. Prioris, *cantabant idem GESTUM*, in qua camera suspendebatur, ut moris est, magnum dor-sale Prioris, habens picturas trium regum Colein. Veniebant autem dicti joculatores a castello domini regis, et ex familia episcopi. . . . ' The rest is much obliterated and the date is hardly discernible. Among the Harleian MSS. there is an ancient song on the three kings of Cologne, in which the whole story of that favorite romance is resolved into alchemy. MSS. 2407. 13. fol. Wynkyn de Worde printed this romance in 4to. 1526. It is in MSS. Harl. 1704. 11. fol. 49. b. Imperf. Coll. Trin. Dublin. V. 651. 14. [C. 16.] MSS. More, 37. And frequently in other places. Barclay, in his ECLOGES, mentions this subject, a part of the nativity, painted on the walls of a *churche cathedrall*. EGL. v. Signat. D. ii. ad calc. *Ship of foolles*, edit. 1570.

And the *three kinges*, with all their company,
With their presentes and giftes mysticall.

Their crownes glistening bright and oriently,
All this behelde I in picture on the wall.

In an Inventory of ornaments belonging to the church of Holbech in Lincolnshire, and sold in the year 1548, we find this article. '*Item, for the COATS of the iii. kyngs of Coloyne, vs. iiiid.*' I suppose these coats were for dressing persons who represented the three kings in some procession on the NATIVITY. Or perhaps for a MYSTERY on the subject, played by the parish. But in the same Inventory we have, *Item, for the apostyllis* [the apostles] *coats*, and for HAROD'S [Herod's] *coate*, &c. Stukeley's ITIN. CURIOS. pag. 19. In old accompts of church-wardens for St. Helen's at Abingdon, Berks, for the year 1566, there is an entry *For setting up* ROBIN HOODES BOWER. I suppose for a parish interlude. ARCHÆOL. vol. i. p. 16.

³ He is buried in the north wall of the presbytery, with an inscription.

'de Bokyngham cantantibus in refectorio MARTYRIUM SEPTEM DOR-
'MIENTUM *in festo epiphanie*, iv s.' That is, the treasurer of the
monastery gave four shillings to six *minstrels* from Buckingham, for
singing in the refectory a legend called the MARTYRDOM OF THE
SEVEN SLEEPERS¹, on the feast of the Epiphany. In the Cotton
library, there is a Norman poem in Saxon characters on this subject²;
which was probably translated afterwards into English rhyme. The
original is a Greek legend³, never printed; but which, in the dark ages,
went about in a barbarous Latin translation, by one Syrus; [Apud
Surius, ad 27 Jul.] or in a narrative framed from thence by Gregory
of Tours⁴.

Henry Bradshaw has rather larger pretensions to poetical fame than
William of Nassington, although scarcely deserving the name of an
original writer in any respect. He was a native of Chester, educated
at Gloucester college in Oxford, and at length a Benedictine monk of
saint Werburgh's abbey in his native place. [Athen. Oxon. i. p. 9.

¹ In the fourth century, being inclosed in a cave at Ephesus by the emperor Decius 372
years, they were afterwards found sleeping, and alive.

² MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. ix. iii. fol. 213, b. '*Jci commence la vie de Seint dormanz.*'

La uertu deu iur tut iur 7 dure

I tut iurz est certaine epure.

³ MSS. Lambec. viii. p. 375. Photius, without naming the author, gives the substance of
this Greek legend, Bibl. COD. CCLIII. pag. 1399. edit. 1591. fol. This story was common
among the Arabians. The mussulmans borrowed many wonderful narratives from the christi-
ans, which they embellished with new fictions. They pretend that a dog, which was acci-
dently shut up in the cavern with the *seven sleepers*, become rational. Herbelot, Dict.
ORIENT. p. 139. a. V. ASHAB. p. 17. In the British Museum there is a poem, partly in Saxon.
characters, *De puerilia domini nostri Ihesu Christi*. Or, *the childhood of Christ*, MSS.
Harl. 2399. 10. fol. 47. It begins thus.

Alle myzhty god yn Trynyte,
He gefe ows washe to the

That bowth [bought] man on rode dere;
A lytly wyle that ye wylle me here.

Who would suspect that this absurd legend had also a Greek original? It was taken, I do not
suppose immediately, from an apocryphal narrative ascribed to St. Thomas the apostle, but
really compiled by Thomas Israelites, and entitled, *Λόγος εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ μεγαλεία*
τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Liber de pueritia et miraculis doimini*, &c.
It is printed in part by Cotelerius, Not. ad Patr. Apostol. p. 274. Who there mentions a
book of St. Matthew the Evangelist, *De Infantia Salvatoris*, in which our Lord is introduced
learning to read, &c. See Iren. lib. i. c. xvii, p. 104. Among other figments of this kind, in
the Pseudo-Gelasian Decree are recited, *The history and nativity of our Saviour, and of*
Mary and the midwife. And, *The history of the infancy of our Saviour*. Jur. Can. DIS-
TINCT. can. 3. The latter piece is mentioned by Anastasius, where he censures as suppositi-
tious, the *puerile miracles* of Christ. Oδηγ. c. xiii. p. 26.

On the same subject there is an Arabic book, probably compiled soon after the rise of Maho-
metanism, translated into Latin by Sikius, called EVANGELIUM INFANTILÆ, Arab. et Latin.
Traject. ad Rhen. 1697. 8vo. In this piece, Christ is examined by the Jewish doctors, in as-
tronomy, medicine, physics, and metaphysics. Sikius says, that the PUERILE MIRACLES of
Christ were common among the Persians. Ibid. in Not. p. 55. Fabricius cites a German poem,
more than 400 years old, founded on these legends. Cod. Apocryph. Nov. TEST. tom. i, pag.
212. Hamburg, 1703.

At the end of the English poem on this subject above cited, is the following rubric. 'Qod
'dnus Johannes Arcitenens canonicus Podminie et natus in illa.' Whether this canon of Bod-
min in Cornwall, whose name was perhaps Archer, or Bowyer, is the poet, or only the transcriber,
I cannot say, See fol. 48. In the same MSS. volume, [8.] there is an old English
poem to our Saviour, with this note, 'Explicit Contemplationem bonam. Quod dnus Johan-
'nes Arcurius Canonicus Bodminie.' See what is said, below, of the PSEUDO-EVANGELIUM
attributed to Nichodemus.

⁴ *Historia Septem Dormientium*. Paris. 1511. 4to. Ibid. 1640. And apud Ruinart. p.
1270. Præf. Ruinart. § 79. And Gregory himself *De gloria martyrum*, cap. 95. pag. 826.
This piece is noticed and much commended by the old chronicler Albericus, ad ann. 319.

Pits. 690.] Before the year 1500, he wrote the LIFE OF SAINT WERBURGH, a daughter of a king of the Mercians, in English verse¹. This poem, beside the devout deeds and passion of the poet's patroness saint, comprehends a variety of other subjects; as a description of the kingdom of the Mercians, [Lib. i. c. ii.] the lives of St. Etheldred and St. Sexburgh [Lib. i. cap. xviii. xix.] the foundation of the city of Chester, [Lib. i. cap. iii.] and a chronicle of our kings². It is collected from Bede, Alfred of Beverly, Malmesbury, Girardus Cambrensis, Higden's Polychronicon, and the passionaries of the female saints, Werburgh, Etheldred, and Sexburgh, which were kept for public edifi-

¹ He declares, that he does not mean to rival Chaucer, Lydgate *sententious*, *pregnaunt* Barklay, and *inventive* Skelton. The two last were his cotemporaries. L. ii. c. 24.

² Lib. ii. cap. xv. The fashion of writing metrical *Chronicles of the kings of England* grew very fashionable in this century. Many of these are evidently composed for the harp: but they are mostly mere genealogical deductions. Hearne has printed, from the Heralds office, a PEDEGREE of our kings, from William the conqueror to Henry VI. written in 1448. [APPEN. to Rob. Gloucestr. vol. ii. p. 585. p. 588.] This is a specimen.

Then regnyd Harry nought full wyse,
In hys tyme then seynt Thomas
He held Rosomund the sheen,
At Wodestoke for hure he made a toure,
And sithen regnyd his sone Richard,
He werred ofte tyme and wyse
And sithen he was shoten, alas!
Atte Fonte Everarde he lithe there:
In Johne is tyme, as y understonde,
He was fulle wrothe and grym,

The son of Mold [Maud] the emperyse.
At Caunterbury martyrde was.
Gret sorwe hit was for the queen:
That is called ROSEMOUNDES BOURE.—
A man that was never aferd:
Worthily upon goddis enemye.
Atte castle Gailard there he was.
He regnyd almost two yere.—
Was entredyt alle Engelonde:
For prestus would nought synge before hym, &c.

Lydgate has left the best chronicle of the kind, and most approaching to poetry. *The regnyng of kyngys after the conquest by the monk of Bury*. MSS. Farif. Bibl. Bodl. 16. [And MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 3. And a beautiful copy, with pictures of the kings, MSS. Cotton. JULIUS. E. 5.] Never printed. [Unless printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1530. 4to. 'This myghty Wyllyam duke of Normandy.' This is one of the stanza. [MSS. Bodl. B. 3. 1999. 6.]

RICARDUS PRIMUS.

Rychard the next by successyon,
Was crowned kyng, called Cur de Lyon,
Sleyn at Galard by death full lamentable:
First of that name, strong, hardy, and notable,
With Saryzonys hedys served atte table:
The space regned fully ix yere;
His hert buried in Roon, atte highe autere.

Compare MSS. Harl. 372. 5. There was partly a political view in these deductions: to ascertain the right of our kings to the crowns of France, Castile, Leon, and the dutchy of Normandy. See MSS. Harl. 326. 2.—116. 11. fol. 142. I know not whether it be worth observing, that about this time a practice prevailed of constructing long parchment-rolls in Latin, of the Pedigree of our kings. Of this kind is the *Pedigree of British kings from Adam to Henry VI.* written about the year 1450, by Roger Alban, a Carmelite friar of London. It begins, 'Considerans chronicorum prolixitatem.' The original copy, presented to Henry VI. by the compiler, is now in Queen's college library at Oxford. MSS. [22]. B. 5. 3. There are two copies in Winchester college library, and another in the Bodleian. Among bishop More's MSS. there is a parchment-roll of the Pedigree of our kings from Ethelred to Henry IV. in French, with pictures of the several monarchs. MSS. 495. And, in the same collection, a Pedigree from Harold to Henry IV. with elegant illuminations. MSS. 479. In the same rage of genealogising, Alban abovementioned framed the Descent of Jesus Christ, from Adam through the Levitical and regal tribes, the Jewish patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets, and priests. The original roll, as it seems, on vellum, beautifully illuminated, is in MSS. More, ut sup. 495. But this was partly copied from Peter of Poicout, a disciple of Lombard about the year 1170, who, for the benefit of the poorer clergy, was the first that found out the method of forming and reducing into parchment-rolls, HISTORICAL TREES of the old testament. Alberic. in Chron. p. 441. See MSS. Denb. 1627. i. Rot. membr.

As to Bradshaw's history of the foundation of Chester, it may be classed with the FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY OF GLOUCESTER, a poem of twenty-two stanzas, written in the year 1534, by the last abbot William Malverne, printed by Hearne, Ubi sup. p. 378. This piece is mentioned by Harpsfield, HIST. ECCLES. ANGL. p. 264. Princip. 'In sundrie fayer volumes of antiquitie' MSS. Harl. 539, 14. fol. 111.

cation in the choir of the church of our poet's monastery¹. Bradshaw is not so fond of relating visions and miracles as his argument seems to promise. Although concerned with three saints, he deals more in plain facts than in the fictions of religious romance; and, on the whole, his performance is rather historical than legendary. This is remarkable, in an age, when it was the fashion to turn history into legend². His fabulous origin of Chester is not so much to be imputed to his own want of veracity, as to the authority of his voucher Ranulph Higden, a celebrated chronicler, his countryman, and a monk of his own abbey³.

¹ For as declareth the true PASSIONARY,
A boke where her holie lyfe wrytten is,
Which boke remayneth in Chester monastery.

Lib. i. c. vii. Signat. C ii. And again, *ibid*.

I folow the legend and true history After an humble stile and from it lytell vary.
And in the Prologue, lib. i, Signat. A iii.

Untoo this rude worke myne auctors these,
First the true Legends, and the venerable Bede,
Mayster Alfrydus, and Wyllyam Malmusbury,
Gyrdard, Polychronicon, and other mo indeed.

² Even scripture-history was turned into romance. The story of Esther and Ahasuerus, or of AMON or *Hamon*, and MARDOCHEUS or *Mordecai*, was formed into a fabulous poem. MSS. Vernon, ut *supr*. fol. 213.

OF AMON and MARDOCHEUS.

Mony wynter witerly
A rich kyng, hize AHASWERE,
Mighti kyng he was, i wis,
His blisse may i nat telle zou,
But thing that toucheth to vre matere
The kyng lovede a knight so wele,
Before him, in vche a streete,
AMON was the knihtes nome,
Ffor in this ilke kynges lande
Of heore kynd the kyng hym tok

Or Crist weore boren of vre ladi,
That stif was on stede and stere;
He livede muchel in weolye ant blis,
How lange hit weore to schewe hit nou;
I wol zou telle, gif ze wol here.
That he commaunded men should knele
Over all ther men mihte him meete;
On him fell muchel woridus schome,
Was moche folke of Jewes wonande,
A qwere to wyve as telleth the bok, &c.

In the British Museum, there is a long commentitious narrative of the *Creation of Adam, and Eve, their Sufferings and Repentance, Death and Burial*. MSS. Harl. 1704. 5. fol. 18. This is from a Latin piece on the same subject, *ibid*. 495. 12. fol. 43. imperf. In the English, Peter Comestor, the *maister of stories*, author of the *historia scholastica*, who flourished about the year 1170, is quoted. fol. 26. But he is not mentioned in the Latin, at fol. 49.

In Chaucer's MILLER'S TALE, we have this passage, v. 3538.

Hast thou not herd, quod Nicholas also,
The sorwe of Noe with his felawship,
Or that he might get his wif to ship?

I know not whether this anecdote about Noah is in any similar supposititious book of Genesis. It occurs, however, in the *Chester Whitsun Plays*, where the authors, according to the established indulgence allowed to dramatic poets, perhaps thought themselves at liberty to enlarge on the sacred story. MSS. Harl. 2013. This altercation between Noah and his wife, takes up almost the whole third *pageant* of these interludes. Noah, having reproached his wife for her usual frowardness of temper, at last conjures her to come on board the ark, for fear of drowning. His wife insists on his sailing without her; and swears by *Christ* and *saint John*, that she will not embark, till some of her old female companions are ready to go with her. She adds, that if he is in such a hurry, he may sail alone, and fetch himself a new wife. At length Shem, with the help of his brothers, forces her into the vessel; and while Noah very cordially welcomes her on board, she gives him a box on the ear.

There is an apocryphal book, of the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, and of Seth's pilgrimage to Paradise, &c. &c. MSS. Eccles. Cathedr. Winton. 4.

³ There is the greatest probability, that RALPH HIGDEN, hitherto known as a grave historian and theologian, was the compiler of the *Chester-plays*, mentioned above, vol. i. p. 243. In one of the Harleian copies [2013, 1.] under the *Proclamation* for performing these plays in the year 1522, this note occurs, in the hand of the third Randal Holme, one of the Chester antiquaries. 'Sir John Arnway was mayor, A.D. 1327, and 1328. At which tyme these plays were written 'by RANDALL HIGGENET, a monke of Chester abbey, &c.' In a Prologue to these plays, when they were presented in the year 1600, are these lines, *ibid*. 2.

He supposes that Chester, called by the ancient Britons CAIR LELON, or *the city of Legions*, was founded by Leon Gaur, a giant, corrupted from LEON VAUR, or the *great legion*.

The founder of this citie, as sayth Polychronicon,
Was Leon Gaur, a myghte stronge gyaunt,
Which buildid caves and dongeons manie a one,
No goodlie buildyng, ne proper, ne pleasant.

He adds, with an equal attention to etymology :

But kinge Leir a Britan fine and valiaunt,
Was founder of Chester by pleasaunt buildyng,
And was named Guar Leir by the kyng. [Lib. ii. c. iii.]

But a greater degree of credulity would perhaps have afforded him a better claim to the character of a poet: and, at least, we should have conceived a more advantageous opinion of his imagination, had he been less frugal of those traditionary fables, in which ignorance and superstition had cloathed every part of his argument. This piece was first printed by Pinson in the year 1521. 'Here begynneth the holy 'lyfe of SAYNT WERBURGE, very frutefull for all cristen people to rede¹. He traces the genealogy of St. Werburg with much historical accuracy².

That some tymes ther was mayor of this citie
Sir John Arnway knight : who most worthilie
Contented hymselfe to sett out in *playe*,
The *Devisse of one Done RONDALL*, Moonke of Chester abbaye.

Done Rondall is *Dan* (dominus) *Randal*. In another of the Harleian copies of these plays, written the year 1607, this note appears, seemingly written in the year 1628. [MSS. Harl. 2124.] 'The Whitsun playes first made by one *Don Rondle Heggenet*, a monke of Chester 'abbey: who was thrise at Rome before he could obtaine leave of the pope to have them in 'the English tongue.' Our chronicler's name in the text, sometimes written *Hikeden*, and *Higgeden*, was easily corrupted into *Higgenet*, or *Heggenet*: and *Randal* is Ranulph or Randolph, *Ralph*. He died, having been a monk of Chester abbey 64 years, in the year 1363. In *PIERS PLOWMAN*, a frier says, that he is well acquainted with *rimes* of RANDALL OF CHESTER, fol. 26, edit. 1550. I take this passage to allude to this very person, and to his compositions of this kind, for which he was probably soon famous. In an anonymous *CHRONICON*, he is styled *Ranulphus Cestrensis*, which is nothing more than RANDALL OF CHESTER. MSS. Ric. James, xi. 8. Bibl. Bodl. And again we have, *RANULPHI CESTRENSIS 'ars componendi sermones*. MSS. Bodl. sup. N. 2. Art. 10. And in many other places.

By the way, if it be true that these MYSTERIES were composed in the year 1328, and there was so much difficulty in obtaining the pope's permission that they might be presented in English, a presumptive proof arises, that all our MYSTERIES before that period were in Latin. These plays will therefore have the merit of being the first English interludes.

¹ In oct. With a wooden cut of the Saint Princip. 'When Phebus had ronne his cours in 'Sagittari.' At the beginning is an English copy of verses, by J. T. And at the end two others.

² A *descripyayon of the genaalogy of SAYNT WERBURGE*, &c.

This noble prynces, the doughter of Syon,
Blessed saynt Werburge, full of devocyon,
Of foure myghty kynges, noble and vycoryus,
As her lyfe historyall¹, maketh declaracyon.
Fyue hundreth xiiii. and iiiii. score,

The floure of vertu, and vyrgyn gloryous,
Descended by auncetry, and tytle famous,
Reynynge in his lande, by true successyon,
The yeare of our lorde, from the natyuyte
Whan Austyn was sende, from saynt Gregorye,

To conuert this regyon, unto our fauyoure
The noble kyng Cryda than reyned with honoure
Upon the Mercyens, whiche kyng was father
Unto kyng Wybba, and Quadriburge his sister.

¹ That is, her Legend.

The most splendid passage of this poem, is the following description of the feast made by king Ulpher in the hall of the abbey of Ely, when his daughter Werburgh was admitted to the veil in that monastery. Among other curious anecdotes of ancient manners, the subjects of the tapestry, with which the hall was hung, and of the songs sung by the minstrels, on this solemn occasion, are given at large¹.

Kynge Wulfer her fater at this ghostly spousage
Prepared great triumphes, and solempnyte ;
Made a royall feest, as custome is of maryage,
Sende for his frendes, after good humanyte
Kepte a noble housholde, shewed great lyberalyte
Both to ryche and poore, that to this feest wolde come,
No man was denyed, every man was wellcome.

Her uncles and aunes, were present there all
Ethelred and Merwalde, and Mercelly also
Three blessed kynges, whome sayntes we do call
Saint Keneswyd, saint Keneburg, their sisters both two
And of her noble lynage, many other mo
Were redy that season, with reverence and honour
At this noble tryumphe, to do all theyr devour.

Tho kynges mette them, with their company,
Egbryct kynge of Kent, brother to the quene ;
The second was Aldulphe kynge of the east party,
Brother to saynt Audry, wyfe and mayde serene ;
With divers of theyr progeny, and nobles as I wene,
Dukes, erles, barons, and lordes ferre and nere,
In theyr best array, were present all in fere. [Together]

It were full tedyous, to make descrypcyon
Of the great triumphes, and solempne royalte,
Belongynge to the feest, the honour and provysyon,
By playne declaracyon, upon every partye ;
But the sothe to say, withouten ambyguyte,
All herbes and flowres, fragraunt, fayre and swete,
Were strawed in halles, and layd under theyr fete.

Clothes of golde and arras, were hanged in the hall
Depaynted with pyctures, and hystories manyfolde,
Well wroughte and craftely, with precious stones all
Glyteryng as Phebus, and the beten golde,
Lyke an erthly paradyse, pleasaunt to beholde :

This Wybba gate Penda, kynge of Mercyens,
Which Penda subdued, fyue kynges of this regyon
Reygnyng thirty yere, in worshyp and reuerens
Was grauntfater to Werburge, by lynyall successyon
By his quene Kyneswith, had a noble generacyon
Fyue valeant prynces, Penda and kynge Wulfer,
Kynge Ethelred, saynt Marceyl, saynt Marwalde in fere².

¹ 'Of the great solempnyte kynge Wulfer made at the ghostly maryage of Saynt Werburge
'his daughter, to all his lovers, cosyns, and frendes.' Ca. xvi. L. i.

As for the sayd moynes¹, was not them amonge,
But prayenge in her cell, as done all novice yonge.

The story of Adam, there was goodly wrought
And of his wyfe Eve, bytwene them the serpent,
How they were deceyved, and to theyr peynes brought;
There was Cayn and Abell, offerynge theyr present,
The sacryfyce of Abell, accepte full evydent:
Tuball and Tubalcain, were purtrayed in that place
The inventours of musyke, and crafte by great grace.

Noe and his shyppe, was made there curiously
Sendyng forthe a raven, whiche never came again;
And how the dove returned, with a braunche hastely,
A token of comforte and peace, to man certayne:
Abraham there was, standing upon the mount playne
To offer in sacrifice, Isaac his dere sone,
And how the shepe for hym was offered in oblacyon.

The twelve sones of Jacob, there were in purtrayture
And how into Egypt, yonge Joseph was solde,
There was imprisoned, by a false conjectour,
After in all Egypte, was ruler (as is tolde).
There was in pycture, Moses wyse and bolde,
Our Lord apperynge, in bushe flammyng as fyre
And nothing thereof brent, lefe, tree, nor spyre. [Twig. Branch.]

The ten plagis of Egypt, were well embost
The chyldren of Israel, passyng the reed see,
Kynge Pharoo drowned, with all his proude hoost,
And how the two table, at the mounte Synaye
Were gyven to Moyses, and how soon to idolatry
The people were prone, and punyshed were therefore,
How Datan and Abyron, for pryde were full youre. [Burnt.]

Duke Josue was joyned, after them in pycture,
Ledyng the Isrehelytes to the land of promysseyon,
And how the said land was divided by mesure
To the people of God, by equall sundry porcyon:
The judges and bysshops were there everychone,
Theyr noble actes, and triumphes marcyall,
Freshly were browdred in these clothes royall.

Nexte to the greate lorde, appered fayre and bryght
Kynge Saull and David, and prudent Solomon,
Roboas succedyng, whiche soone lost his myght,
The good kynge Esechyas, and his generacyon,
And so to the Machabees, and dyvers other nacyon.
All these sayd storyes, so rychely done and wrought.
Belongyng to kyng Wulfer, agayn that tyme were brought².

But over the hye desse [Seat], in the pryncypall place

¹ Nun. i.e. The Lady Werburg.

² All this tapestry, belonging to king Wulfer, was brought to Ely monastery on this occasion.

Where the sayd thre kynges sate crowned all,
 The best hallynge [tapestry] hanged, as reason was,
 Whereon were wrought the ix. orders angelicall
 Dyvyded in thre ierarchyses, not cessyng to call
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, blessed be the Trynite,
Dominus Deus Sabaoth, thre persons in one deyte.

Next in order suyng [following], sette in goodly purtrayture
 Was our blessed lady, flowre of femynyte,
 With the twelve Apostles, echeone in his figure,
 And the foure Evangelystes, wrought most curiously ;
 Also the Dyscyples of Christ in theyr degre
 Prechyng and techyng, unto every nacyon,
 The faythtes [feats] of holy chyrche, for their salvacyon.

Martyrs than folowed, right manifolde :
 The holy Innocentes, whom Herode had slayne,
 Blessed Saynt Stephen, the prothomartyr truly,
 Saynt Laurence, Saynt Vyncent, sufferyng great payne ;
 With many other mo, than here ben now certayne,
 Of which sayd martyrs exsample we may take,
 Pacyence to observe, in herte, for Chrystes sake.

Confessours approched, right convenient,
 Fressely embrodred in ryche tysshewe and fyne ;
 Saynt Nycholas, Saynt Benedycte, and his covent,
 Saynt Jerom, Basylyus, and Saynt Augustine,
 Gregory the great doctour, Ambrose and Saynt Martyne :
 All these were sette in goodly purtrayture,
 Them to beholde was a heavenly pleasure.

Vyrgyns them folowed, crowned with the lyly,
 Among whome our lady chefe president was ;
 Some crowned with rooses for their great vyctory :
 Saynt Katheryne, Saynt Margerette, Saynt Agathas,
 Saynt Cycly, Saynt Agnes, and Saynt Charytas,
 Saynt Lucye, Saynt Wenefryde, and Saynt Apolyn ;
 All there were brothered [embroidered], the clothes of golde within.

Upon the other syde of the hall sette were
 Noble auncyent storyes, and how the stronge Sampson
 Subdued his enemyes by his myghty power ;
 Of Hector of Troye, slayne by fals treason ;
 Of noble Arthur, kyng of this regyon ;
 With many other mo, which it is to longe
 Playnly to expresse this tyme you amonge.

The tables were covered with clothes of dyaper,
 Rychely enlarged with silver and with golde,
 The cupborde with plate shynyng fayre and clere,
 Marshallles theyr offyces fulfylled manyfolde :
 Of myghty wyne plenty, both newe and olde,
 All maner kynde of meetes delycate
 (Whan grace was sayd) to them was preparate.

To this noble feest there was suche ordinaunce,
 That nothyng wanted that gotten myght be
 On see and lande, but there was habundance
 Of all maner pleasures to be had for monye ;
 The bordes all charged full of meet plente,
 And dyvers subtyltes¹ prepared sothly were,
 With cordyall and spyces, theyr gwestes for to chere.

The joyfull wordes and sweet communycacyon
 Spoken at the table, it were harde to tell ;
 Eche man at lyberte, without interrupcyon,
 Bothe sadnes and myrthes, also pryve counsell,
 Some adulacyon, some the truth dyd tell,
 But the great astates [kings] spake of theyr regyons,
 Knyghtes of their chyvalry, of craftes the comons.

Certayne at eche cours of service in the hall,
 Trumpettes blewe up, shalmes and claryons,
 Shewynge theyr melody, with toynes [tunes] musycall,
 Dyvers other mynstrelles, in crafty proporcions,
 Mad swete concordaunce and lusty dyvysyons :
 An hevenly pleasure, suche armony to here,
 Rejoysynge the hertes of the audyence full clere.

A singuler Mynstrell, all other ferre passynge,
 Toyned [tuned] his instrument in pleasaunte armony,
 And sang moost swetely, the company gladyng,
 Of myghty conquerours, the famous vycory :
 Wherwith was ravysshed theyr sprytes and memory :
 Specyally he sange of the great Alexandere,
 Of his tryumphes and honours enduryng xii yere.

Solemply he songe the scate of the Romans,
 Ruled under kynges by policy and wysedome,
 Of theyr hye justice and ryghtful ordinauns
 Dayly encreasyng in worshyp and renowne,
 Tyll Tarquyne the proude kyng, with that great confusion,
 Oppressed dame Lucrece, the wyfe of Colatyne,
 Kynges never reyned in Rome syth that tyme.

Also how the Romyans, under thre dyctatours,
 Governed all regyons of the worlde ryght wysely,
 Tyll Julyus Cesar, excellynge all conquerours,
 Subdued Pompeius, and toke the hole monarchy
 And the rule of Rome to hym selfe manfully ;
 But Cassius Brutus, the fals conspyratour,
 Caused to be slayne the sayd noble emperour.

After the sayd Julius, succeeded his syster sone,
 Called Octavianus, in the imperyall see,
 And by his precepte was made descrypcyon
 To every regyon, lande, shyre², and cytee,

¹ Dishes of curious cookery, so called.

² This puts one in mind of the *Sheriffs*, in our Translation of the Bible, among the officers of the kingdom of Babylon, DAN. iii. 2.

A tribute to pay unto his dignyte :
 That tyme was universal peas and honour,
 In whiche tyme was borne our blessed Savyoure.
 All these hystories, noble and auntyent,
 Rejoysynge the audyence, he sange with pleasuer ;
 And many other mo of the Newe Testament,
 Pleasaunt and profytable for their soules cure,
 Whiche be omytted, now not put in ure¹ :
 The mynysters were ready, theyr offyce to fullfyll,
 To take up the tables at their lordes wyll.
 Whan this noble feest and great solempnyte,
 Dayly endurynge a longe tyme and space,
 Was royally ended with honour and royalte,
 Eche kyng at other lysence taken hace,
 And so departed from thens to theyr place :
 Kyng Wulfer retourned, with worshyp and renowne,
 From the house [monastery] of Ely to his owne mansyon

If there be any merit of imagination or invention, to which the poet has a claim in this description, it altogether consists in the application. The circumstances themselves are faithfully copied by Bradshaw, from what his own age actually presented. In this respect, I mean as a picture of ancient life, the passage is interesting ; and for no other reason. The versification is infinitely inferior to Lydgate's worst manner.

Bradshaw was buried in the cathedral church, to which his convent was annexed, in the year 1513 [Ath. Oxon. i. 9.] Bale, a violent reformer, observes, that our poet was a person remarkably pious for the times in which he flourished. [Cent. ix. Numb. 17.] This is an indirect satire on the monks, and on the period which preceded the reformation. I believe it will readily be granted, that our author had more piety than poetry. His Prologue contains the following humble professions of his inability to treat lofty subjects, and to please light readers.

To descrybe hye hystories I dare not be so bolde,
 Syth it is a matter for clerkes convenyent ;
 As of the seven ages, and of our parentes olde,
 Or of the four empyres whilom most excellent ;
 Knowyng my lerning thereto insuffycient :
 As for baudy balades you shall have none of me,
 To excyte lyght hertes to pleasure and vanity. [Prol. lib i. Sig. A. iii.,

A great translator of the lives of the Saxon saints, from the Saxon, in which language only they were then extant, into Latin was Goscelinus, a monk of St. Austin's at Canterbury, who passed from France into England, with Herman, bishop of Salisbury, about the year 1058².

¹ Not mentioned here.

² W. Malmesbur. lib. iv. ubi infr.—Goscelin. in Præfati. ad Vit. S. Augustini. See Mabillon, Act. BEN. Sæc. i. p. 499.

As the Saxon language was at this time but little understood, these translations opened a new and ample treasure of religious history : nor were they acquisitions only to the religion, but to the literature of that era. Among the rest, were the lives of St. Werburgh¹, St. Etheldred², and St. Sexburgh³, most probably the legends, which were Bradshaw's originals. Usher observes that Goscelinus also translated into Latin the ancient Catalogue of the Saxon saints buried in England⁴. In the register of Ely it is recorded, that he was the most eloquent writer of his age ; and that he circulated all over England, the lives, miracles, and GESTS, of the saints of both sexes, which he reduced into prose-histories⁵. The words of the Latin deserve our attention. 'In historiis in *prosa* dictando mutavit.' Hence we may perhaps infer, that they were not before in prose, and that he took them from old metrical legends : this is a presumptive proof, that the lives of the saints were at first extant in verse⁶. In the same light we are to understand the words which immediately follow. 'Hic scripsit *Prosam* sanctæ Etheldredæ⁷.' Where the *Prose* of St. Etheldred is opposed to her *poetical* legend⁸. By *mutavit dictando*, we are to

¹ Printed, ACT. SANCTOR. Bolland. tom. i. februar. p. 386. A part in Leland, Coll. ii. 154. Compare MSS. C. C. C. Cant. J. xiii.

² In Registr. Eliens. ut infr.

³ Leland. Coll. iii. p. 152. Compare the Lives of S. Etheldred, S. Werburgh, and S. Sexburgh, at the end of the HISTORIA AUREA of John of Tinmouth, MSS. Lambeth. 12. I know not whether they make a part of his famous SANCTIOLOGIUM. John of Tinmouth flourished about the year 1380.

⁴ Antiquit. Brit. c. ii. p. 15. Leland's Coll. iii. 86. seq. And Hickef. The saur. vol. ult. p. 86. 146. 208.

⁵ Cap. x. Vit. Ethel.

⁶ The passion for versifying every thing was carried to such a heighth in the middle ages, that before the year 1300, Justinian's Institutes, and the code of French jurisprudence, were translated into French rhymes. There is a very ancient edition of this work, without date place, or typographer, said to be corrected *par plusieurs docteurs* and *souverains legistes*, in which are these lines,

J' ay, par paresse, demoure Trop longuement a commencer
Pour Institutes *romancer*.

See Menage, OBS. sur LE Lang. FR. P. prem ch. 3. Verdier and La Croix, iii. 428. iv. 160. 554. 560. BIBL. FR. edit. 1773.

⁷ Which is extant in this Ely register, and contains 54 heads.

⁸ And these improved prose-narratives were often turned back again into verse, even so late as in the age before us : to which, among others I could mention, we may refer the legend of St. Eustathius, MSS. Cotton. CALIG. A. 2.

Seynt *Eustace*, a nobull knyzte, Of hethen law he was ;
And ere than he crystened was Mene callyd him *Placidus*.
He was with *Trajan* themperor, &c.

A Latin legend on this saint is in MSS. Harl. 2316. 42.

Concerning legend-makers, there is a curious story in MSS. James, xxxi. p. 6. [ad ITER LANCASTR. num. 39. vol. 40.] Bibl. Bodl. Gilbert de Stone, a learned ecclesiastic, who flourished about the year 1380, was solicited by the monks of Holywell in Flintshire, to write the life of their patron saint. Stone applying to these monks for materials, was answered, that they had none in their monastery. Upon which he declared, that he could execute the work just as easily without any materials at all : and that he would write them a most excellent legend, after the *manner* of the legend of Thomas a Becket. He has the character of an elegant Latin writer ; and seems to have done the same piece of service, perhaps in the same way, to other religious houses. From his EPISTLES, it appears that he wrote the life of St. *Wulfade*, patron of the priory of canons regular of his native town of Stone in Staffordshire, which he dedicated to the prior, William de Madely. Epist. iii. dat. 1399. [MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Sup. D. i. Art. 123.] He was Latin secretary to several bishops, and could possibly write a legend, or a letter with equal facility. His epistles are 123 in number. The first of them,

understand, that he *translated* or *reformed*, or, in the most general sense *wrote anew in Latin*, these antiquated lives. His principal objects were the more recent saints, especially those of this island. Malmesbury says, "Innumeras SANCTORUM VITAS RECENTIUM *stylo extulit*, veterum vel amissas, vel *informiter editas*, comptius *renovavit*¹." In this respect, the labours of Goscelin partly resembled those of Symeon Metaphrastes, a celebrated Constantinopolitan writer of the tenth century : who obtained the distinguishing appellation of the METAPHRAST, because, at the command, and under the auspices of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, he modernised the more ancient narratives of the miracles and martyrdoms of the most eminent eastern and western saints, for the use of the Greek church : or rather digested, from detached, imperfect, or obsolete books on the subject, a new and more commodious body of sacred biography.

Among the many striking contrasts between the manners and characters of ancient and modern life, which these annals present, we must not be surprised to find a mercer, a sheriff, and an alderman of London, descending from his important occupations, to write verses. This is Robert Fabyan, who yet is generally better known as an historian, than as a poet. He was esteemed, not only the most facetious, but the most learned, of all the mercers, sheriffs, and aldermen, of his time : and no layman of that age is said to have been better skilled in the Latin language. He flourished about the year 1494. In his CHRONICLE, or *Concordance of histories*, from Brutus to the year 1485, it is his usual practice, at the division of the books, to insert metrical prologues, and other pieces in verse. The best of his metres is the COMPLAINT of Edward II. : who like the personages in Boccaccio's FALL OF PRINCES, is very dramatically introduced, reciting his own misfortunes². But this soliloquy is nothing more than a translation

in which he is stiled *chancellor to the bishop of Winchester*, is to the archbishop of Canterbury. That is, *secretary*. [MSS. Cotton. VITELL. E. x. 17.] This bishop of Winchester must have been William of Wykeham.

The most extraordinary composition of this kind, if we consider, among other circumstances, that it was compiled at a time when knowledge and literature had made some progress, and when mankind were so much less disposed to believe or to invent miracles, more especially when the subject was quite recent, is the LEGEND of KING HENRY VI. It is entitled, *DE MIRACULIS beatissimi illius Militis Christi, Henrici sexti, etc.* That it might properly rank with other legends, it was translated from an English copy into Latin, by one Johannes, styled *Pauperculus*, a monk, about the year 1503, at the command of John Morgan, dean of Windsor, afterwards bishop of st. David's. It is divided into two books ; to both of which, prefaces are prefixed, containing proofs of the miracles wrought by this pious monarch. At the beginning, there is a hymn, with a prayer, addressed to the royal saint. fol. 72.

Salve, miles preciose,

Rex Henrice generose, &c.

Henry could not have been a complete saint without his legend. MSS. Harl. 423. 7. And MSS. Reg. 13 C. 8. What shall we think of the judgment and abilities of the dignified ecclesiastic, who could seriously patronise so ridiculous a narrative?

¹ Hist. Angl. lib. iv. p. 130.

² Fol. 171. tom. ii. edit. 1533. Hearne's Lib. Nig. Scacc. p. 425. And Præfat. p. xxxviii. Fabyan says, 'they are reported to be his own making, in the time of his imprisonment,' *ibid.* By the way, there is a passage in this chronicler which points out the true reading of a controverted passage in Shakespeare, 'Also children were christened thorough all the land, 'and menne houseled and anealed, except suche, &c.' tom. ii. p. 30. col. 2. 'Another proof

from a short and a very poor Latin poem attributed to that monarch, but probably written by William of Worcester, which is preserved among the MSS. of the college of arms, and entitled, *Lamentatio gloriosi regis Edvardi de Karnarvon quam editit tempore suæ incarcerationis*. Our author's transitions from prose to verse, in the course of a prolix narrative, seem to be made with much ease; and, when he begins to versify, the historian disappears only by the addition of rhyme and stanza. In the first edition of his CHRONICLE, by way of epilogues to his seven books, he has given us *The seven joys of the Blessed Virgin in English Rime*. And under the year 1325, there is a poem to the virgin; and another on one Badby, a Lollard, under the year 1409. [Edit. Lond. 1516. fol.] These are suppressed in the later editions. He has likewise left a panegyric on the city of London; but despairs of doing justice to so noble a subject for verse, even if he had the eloquence of Tully, the morality of Seneca, and the harmony of that *faire Lady Calliope*. [Fol. 2. tom. ii. ut supr.] The reader will thank me for citing only one stanza from king Edward's COMPLAINT.

When Saturne, with his cold and isye face,
The ground, with his frostes, turneth grene to white;
The time winter, which trees doth deface,
And causeth all verdure to avoyde quite:
Then fortune, which sharpe was, with stormes not lite
Hath me assaulted with her froward wyll,
And me beclipped with daungers ryght yll.

As an historian, our author is the dullest of compilers. He is equally attentive to the succession of the mayors of London, and of the monarchs of England: and seems to have thought the dinners at Guildhall, and the pageantries of the city companies, more interesting transactions, than our victories in France, and our struggles for

'which ascertains this reading of the controverted passage in HAMLET, occurs in the romance of MORTE ARTHUR. When sir Lancelot was dying, 'whan he was *houseled and eneled*, and 'had all that a crysten man ought to have, he praid the bishop, that his felowes might beare 'his bodie unto Joyous Garde, &c.' B. xxi. cap. xii.

¹ In the British Museum there is a poem on this subject, and in the same stanza. MSS. Harl. 2393. 4to. 1. The ghost of Edward II., as here, is introduced speaking. It is addressed to queen Elizabeth, as appears, among other passages, from st. 92. 242. 243. 305. It begins thus.

Whie should a wasted spirit spent in woe
Disclose the wounds receyved within his brest?

It is imperfect, having only 352 stanzas. Then follows the same poem; with many alterations, additions, and omissions. This is addressed to James I., as appears from st. 6. 259. 260. 326. &c. It contains 581 stanzas. There is another copy in the same library, Num. 558. At the end the poet calls himself INFORTUNIO. This is an appellation which, I think, Spenser sometimes assumed. But Spenser was dead before the reign of James; nor has this piece any of Spenser's characteristic merit. It begins thus.

I sing thy sad disaster, fatal king, Carnarvon Edward, second of that name,

The poem on this subject in the addition to the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, by William Nicolls, is a different composition. A WINTER NIGHT'S VISION. Lond. 1610. p. 702. These two MSS. poems deserve no further mention; nor would they have been mentioned at all, but from their reference to the text, and on account of their subject. Compare, MSS. Harl. 2251. 119. fol. 254. An unfinished poem on Edward II., perhaps by Lydgate. Princ. 'Beholde this 'greate prince Edward the secunde.'

public liberty at home. One of Fabyan's historical anecdotes, under the important reign of Henry V. is, that a new weathercock was placed on the cross of St. Paul's steeple. It is said, that Cardinal Wolsey commanded many copies of this chronicle to be committed to the flames, because it made too ample a discovery of the excessive revenues of the clergy. The earlier chapters of these childish annals faithfully record all those fabulous traditions, which generally supply the place of historic monument in describing the origin of a great nation.

Another poet of this period is John Watson, a priest. He wrote a Latin theological tract intitled SPECULUM CHRISTANI, which is a sort of paraphrase on the decalogue and the creed¹. But it is interspersed with a great number of wretched Englished rhymes : among which, is the following hymn to the virgin Mary².

Mary Moder, wel thou be ; Mary mother thenke on mee :

¹ MSS. C. C. C. Oxon. 155. MSS. Laud. G. 12. MSS. Thoresb. 530. There is an abridgement of this work, MSS. Harl. 2250. 20. with the date 1477. This is rather beyond the period with which we are at present engaged.

² Compare a hymn to the holy virgin, *supr.* vol. i. p. 314. Mathew Paris relates, that Godrich, a hermit, about the year 1150, who lived in a solitary wild on the banks of the river Ware near Durham, had a vision, in his oratory, of the virgin Mary, who taught him this song.

Seint Marie clane virgine,
On so scild this Godrich
Seinte Marie, Christes bur,
Delle mine sennen, rixe in mine mod,

Moder Jesu Christe Nazarine,
On fang bringe haeli wíth the in godes rich.
Maidenes clenhad, moderes flur,
Bringe me to winne wíth self god.

Matt. Paris. Hist. Angl. [HENRIC. ii.] p. 115. edit. Tig. 1589.

In one of the Harleian MSS., many very ancient hymns to the holy virgin occur. MSS. 2253. These are specimens. 66. fol. 80. b.

Blessed be þou [thou] levedy, ful of heovene blisse,
Swete flur of parays, moder of mildenesse,
Praye ze Jhesu þy [thy] sone þat [that] he me rede and wysse
So my wey for to gon, þat he me nevere mysse.

Ibid. 67. fol. 81. b.

As y me rod þis ender day,
By grene wode to seche play,
Mid harte y þohte al on a May [Maid],
Sweetest of al þinge !

Lyþe, and ich ou telle may al of þat swete þinge

Ibid. 69. fol. 83. In French and English.

Mayden moder mild, *oyez cel oreysoun,*
From shom þou me shilde, *e di la mal feloun,*
For love of thine childe, *me muez de tresoun,*
Ich wes wod and wilde, *ore su en prisoun.*

See also *ibid.* 49. fol. 75.—57. fol. 78. And 372. 7. fol. 55.

In the library of Mr. Farmer, of Tusmore in Oxfordshire, are, or were lately, a collection of hymns and antiphones, paraphrased into English, by William Herbert, a Franciscan friar, and a famous preacher, about the year 1330. These, with some other of his pieces contained in the same library, are unmentioned by Bale, v. 31. And Pitts, p. 428. *Autogr. in pergam.* Pierre de Corbian, a troubadour, has left a hymn, or prayer, to the holy virgin : which he says, he chose to compose in the romance-language, because he could write it more intelligibly than Latin. Another troubadour, a mendicant friar of the thirteenth century, had worked himself up into such a pitch of enthusiasm concerning the holy virgin, that he became deeply in love with her. It is partly owing, as I have already hinted, to the gallantry of the dark ages, in which the female sex was treated with so romantic a respect, that the virgin Mary received such exaggerated honours, and was so distinguished an object of adoration in the devotion of those times.

Mayden and moder was never none
 Togeder, lady, safe thou allone¹.
 Swete lady, mayden clene,
 Schilde me fro ilie, schame, and tene,
 And out of dette, for charitee, &c².

Caxton, the celebrated printer, was likewise a poet ; and beside the rhyming introductions and epilogues with which he frequently decorates his books, has left a poem of considerable length, entitled the *WORKE OF SAPIENCE*³. It comprehends, not only an allegorical fiction concerning the two courts of the castle of Sapience, in which there is no imagination, but a system of natural philosophy, grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, theology, and other topics of the fashionable literature. Caxton appears to be the author, by the prologue : yet it is not improbable, that he might on this occasion employ some professed versifier, at least as an assistant, to prepare a new book of original poetry for his press. The writer's design, is to describe the effects of wisdom from the beginning of the world : and the work is a history of knowledge or learning. In a vision, he meets the goddess SAPIENCE in a delightful meadow ; who conducts him to her castle, or mansion, and there displays all her miraculous operations. Caxton, in the poem invokes the *gylted goddess* and *moost facundyous lady* Clio, apologises to those *makers* who delight in *termes gay*, for the inelegancies of language which as a foreigner he could not avoid, and modestly declares, that he neither means to rival or envy Gower and Chaucer,

Among the anonymous pieces of poetry belonging to this period, which are very numerous, the most conspicuous is the *KALENDAR OF SHEPHERDS*. It seems to have been translated into English about the year 1480, from a French book entitled *KALENDRIER DES BERGERS*⁴. It was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the year 1497⁵. This piece was calculated for the purpose of a perpetual almanac ; and seems to have been the universal magazine of every article of salutary and useful knowledge. It is a medley of verse and prose ; and contains, among many other curious particulars, the saints of the whole year, the moveable feasts, the signs of the zodiac, the properties of the twelve months, rules for blood-letting, a collection of proverbs, a system of ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography⁶.

¹ These four lines are in the exordium. of a prayer to the virgin, MSS. Harl. 2382. (4to.) 3. fol. 86. b. ² Printed by William Maclyn or Machlina. Without date.

³ Printed by him, without date fol. in thirty-seven leaves

⁴ I have seen an edition of the French, of 1500.

⁵ I have an edition printed by John Wally, at London, without date, 4to. In the prologue it is said, 'This book was first corruptly printed in France, and after that at the cost and charges of Richard Pinson newly translated and reprinted although not so faithfully as the original copy required, &c.' It was certainly first printed by de Worde, 1497. Again, ch. ii. 'From the yeare this kalender was made M.CCCC.XCVII. unto the yeare M.CCCCC.XVI.' From whence I conclude, that Worde's edition was in 1497, Wally's in 1516. Again, 'This yeare of the present kalender whiche began to have course the first daye of January M.CCCC.XCVII.'

⁶ Pieces of this sort were not uncommon. In the British Museum there is an *ASTROLOGI-*

Among other authors, *Cathon the great clarke*, [Epilogue.] *Solomon*, *Ptolomeus the prince of astronomy*, and Aristotle's Epistle to Alexander, are quoted. [Cap. 42.] Every month is introduced respectively speaking, in a stanza of *balad royal*, its own panegyric, This is the speech of May. [Cap. 2.]

Of all monthes in the yeare I am kinge,
 Flourishing in beauty excellently;
 For, in my time, in virtue is all thinge,
 Fieldes and medes sprede most beautiously,
 And birdes singe with sweete harmony;
 Rejoycing lovers with hot love endewed,
 With fragrant flowers all about renewed.

In the theological part, the terrors and certainty of death are described, by the introduction of Death, seated on the pale horse of the Apocalypse, and speaking thus. [Cap. XIX.]

Upon this horse, blacke and hideous
 DEATH I am, that fiercely doth sitte:
 There is no fairenesse, but sight tedious,
 All gay colours I do hitte.
 My horse runneth by dales and hilles,
 And many he smiteth dead and killes.
 In my trap I take some by every way,
 By town [and] castles I take my rent.
 I will not respite one an houre of a daye,
 Before me they must needes be present.

I slea all with my mortall knife, And of dutye I take the life.
 HELL knoweth well my killing,
 I sleepe never, but wake and warke;
 It [HELL,] followeth me ever running,
 With my darte I slea weake and starke:
 A great number it hath of me,
 Paradyse hath not the fourth parte, &c.

In the eighth chapter of our KALENDER are described the seven visions, or the punishments in hell of the seven deadly sins which Lazarus saw between his death and resurrection. These punishments are imagined with great strength of fancy, and accompanied with wooden cuts boldly touched, and which the printer Wynkyn de Worde

CAL poem, teaching when to buy and sell, to let blood, to build, to go to sea, the fortune of children, the interpretation of dreams, with other like important particulars, from the day of the moon's age. MSS. Harl. 2320, 3, fol. 31. In the principal letter the author is represented in a studious posture. The MSS., having many Saxon letters intermixed, begins thus.

He þat wol herkyn of wit
 Lystenyth to me a stonde,
 What tyme ys good to byen and to sylle,

þat ys witnest in holy wryt,
 Of a story y schal zow telle,
 In boke as hyt ys y fownde.

The reader who is curious to know the state of quackery, astrology, fortune-telling, midwifery, and other occult sciences, about the year 1420, may consult the works of John Crop-hill, who practised in Suffolk. MSS. Harl. 1735, 4to. 3, seq. [See fol. 29, 36.] This *cunning man* was likewise a poet; and has left, in the same MSS., some poetry spoken at an entertainment of *Frere Thomas*, and five ladies of quality, whose names are mentioned: at which, two great bowls or goblets, called MERCY and CHARITY, were briskly circulated, fol. 48.

probably procured from some German engraver at the infancy of the art¹. The PROUD are bound by hooks of iron to vast wheels, like mills, placed between craggy precipices, which are incessantly whirling with the most violent impetuosity, and sound like thunder. The ENVIOUS are plunged in a lake half frozen, from which as they attempt to emerge for ease, their naked limbs are instantly smote with a blast of such intolerable keenness, as they are compelled to dive again into the lake. To the WRATHFULL is assigned a gloomy cavern, in which their bodies are butchered, and their limbs mangled by demons with various weapons. The SLOTHFULL are tormented in a *horrible hall dark and tenebrous*, swarming with innumerable flying serpents of various shapes and sizes, which sting to the heart. This, I think, is the Hell of the Gothic EDDA. The COVETOUS are dipped in cauldrons filled with boiling metals. The GLUTTONUS are placed in a vale near a loathsome pool, abounding with venomous creatures, on whose banks tables are spread, from which they are perpetually crammed with toads by devils. CONCUISCENCE is punished in a field full of immense pits or wells, overflowing with fire and sulphur. This visionary scene of the infernal punishments seems to be borrowed from a legend related by Matthew Paris, under the reign of king John : in which the soul of one Turkhill, a native of Tidstude in Essex is conveyed by St. Julian from his body, when laid asleep, into hell and heaven. In hell he has a fight of the torments of the damned, which are presented under the form and name of the INFERNAL PAGEANTS, and greatly resemble the fictions I have just described. Among the tormented, is a knight, who had passed his life in shedding much innocent blood at tilts and tournaments. He is introduced, completely armed, on horseback ; and couches his lance against the demon, who is commissioned to seize and to drag him to his eternal destiny. There is likewise a priest who never said mass, and a baron of the Exchequer who took bribes. Turkill is then conducted into the mansions of the blessed, which are painted with strong oriental colouring : and in Paradise, a garden replenished with the most delicious fruits, and the most exquisite variety trees, plants, and flowers, he sees Adam, a personage of gigantic proportion, but the most beautiful symmetry, reclined on the side of a fountain which sent forth four streams of different water and colour, and under the shade of a tree of immense size and height, laden with fruits of every kind, and breathing the richest odours. Afterwards St. Julian conveys the soul of Turkhill back to his body : and when awakened, he relates this vision to his parish-priest².

¹ Compare the torments of Dante's hell. INFERN. Cant. v. vi. seq.

² Matt. Paris. Hist. pag. 206, seq. Edit. Tig. Much the same sort of fable is related, ibid. p. 178, seq. There is an old poem on this subject, called OWAYNE MILES, MSS. COTT. CALIG. A. 12, f. 90.

There is a story of a similar cast in the venerable Bede¹, which have mentioned before².

As the ideas of magnificence and elegance were enlarged, the public pageants of this period were much improved: and beginning now to

¹ DEAD MAN'S SONG seems to be more immediately taken from this fiction as it stands in our SHEPHERD'S KALENDER. It is entitled, The DEAD MAN'S SONG, *whose Dwelling was near Basinghall in London.* Wood's BALLADS, Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. It is worthy of doctor Percy's excellent collection, and begins thus.

Sore sicke, dear frienns, long tyme I was, And weakly laid in bed, &c.

See also the legend of saint Patrick's cave, Matt. Paris. p. 84. And MSS. Harl. 2385, 82. *De quodam ducto videre penas Inferni.* fol. 56, b. These highly painted infernal punishments, and joys of Paradise, are not the invention of the author of the KALENDRIER. They are taken, both from M. Paris and from Henry of Saltry's Description of saint Patrick's PURGATORY, written in 1140, and printed by Messingham in his FLORILEGIUM INSULÆ SANCTORUM, &c. Paris, 1624. fol. cap. vi. &c. p. 101. See Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodl. 550. [See vol. ii. p. 298.] Messingham has connected the two accounts of M. Paris and H. de Saltry, with some interpolations of his own. This adventure appears in various manuscripts. No subject could have better suited the devotion and the credulity of the dark ages.

² I chuse to throw together in the Notes many other anonymous pieces belonging to this period, most of which are too minute to be formally considered in the series of our poetry. THE CASTELL OF HONOUR, printed in 4to. by Wynkyn de Worde, 1506. THE PARLYAMENT OF DEVYLLES. Princip. 'As Mary was great with Gabriel, &c.' For the same, in 4to., 1509. THE HISTOIRE OF JACOB AND HIS TWELVE SONS. In stanzas. For the same, without date. I believe about 1500. Princip. 'Al yonge and old that lyst to here.' A LYTEL TREATYSE called the *Dysputacyon or Complaynt of the Heart thorughe perced with the lokenge of the eye.* For the same, in 4to., perhaps before 1500. The first stanza is elegant, and deserves to be transcribed.

In the fyrst weke of the season of Maye,
Whan that the wodes be covered in grene,
In which the nyghtyngale lyst for to playe
To shewe his voys among the thornes kene,
Them to rejoyce which loves servants bene,
Which fro all comforte thynke them fast behynd:
My pleasyr was as it was after sene
For my dysport to chase the harte and hynde.

THE LYFE OF SAINT JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA. For Pinson, in 4to. 1520. THE LYFE OF PETRONYLLA. In stanzas, for the same, without date, in 4to. THE CASTLE OF LABOURE. In stanzas, for the same, in 4to., without date, with neat wooden cuts. THE LYFE OF SAINT RADEGUNDA. In 4to., for the same. THE A.B.C.E. OF ARISTOTILLE, MSS. Harl. 1304, 4. Proverbial verses in the alliterative manner, viz.

Woso will be wise and worship desireth,
Lett him lerne one letter, and loke on another, &c.

Again, *ibid.* 541. 19. fol. 213. [Compare, *ibid.* 913. 10. fol. 15. b. 11. fol. 15. b.] Some satyrical Ballads written by *Frere Michael Kildare*, chiefly on the *Religious orders, Saints, the White Friars of Drogheda, the vanity of riches, &c. &c. A divine poem on death, &c.* MSS. Harl. 913. 3. fol. 7. 4. fol. 9. 5. fol. 10. 13. fol. 16. [He has left a Latin poem in rhyme on the abbot and prior of Gloucester, *ibid.* 5. fol. 10. And burlesque pieces on some of the divine offices, *ibid.* 6. fol. 12. 7. 13. b.] Hither we may also refer a few pieces written by one Whyting, not mentioned in Tanner, MSS. Harl: 541. 14. fol. 207. seq. Undoubtedly many other poems of this period, both printed and MSS., have escaped my enquiries, but which, if discovered, would not have repaid the research.

Among Rawlinson's MSS., there is a poem, of considerable length, on the antiquity of the Stanley family, beginning thus.

I entende with true reporte to praise
The valiaunte actes of the stoute Standelais,
Ffrom whence they came, &c.

It comes down lower than Thomas earl of Derby, who was executed in the reign of Henry VII. This induced me to think at first, that the piece was written about that time. But the writer mentions king Henry VIII., and the suppression of Monasteries. I will only add part of a Will in verse, dated 1477. MSS. Langb. Bibl. Bodl. vi. fol. 176 [M. 13. Th.]

Fleshly lustres and festes, And furures of divers bestes,
(A fend was hem fonde;) Hole clothe cast on shredys,
And wymen with thare hyde hedys, Have almost lost thys londe!

To the reign of Henry VI. we may also refer a poem written by one Richard Sellyng, whose name is not in any of our biographers. MSS. HARL. f. 38. a. It is entitled and begins

be celebrated with new splendour, received, among other advantages, the addition of SPEAKING PERSONAGES. These spectacles, thus furnished with speakers, characteristically habited, and accompanied with proper scenery, co-operated with the MYSTERIES, of whose nature they partook at first, in introducing the drama. It was customary to prepare these shews at the reception of a prince, or any other solemnity of a similar kind: and they were presented on moveable theatres, or occasional stages, erected in the streets. The speeches were in verse; and as the procession moved forward, the speakers, who constantly bore some allusion to the ceremony, either conversed together in the form of a dialogue, or addressed the noble person whose presence occasioned the celebrity. Speakers seem to have been admitted into our pageants about the reign of Henry VI.

In the year 1432, when Henry VI., after his coronation at Paris, made a triumphal entry into London, many stanzas, very probably written by Lydgate, were addressed to his majesty, amidst a series of the most allegorical spectacles, by a giant representing religious fortitude, Enoch and Eli, the holy Trinity, two *Judges* and eight *Serjeants of the coife*, *dame Clennesse*, Mercy, Truth, and other personages of a like nature¹.

In the year 1456, when Margaret, wife of Henry VI., with her little son Edward, came to Coventry, on the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, she was received with the presentation of pageants, in one of which king Edward the Confessor, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Margaret, each speak to the queen and the prince in verse². In the

thus, 'Evidens to be ware and gode covnsayle made now late by that honovrable squier Richard Sellyng.'

Loo this is but a symple tragedie,
Which that Storax wrote unto Pompeie,
And to John Shirley now sent it is

Ne thing lyche un to hem of Lumbardye,
Sellyng maketh this in his manere,
Ffor to amende where it is amisse.

He calls himself an old man. Of this 'honovrable squier' I can give no further account. John Shirley, here mentioned, lived about the year 1440. He was a gentleman of good family, and a great traveller. He collected, and transcribed in several volumes, which John Stowe had seen, many pieces of Chaucer, Lydgate, and other English poets. In the Ashmolean Museum, there is, 'A boke cleped the Abstracte Brevyare compyled of divers balades, 'roundels, virilays, tragedyes, envoys, complaints, moralities, storyes, practysed and eke 'devysed and ymagined, as it sheweth here following, collected by John Shirley.' MSS. 89. ii. In Thoresby's library was a MSS., once belonging to the college of Selby, 'A most 'pyteous cronycle of thorribil dethe of James Stewarde, late kynge of Scotys, nought long 'agone prisoner yn Englande yn the tymes of the kynges Henry V. and Henry VI., tran- 'slated out of Latine into oure mothers Englishe tong bi your simple subject John Shirley.' Also, 'The boke clepyd *Les bones meures* translated out of French by your humble serviture 'John Shirley of London, MCCCXL., comprised in v partes. The firste partie spekith of remedie 'that is agaynst the sevyng deadly sins. 2. The estate of holy church. 3. Of prynces and 'lordes temporall. 4. Of comone people. 5. Of deth and universal dome.' Also, his Translation of the Sanctum Sanctorum, &c. DUCAT. LEOD. p. 530. A preserver of Chaucer's and Lydgate's works deserved these notices. The late Mr. Ames, the industrious author of the HISTORY OF PRINTING, had in his possession a folio volume of English Ballads in MSS., composed or collected by one John Lucas about the year 1450.

¹ Fabyan, ubi supr. fol. 382. seq.

² LEET-BOOK of the city of Coventry. MSS. fol. 168. Stowe says, that at the reception of this queen in London, in the year 1445, several pageants were exhibited at *Paul's-gate*, with verses written by Lydgate, on the following lemmata. 'Ingredimini et replete terram. Non amplius irascar super terram. Madam Grace chancellor de dieu. Five wise and five foolish

next reign in the year 1474, another prince Edward, son of Edward IV., visited Coventry, and was honoured with the same species of shew: he was first welcomed, in an octave stanza, by Edward the Confessor; and afterwards addressed by St. George, completely armed: a king's daughter holding a lamb, and supplicating his assistance to protect her from a terrible dragon, the lady's father and mother, standing in a tower above, the conduit on which the champion was placed, 'renning wine in four places, and minstralcly of organ playing. [Fol. 221.] Undoubtedly the Franciscan friers of Coventry, whose sacred interludes, presented on Corpus Christi day, in that city, and at other places, make so conspicuous a figure in the history of the English drama¹, were employed in the management of these devices: and that the Coventry men were famous for the arts of exhibition, appears from the share they took in the gallant entertainment of queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth castle, before whom they played their *old storial show*.

At length, personages of another cast were added; and this species of spectacle, about the period with which we are concerned, was enlivened by the admission of new characters, drawn either from profane history, or from profane allegory², in the application of which, some degree of learning and invention appeared.

I have observed in a former work, and it is a topic which will again be considered in its proper place, that the frequent and familiar use of allegorical personifications in the public pageants, I mean the general use of them, greatly contributed to form the school of Spenser³. But moreover from what is here said, it seems probable, that the PAGEAUNTS, which being shewn on civil occasions, derived great part of their decorations and actors from historical fact, and consequently made profane characters the subject of public exhibition, dictated ideas of a regular drama, much sooner than the MYSTERIES; which being confined to scripture stories, or rather the legendary miracles of sainted martyrs, and the no less ideal personifications of the christian virtues,

'virgins. Of Saint Margaret,' &c. HIST. ENGL. pag. 385. edit. Howes. I know not whether these poems were *spoken*, or only affixed to the pageaunts. Fabyan says, that in those pageaunts there was 'resemblance of dyvyrse old hystories. I suppose tapestry. CRON. tom. ii. fol. 398. edit. 1533. See the ceremonies at the coronation of Henry VI., in 1430. Fab. *ibid.* fol. 378.

¹ The friers themselves were the actors. But this practice being productive of some enormities, and the laity growing as wise as the clergy, at least as well qualified to act plays; there was an injunction in the MEXICAN COUNCIL, ratified at Rome in the year 1589, to prohibit all clerks from playing in the Mysteries, *even on CORPUS CHRISTI-DAY*. 'Neque in "Comœdiis personam agat, etiam in FESTO CORPORIS CHRISTI." SACROSANCT. CONCIL. fol. per Labb. tom. xv. p. 1268. edit. Paris. 1672.

² Profane allegory, however, had been applied in pageants, somewhat earlier. In the pageants, above-mentioned, presented to Henry VI., the seven liberal sciences personified are introduced, in a *tabernacle of curious worke*, from which their queen *dame Sapience* speaks verses. At entering the city he is met, and saluted in metre by three ladies, *richly cladde in golde and silkes* with coronets, who suddenly issue from a stately tower hung with the most splendid arras. These are the Dames, NATURE, GRACE, and FORTUNE. Fabyan, ut *supr.* fol. 382. seq. But this is a rare instance so early.

³ Obs. FAIRY QUEEN. ii. 90.

were not calculated to make so quick and easy a transition to the representations of real life and rational action.

In the year 1501, when the princess Catharine of Spain came to London, to be married to Prince Arthur, her procession through the city was very magnificent. The pageants were numerous, and superbly furnished; in which the principal actors, or speakers, were not only God the father, St. Catharine, and St. Ursula, but king Alphonsus the astronomer and an ancestor of the princess, a Senator, an Angel, Job, Boethius, Nobility, and Virtue. These personages sustained a sort of action, at least of dialogue. The lady was compared to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and Alphonsus, from his skill in the stars, was introduced to be the fortune-teller of the match. [Chron. MSS.] These machineries were contrived and directed by an ecclesiastic of great eminence, bishop Fox; who, says Bacon, 'was not only 'a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, 'and a good master of ceremonies. and anything else that was fit for 'the active part, belonging to the service of court, or state of a great 'king.' It is probable, that this prelate's dexterity and address in the conduct of a court-rareeshow procured him more interest, than the gravity of his counsels, and the depth of his political knowledge: at least his employment in this business presents a striking picture of the importance of those popular talents, which even in an age of blind devotion, and in the reign of a superstitious monarch, were instrumental in paving the way to the most opulent dignities of the church. 'Who- 'soever, adds the same penetrating historian, had these toys in com- 'piling, they were not altogether PEDANTICAL¹.' About the year 1487, Henry VII. went a progress into the north; and at every place of distinction was received with a pageant; in which he was saluted, in a poetical oration, not always religious, as, at York by Ebranck, a British king and the founder of the city, as well as by the holy virgin, and king David: at Worcester by Henry VI. his uncle: at Hereford by St. George, and king Ethelbert, at entering the cathedral there: at Bristol, by king Bremmuis, Prudence, and Justice. The two latter characters were personated by young girls².

In the meantime it is to be granted, that profane characters were personated in our pageants, before the close of the fourteenth century. Stowe relates, that in the year 1377, for the entertainment of the young prince Richard, son of Edward the black prince, 130 citizens rode disguised from Newgate to Kennington where the court resided, attended with an innumerable multitude of waxen torches, and various instruments of music, in the evening of the Sunday preceding Candlemas-day. In the first rank were 48, habited like esquires, with visors; and in

¹ Bacon's HENRY VII. COMPL. Hist. Engl. vol. i. p. 628.

² From a MSS. in the Cotton library, printed in Leland. COLLECTAN. ad calc. vol. p. 185.

the second the same number, in the character of knights. 'Then followed one richly arrayed like an EMPEROR, and after him, at some distance, one stately-tyred like a POPE, whom followed twenty-four CARDINALLS, and after them eyght or tenne with blacke visors not amiable, as if they had been LEGATES from some forrain princes.' But this parade was nothing more than a DUMB SHEW, unaccompanied with any kind of interlocution. This appears from what follows. For our chronicler adds, that when they entered the hall of the palace, they were met by the prince, the queen, and the lords; 'whom the said mumers did salute, *shewing by a pair of dice their desire to play with the prince,*' which they managed with so much compliance and skill, that the prince won of them a bowl, a cup, and a ring of gold, and the queen and lords, each, a ring of gold. Afterwards, having been feasted with a sumptuous banquet, they had the honour of dancing with the young prince and the nobility, and so the ceremony was concluded¹. Matthew Paris informs us, that at the magnificent marriage of Henry III. with Eleanor of Provence, in the year 1236, certain strange pageants, and wonderful devices, were displayed in the city of London; and that the number of HISTRIONES on this occasion was infinite². But the word HISTRIO, in the Latin

¹ Stowe's SURV. LOND. p. 71. edit. 1599. 4to. It will perhaps be said, that this show was not properly a PAGEANT but a MUMMERY. But these are frivolous distinctions; and, taken in a general view, this account preserves a curious specimen of early PERSONATION, and proves at least that the practice was not then in its infancy. The most splendid spectacle of this sort which occurs in history, at least so early as the fourteenth century, is described by Froissart, who was one of the spectators. It was one of the shows at the magnificent entrance of queen Isabell into Paris, in the year 1389. The story is from the crusade against Saladin. I will give the passage from lord Berners's Translation, printed by Pinson in 1523. 'Than after, under the mynster of the Trinite, in the strete, there was a stage, and thereupon a castell. And along on the stage there was ordeyned the PASSE of KYNG SALHADYN, and all their dedes in Personages: the cristen men on the one parte, and the Sarazins on the other parte. And there was, in Personages, all the lordes of name that of olde tyme hadde ben armed, and had done any feates of armes at the PASSE of SALHADYNE, and were armed with suche armure as they than used. And thanne, a lyttel above them, there was in Personages the Frenche kyng and the twelve Peers of Fraunce armed, with the blason of their armes. And when the French quenes lytter was come before this stage, she rested there a season. Thanne the Personages on the stage of kyng Rychard departed fro his company, and went to the Frenche kyng, and demaunded lycence to go and assayle the Sarazins; and the kyng gave hym (them) leave. Thanne kyng Rychard returned to his twelve companyons. Thanne they all sette them in order, and incontynente wente and assayed Salhadyne and the Sarazins. Then in sporte there seemed a great bataille, and it endured a good space. This pageant was well regarded.' CRON. tom. ii. c. 56. fol. clxxii. col. i. By the two kings, he means Philip of France, and our Richard I., who were jointly engaged in this expedition. It is observable, that the superiority is here given to the king of France.

² I will cite the passage more at large, and in the words of the original. 'Convenerunt autem vocata ad convivium nuptiale tanta nobilium multitudo utriusque sexus, tanta reli-giosorum numerositas, tanta plebium populositas, tanta HISTRIONUM Varietas, quod vix eos civitas Londoniarum sinu suo capaci comprehenderet. Ornata est igitur civitas tota olosericis, et vexillis, coronis, et palliis, cereis et lampadibus, et quibusdam prodigiosis ingeniis et potentis, &c.' HIST. p. 406. edit. Tig. 1589, sub. HENRICO iii. Here, by the way, the expression Varietas histrionum plainly implies the comprehensive and general meaning of the word HISTRIO; and the multifarious performances of that order of men. Yet in the Injunctions given by the Barons to the religious houses, in the year 1258, there is an article which seems to shew, that the Histriones were sometimes a particular species of public entertainers. 'HISTRIONUM LUDI non videantur vel audiantur, vel permittantur fieri coram abbate vel monasticis.' Annal. Burton. p. 437. Oxon. 1684. Whereas minstrels, harpers, and jugglers, were notoriously permitted in the monasteries. We cannot ascertain

writers of the barbarous ages¹, generally comprehends the numerous tribe of mimics, jugglers, dancers, tumblers, musicians, minstrels, and the like public practitioners of the recreative arts, with which those ages abounded: nor do I recollect a single instance in which it precisely bears the restrained modern interpretation.

As our thoughts are here incidentally turned to the rudiments of the English stage, I must not omit an anecdote, entirely new, with regard to the mode of playing the MYSTERIES at this period, which yet is perhaps of much higher antiquity. In the year 1487, while Henry VII. kept his residence at the castle of Winchester, on occasion of the birth of prince Arthur, on a Sunday, during the time of dinner, he was

whether LUDI here means plays, then only religious; LUDI *theatrales* in churches and church-yards, on vigils and festivals, are forbidden in the Synod of Exeter, dat. 1287. cap. xiii. CONCIL. MAGN. BRIT. per Wilkins. tom. ii. p. 140. col. 2. edit. 1737. fol.

I cannot omit the opportunity of adding a striking instance of the extraordinary freedom of speech, permitted to these people, at the most solemn celebrities. About the year 1250, Henry III., passing some time in France, held a most magnificent feast in the great hall of the knights-templars at Paris; at which, besides his own suite, were present the kings of France and Navarre, and all the nobility of France. The walls of the hall were hung all over with shields, among which was that of our Richard I. Just before the feast began, a JOCLATOR, or minstrel, accosted king Henry thus. 'My lord, why did you invite so many Frenchmen to feast with you in this hall? Behold, there is the shield of Richard, the magnanimous king of England!—All the Frenchmen present will eat their dinner in 'fear and trembling!' Matt. Paris. p. 871. sub. HENR. iii. edit. Tigur. 1589. fol. Whether this was a preconcerted compliment, previously suggested by the king of France, or not, it is equally a proof of the familiarity with which the minstrels were allowed to address the most eminent personages.

¹ There is a passage in John of Salisbury much to our purpose, which I am obliged to give in Latin, 'At eam (desidiam) nostris prorogant HISTRIONES. Admissa sunt ergo SPECTACULA, et infinita lenocinia vanitatis.—Hinc mimi, salii vel saliares balatrones, amiliani gladiators, præstrita, gignadii, præstigiatores, malefici quoque multi, et tota JOCLATORUM SCENA procedit. Quorum adeo error invaluit, ut a præcæris domibus non arceantur etiam illi, qui obscenis partibus corporis, oculis omnium eam ingerunt turpitudinem, quam erubescet videre vel cynicus. Quodque magis mirare, nec tunc ejiciuntur, quando TUMULTUANTES INFERIUS crebro sonitu aerem fediunt, et turpiter inclusum turpius produunt. Veruntamen quid in singulis possit aut deceat, animus sapientis adverteit, nec APOLOGOS refugit, aut NARRATIONES, aut quæcunque SPECTACULA, dum virtutis, &c.' POLYCRAT. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 28. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1595. Here, GIGNADII, a word unexplained by Du Cange, signifies wrestlers, or the performers of athletic exercises: for *gignasium* was used for *gymnasium* in the barbarous Latinity. By *apologos*, we are perhaps to understand an allegorical story or fable, such as were common in the Provencal poetry; and by *narrationes*, tales of chivalry: both which were recited at festivals by these HISTRIONES. *Spectacula* I need not explain; but here seems to be pointed out the whole system of ancient exhibition or entertainment. I must add another pertinent passage from this writer, whom the reader will recollect to have flourished about the year 1140. 'Non facile tamen crediderim ad hoc quemquam impelli posse litteratorem, ut HISTRIONEM profiteatur.—GESTUS siquidem EXPRIMUNT, rerum utilitate deducta.' Ibid. lib. viii. cap. xii. p. 514. (Compare Blount's ANT. TENURES, p. 11. HEMINGSTON.)

With regard to APOLOGI, mentioned above, I have further to observe, that the Latin metrical apologues of the dark ages, are probably translations from the Provencal poetry. Of this kind is Wierker's SPECULUM STULTORUM, or BURNELL'S ASS. And the ASINUS PÆNITENTIARIUS, in which an ass, wolf, and fox, are introduced, confessing their sins, &c. Matt. Flacius, Catal. Test. Verit. p. 993. edit. 1556. In the British Museum there is an ancient thin folio volume on vellum, containing upwards of 200 short moral tales in Latin prose, which I also class under the APOLOGI here mentioned by John of Salisbury. Some are legendary, others romantic, and others allegorical. Many of them I believe to be translations from the Provencal poetry. Several of the Esopian fables are intermixed. In this collection is Parnell's HERMIT, *De Angelo et Heremita Peregrinum occisum septientibus*, Rubr. 32. fol. 7. And a tale, I think in Fontaine, of the king's son who never saw a woman. Rubr. 8. fol. 2. The stories seems to have been collected by an Englishman, at least in England, for there is, the tale of one *Godfrey, a priest of Sussex*. Rubr. 40. fol. 8. MSS. Harl. 463. The story of Parnell's HERMIT is in *Gesta Romanorum*, MSS. Harl. 2270. ch. lxxx.

entertained with a religious drama called *CHRISTI DESCENSUS AD INFEROS*, or *Christ's descent into hell*¹. It was represented by the *PUERI ELEEMOSYNARII*, or choir-boys, of Hyde abbey, and St. Swithin's priory, two large monasteries at Winchester. This is the only proof I have ever seen of choir-boys acting in the old MYSTERIES : nor do I recollect any other instance of a royal dinner, even on a festival, accompanied with this species of diversion². The story of this interlude, in which the chief characters were Christ, Adam, Eve, Abraham, and John the Baptist, was not uncommon in the ancient religious drama, and I believe made a part of what is called the *LUDUS PASCHALIS*, or *Easter Play*³. It occurs in the Coventry plays acted on Corpus Christi day⁴; and in the Whitsun-plays at Chester, where it is called the *HARROWING OF HELL*⁵. The representation is Christ entering hell triumphantly, delivering our first parents, and the most sacred characters of the old and new testaments, from the dominion of Satan, and conveying them into Paradise. There is an ancient poem, perhaps an interlude, on the same subject, among the Harleian MSS.; containing our Saviour's dialogues in hell with Sathanas, the Janitor, or porter of hell, Adam, Eve, Habraham, David, Johan Baptist, and Moyses. It begins,

Alle herkneþ to me nou :
Of Jhesu ant of Sathan

A strif wolle y tellen ou
þo Jhesus was to hell y-gan⁶.

The composers of the MYSTERIES did not think the plain and probable events of the new testament sufficiently marvellous for an audience who wanted only to be surprised. They frequently selected their materials from books which had more of the air of romance. The subject of the MYSTERIES just-mentioned was borrowed from the *PSEUDO-EVANGELIUM*, or the *FABULOUS GOSPEL*, ascribed to Nicodemus⁷: a

¹ Registr. Priorat. S. Swithin. Winton. MSS. ut supr.

² Except, that on the first Sunday of the magnificent marriage of king James of Scotland with the princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry VII., celebrated at Edinburgh with high splendour, 'after dynnar a MORALITE was played by the said master Inglyshe and 'hys companyons in the presence of the kyng and qwene.' On one of the preceding days, 'After soupper the kyng and qwene beyng togader in hyr grett chamber, John Inglysh and 'his companyons *plaid*.' This was in the year 1503. Apud Leland. coll. iii. p. 300. 299. APPENDIX edition 1770.

³ The Italians pretend that they have a *LUDUS PASCHALIAS* as old as the twelfth century. *TEATRO ITALIANO*, tom. i. *Un Istoria del Teatro*, &c., prefixed, p. ii. Veron. 1723. 12mo.

⁴ 'Nunc dormiunt milites, et veniet anima Christi de inferno cum Adam et Eva, 'Abraham, Joh. Baptiste, et alii.'

⁵ MSS. Harl. 2013. PAGEAUNT xvii. fol. 138.

⁶ MSS. Harl. 2253. 21. fol. 55. b. There is a poem on this subject, MSS. Bodl. 1687.

How Jesus Crist harowed hele

Of hardi gestes ich wille telle.

⁷ In Latin. A Saxon translation, from a MSS. at Cambridge, coeval with the conquest, was printed at Oxford, by Thwaites, 1699. In an English translation by Wynkyn de Worde, the prologue says, 'Nichodemus, which was a worthy prynce, dydde wryte thys blessyd storye in Hebrew. And Theodosius, the emperour, dyde it translate out of Hebrew into 'Latyn, and byshoppe Turpyn dyde translate it out of Latyn into Frensshe.' With wooden cuts, 1511, 4to. There was another edit. by Wynkyn de Worde, 1518. 4to. and 1532. See a very old French version, MSS. Harl. 2253. 3. fol. 33. b. There is a translation into English verse, about the fourteenth century. MSS. Harl. 4196. 1. fol. 206. See also, 149.

book, which, together with the numerous apocryphal narratives, containing infinite innovations of the evangelical history, and forged at Constantinople by the early writers of the Greek church, gave birth to an endless variety of legends concerning the life of Christ and his apostles¹; and which, in the barbarous ages, was better esteemed than the genuine gospel, on account of its improbabilities and its absurdities.

But whatever was the source of these exhibitions, they were thought to contribute so much to the information and instruction of the people on the most important subjects of religion, that one of the popes granted a pardon of one thousand days to every person who resorted peaceably to the plays performed in the Whitsun week at Chester, beginning with the creation, and ending with the general judgment: and this indulgence was seconded by the bishop of the diocese, who granted forty days of pardon: the pope at the same time denouncing the sentence of damnation on all those incorrigible sinners, who presumed to disturb or interrupt the due celebration of these pious sports. [MSS. Harl. 2124. 2013.] It is certain that they had their use, not only in teaching the great truths of scripture to men who could not read the Bible, but in abolishing the barbarous attachment to military games, and the bloody contentions of the tournament, which had so long prevailed as the sole species of popular amusement. Rude and even ridiculous as they were, they softened the manners of the people, by diverting the public attention to spectacles in which the mind was concerned, and by creating a regard for other arts than those of bodily strength and savage valour.

5. fol. 254. b. And MSS. coll. Sion. 17. The title of the original is, NICODEMI DISCIPULI DE JESU CHRISTI PASSIONE ET RESURRECTIONE EVANGELIUM. Sometimes it is entitled GESTA SALVATORIS NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI. Our Lord's DESCENT INTO HELL is by far the best invented part of the work. Edit. apud ORTHODOX. PATR. Jac. Greyn. (Basil. 1569. 4to.) p. 653. seq. The old Latin title to the pageant of this story in the CHESTER PLAYS is, 'DE DESCENSU AD INFERNAM, et de his que ibidem fiebant secundum EVANGELIUM NICODEMI.' fol. 138, ut supr. Hence the first line in the old interlude, called HICKSCORNER, is illustrated.

Now Jesu the gentyll that brought Adam from hell.

There is a Greek homily on ST. JOHN'S DESCENT INTO HELL, by Eusebius Alexandrinus. They had a notion that St. John was our Saviour's precursor, not only in this world, but in hades. Allat. de libr. eccles. Græcor. p. 303. seq. Compare THE LEGEND OF NICODEMUS, CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO HELL, PILATE'S EXILE, &c. MSS. Bodl. B. 5. 2021. 4. seq.

¹ In the MSS. register of St. Swithin's priory at Winchester, it is recorded, that Leofric, bishop of Exeter, about the year 1150, gave to the convent, a book called GESTA BEATISSIMI APOSTOLI PETRI CUM GLOSA. This is probably one of these commentitious histories. By the way, the same Leofric was a great benefactor in books to his church at Exeter. Among others, he gave BOETTI LIBER ANGLICUS, and, MAGNUS LIBER ANGLICUS OMNINO METRICE DESCRIPTUS. What was this translation of Boethius, I know not; unless it is Alfred's. It is still more difficult to determine, what was the other piece, the GREAT BOOK OF ENGLISH VERSE, at so early a period. The grant is in Saxon, and, if not genuine, must be of high antiquity. Dugdal. MONAST. tom. i. p. 222. I have given Dugdale's Latin translation. The Saxon words are, 'Boetier boc on engliſge.—AND I. mycel engiſe 'boc be ȝeþpileum þingum on leodþīran ȝeƿorþt.'

5 MSS. Harl. 2121. 2013.

SECTION XXVIII.

THE only writer deserving the name of a poet in the reign of Henry VII., is Stephen Hawes. He was patronised by that monarch, who possessed some tincture of literature, and is said by Bacon to have confuted a Lollard in a public disputation at Canterbury¹.

Hawes flourished about the close of the fifteenth century; and was a native of Suffolk. [Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 5,] After an academical education at Oxford, he travelled much in France; and became a complete master of the French and Italian poetry. His polite accomplishments quickly procured him an establishment in the household of the king; who struck with the liveliness of his conversation, and because he could repeat by memory most of the old English poets, especially Lydgate, made him groom of the privy chamber². His facility in the French tongue was a qualification, which might strongly recommend him to the favour of Henry VII., who was fond of studying the French books then in vogue. [Bacon, ut supr. p. 637.]

Hawes has left many poems, which are now but imperfectly known, and scarcely remembered. These are, the TEMPLE OF GLASSE. THE CONVERSION OF SWERERS³, in octave stanzas, with Latin lemmata, printed by de Worde in 1509⁴. A JOYFULL MEDITATION OF ALL ENGLOND, OR THE CORONACYON OF OUR MOST NATURAL SOVEREIGN LORD KING HENRY THE EIGHTH IN VERSE. By the same, and without date; but probably it was printed soon after the ceremony which it celebrates. These coronation carols were customary. There is one by Lydgate⁵. THE CONSOLATION OF LOVERS. THE EXEMPLAR OF VIRTUE. THE DELIGHT OF THE SOUL. OF THE PRINCE'S MARRIAGE. THE ALPHABET OF BIRDS. Some of the five latter pieces, none of which I have seen, and which perhaps were never printed, are said by Wood to be in Latin, and seem to be in prose.

The best of Hawes's poems, hitherto enumerated, is the TEMPLE OF GLASSE⁶. On a comparison, it will be found to be a copy of the HOUSE

¹ LIFE OF HENRY VII. p. 628. edit. ut supr. One Hodgkins, a fellow of King's college in Cambridge, and vicar of Ringwood in Hants, was eminently skilled in the mathematics; and on that account, Henry VII. frequently condescended to visit him at his house at Ringwood. Hatcher MSS. CATAL. PRÆPOS. ET SOC. COLL. REGAL. CANT.

² Bale says, that he was called by the king 'ab interiori camera ad privatum cubiculum.' Cent. viii.

³ 'THE CONVERSYON OF SWERERS, made and compyled by Stephen Hawes, groome of the chamber of our sovereigne lord kynge Henry VII.'

⁴ It contains only one sheet in quarto.

⁵ A BALLAD presented to Henry VI. the day of his coronation. Princ. 'Most noble of crysten princes all.' MSS. Ashmol. 59. ii.

⁶ By mistake, as it seems, I have hitherto quoted Hawes's TEMPLE OF GLASS, under the name of Lydgate. It was first printed by Wynken de Worde, in 1500. 'Here bygenneth the TEMPLE OF GLASS. By Stephen Hawes, grome of the chamber to king Henry vii.' (Ames, Hist. Print. pag. 86,) 8vo. in 27 leaves. Afterwards by Berthelette, without date, or name of

OF FAME of CHAUCER, in which that poet sees in a vision a temple of glass, on the walls of which were engraved stories from Virgil's *Eneid* and Ovid's *Epistles*. It also strongly resembles that part of Chaucer's *ASSEMBLY OF FOULES*, in which there is the fiction of a temple of brass, built on pillars of jasper, whose walls are painted with the stories of unfortunate lovers. [V. 290.] And in his *ASSEMBLY of LADIES*, in a chamber made of beryl and crystal, belonging to the sumptuous castle of *Plasaunt Regard*, the walls are decorated with historical sculptures of the same kind. [V. 451.] The situation of Hawes's *TEMPLE* on a craggy rock of ice, is evidently taken from that of Chaucer's *HOUSE OF FAME*. In Chaucer's *DREAME*, the poet is transported into an island, where *wall and yate was all of glasse*. [V. 72.] These structures of glass have their origin in the chemistry of the dark ages. This is Hawes's exordium.

Me dyd oppresse a sodayne, dedely slepe :

the author, with this colophon. 'Thus endeth the temple of glasse. Emprinted at London, in 'Fletestrete, in the house of Thomas Berthelette, near to the cundite, at the sygne of the 'Lucrece. Cum privilegio.' I will give the beginning, with the title.

This boke called the Temple of glasse, is in many places amended, and late diligently imprinted.

Through constreynt and greuous heuynesse,
For great thought and for highe pensyuennesse,
To bedde I went nowe this other night,
Whan that Lucina with her pale lyght,
Was ionyned last with Phebus in Aquary,
Amydde Decembre, whan of January
There be kalendes of the newe yere ;
And derke Dyana, horned and nothyng clere,
Hydde her beames under a mysty cloude,
Within my bedde for colde gan me shroude :
All desolate for constraynt of my wo,
The long night walowyng to and fro,
Tyll at last, or I gan take kepe, &c.

This edit. unmentioned by Ames, is in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. C. 39. Art. Seld. 4to. In the same library are two MSS. copies of this poem. MSS. Fairfax, xvi. membran. without a name. And MSS. Bodl. 638. In the first leaf of the Fairfax MSS. is this entry. 'I bought this at 'Gloucester, 8 Sept. 1650, intending to exchange it for a better boke. *Fairfax*.' And at the end, in the same hand. 'Here lacketh seven leaves that are in Joseph Holland's boke.' This MSS. however, contains as much as Berthelett's edition. Lewis mentions the *Temple of Glass* by John Lydgate, in Caxton's second edit. of CHAUCER. (LIFE CH. p. 104. See also Middleton's DISSERT. p. 263.) But no such poem appears in that edit. in St. John's college library at Oxford. In the Bodleian MSS. (BODL. 638.) this poem, with manifest impropriety, is entitled the *TEMPLE OF BRAS*. It there appears in the midst of many of Chaucer's poems, But at the end are two poems by Lydgate, *THE CHAUNSE OF THE DYSE*, and *RAGMANY'S ROLL*. And, I believe, one or two more of Lydgate's poems are intermixed. It is a miscellany of old English poetry, chiefly by Chaucer: but none of the pieces are respectively distinguished with the author's name. This MSS. is partly on paper and partly on vellum, and seems to have been written not long after the year 1500.

The strongest argument which induces me to give this poem to Hawes, and not to Lydgate, is, that it was printed in Hawes's life-time, with his name, by Wynkyn de Worde. Bale also mentions, among Hawes's poems, *Templum Crystallinum* in one book. There is, however, a no less strong argument for giving it to Lydgate, and that is from Hawes himself; who, reciting Lydgate's Works, in the *PASTIME OF PLEASURE*, says thus, [ch. xiv. edit. 1555. Signat. G. iiii. ut infr.]

—————And the tyme to passe

Of love he made the bryght temple of glasse.

And I must add, that this piece is expressly recited in the large catalogue of Lydgate's works, belonging to W. Thinne, in Speght's edit. of Chaucer, printed 1602. fol. 376. Yet on the whole, I think this point still doubtful; and I leave it to be determined by the reader, before whom the evidence on both sides is laid at large.

Within the whiche, methought that I was
 Ravyshe in spyrite into a TEMPLE OF GLAS,
 I ne wyst howe ful ferre in wyldernesse,
 That founded was, all by lyckelynesse,
 Nat upon stele, but on a craggy roche
 Lyke yse yfroze: and as I dyd approche,
 Againe the sonne that shone, methought, so clere
 As any cristall; and ever, nere and nere,

As I gan nyghe this grisely dredefull place,
 I wext astonyed, the lyght so in my face
 Began to smyte, so persyng ever in one,
 On every part where that I dyde gon,
 That I ne mighte nothing as I wolde
 About my consydre, and beholde,
 The wondre esters¹, for brightnesse of the sonne:
 Tyll at the laste, certayne skyes donne²
 With wynde³ ychased, han their course ywent,
 Before the stremes of Titan and iblent⁴,
 So that I myght within and without,
 Where so I wolde, behelden me about,
 For to report the facyon and manere
 Of all this place, that was circular,
 In cumpace-wyse rounde by yntale ywrought:
 And whan I had longe goon, and well sought,
 I founde a wicket, and entred yn as faste
 Into the temple, and myne eyen caste
 On every side, &c⁵.

The walls of this wonderful temple were richly pictured with the following historical portraitures; from Virgil, Ovid, king Arthur's romance, and Chaucer.

I sawe depeynted upon a wall⁶,
 From est to west ful many a fayre ymage,
 Of sondry lovers, lyke as they were of age
 I set in ordre after they were true;
 With lyfely colours, wonders freshe of hewe,
 And as methought I saw som syt and som stande,
 And some knelyng, with bylles⁷ in theyr hande,
 An some with complaynt woful and pitious,
 With dolefull chere, to put to Venus,
 So as she sate fletynge in the see,
 Upon theyr wo for to have pite.
 And fyrst of all I sawe there of Cartage
 Dido the quene, so goodly of visage,
 That gan complayne her aventure and caas,
 How she disceyued was of Aeneas,

¹ The wonderful chambers of this temple.

³ i. e. Collected.

⁵ This text is given from Berthelett's edit. collated with MSS. Fairfax. xvi.

⁶ From Pr. Cop. and MSS. Fairf. xvi. as before.

² Dun. Dark.

⁴ *Blinded*, darkened the sun.

⁷ Bills of complaint.

For all his hestes and his othes sworne,
And sayd helas that she was borne,
Whan she sawe that dede she must be.

And next her I sawe the complaynt of Medee,
Howe that she was falsed of Jason.
And nygh by Venus sawe I syt Addon,
And all the maner howe the bore hym sloughe,
For whom she wepte and had pite inoughe.

There sawe I also howe Penelope,
For she so long ne myght her lorde se,
Was of colour both pale and grene.

And alder next was the freshe quene ;
I mean Alcest, the noble true wife,
And for Admete howe she lost her lyfe ;
And for her trouthe, if I shall nat lye,
Howe she was turned into a daysye.

There was also Grisildis innocence,
And all hir mekenesse and hir pacience.

There was eke Ysaude, and many other mo,
And all the tourment and all the cruell wo
That she had for Tristram all her lyue ;
And howe that Tysbe her hert dyd ryue
With thylke swerde of syr Pyramus.

And all maner, howe that Theseus
The minotaure slewe, amynd the hous
That was forwrynked by craft of Dedalus,
Whan that he was in prison shynt in Crete, &c.

And uppermore men depeinten might see,
Howe with her ring goodlie Canace
Of every soule the leden¹ and the song
Could understand, as she hem walkt among :
And how her brother so often holpen was
In his mischefe by the stede of brass².

We must acknowledge, that all the picturesque invention which appears in this composition, entirely belongs to Chaucer. Yet there was some merit in daring to depart from the dull taste of the times, and in chusing Chaucer for a model, after his sublime fancies had been so long forgotten, and had given place for almost a century, to legends, homilies, and chronicles in verse. In the mean time, there is reason to believe, that Chaucer himself copied these imageries from the romance of GUIGEMAR, one of the metrical TALES, or LAIS, of Bretagne³, translated from the Armorican original into French, by Marie, a French poetess, about the thirteenth century : in which the walls of a chamber are painted with Venus, and the *Art of Love* from Ovid⁴. Although, perhaps, Chaucer might not

¹ Language.

² Chaucer's SQUIER'S TALE.

³ Fol. 141. MSS. Harl. 978.

⁴ A passage in Ovid's REMEDIUM AMORIS concerning Achilles's spear, is supposed to be alluded to by a troubadour, Bernard Ventadour, who lived about the year 1150. HIST. TROUBAD. p. 27. This Mons. Millot calls, 'Un trait d'erudition singulier dans un troubadour.' It is not, however, impossible, that he might get this fiction from some of the early romances about Troy.

look further than the temples in Boccacio's *THESEID* for these ornaments. At the same time it is to be remembered, that the imagination of these old poets must have been assisted in this respect, from the mode which anciently prevailed, of entirely covering the walls of the more magnificent apartments, in castles, and palaces, with stories from scripture, history, the classics, and romance. I have already given instances of this practice, and I will here add more¹. In the year 1277, Otho, duke of Milan, having restored the peace of that city by a signal victory, built a noble castle, in which he ordered every particular circumstance of that victory to be painted. Paulus Jovius relates, that these paintings remained, in the great vaulted chamber of the castle, fresh and unimpaired, so late as the year 1547. 'Extantque adhuc in *maximo testudinatoque conclavi*, incorruptæ præliorum cum *veris ducum vultibus* imagines, *Latinis elegis* 'singula rerum elogia indicantibus².' That the castles and palaces of England were thus ornamented at a very early period, and in the most splendid style, appears from the following notices. Langton, bishop of Litchfield, commanded the coronation, marriages, wars, and funeral, of his patron Edward I. to be painted in the great hall of his episcopal palace, which he had newly built³. This must have been about the year 1312. The following anecdote relating to the old royal palace at Westminster, never yet was published. In the year 1322, one Symeon, a friar minor, and a doctor in theology, wrote an *ITINERARY*, in which is this curious passage. He is speaking of Westminster Abbey. 'Eidem monasterio quasi immediate conjungitur illud famosissimum palatium regium Anglorum, in quo illa 'VULGATA CAMERA, in cujus *parietibus* sunt omnes *HISTORIÆ* 'BELLIÆ TOTIUS BIBLIÆ ineffabiliter *depictæ*, atque in Gallico complectissime et perfectissime constanter conscriptæ, in non modica intuituum admiratione, et maxima regali magnificentia⁵.' 'Near this 'monastery stands the most famous royal palace of England; in which 'is that celebrated chamber, on whose walls all the warlike histories 'of the whole Bible are painted with inexpressible skill, and explained by a regular and complete series of texts, beautifully 'written in French over each battle, to the no small admiration of

¹ To the passages from Chaucer these may be added, CHAUCER'S *DREME*, v. 1320.

———— In a Chamber *paint*

Full of *stories old and divers*.

Again, *ibid.* v. 2167.

For theren' as no lady ne cature,

Save on the wals *old portraiture*

Of horsemen, hawkis, and houndes, &c.

Compare Dante's *PERGATORIO*, c. x. pag. 105. seq. edit. Ald.

² Vit. Vicecomit. Mediolan. *OTHO*. p. 56. edit. Paris. 1549. 4to.

³ Erdswicke's Staffordshire, p. 101.

⁴ *Itinerarium Symeonis et fratris Hugonis Illuminatoris ex Hibernia in terram sanctam*, A.D. MCCCXXII.' MSS. C. C. Cantabr. G. 6. Princip. 'Culmine honoris spreto.' It comprehends a journey through England, and describes many curiosities now lost.

'the beholder, and the increase of royal magnificence¹.' This ornament of a royal palace, while it conveys a curious history of the arts, admirably exemplifies the chivalry and the devotion of the times, united. That part of the Old Testament, indeed, which records the Jewish wars, was almost regarded as a book of chivalry: and their chief heroes, Joshua and David, the latter of whom killed a giant, are often recited among the champions of romance. In France the battles of the kings of Israel with the Philistines and Assyrians, were wrought into a grand volume, under the title of '*Piusicurs Bataillies, des roys d'Israel en contre les Philistines et Assyriens*'².

With regard to the form of Hawes's poem, I am of opinion, that VISIONS, which are so common in the poetry of the middle ages, partly took their rise from Tully's SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS. Had this composition descended to posterity among Tully's six books de REPUBLICA, to the last of which it originally belonged, perhaps it would have been overlooked and neglected³. But being preserved, and illustrated with a prolix commentary, by Macrobius, it quickly attracted the attention of readers, who were fond of the marvellous, and with whom Macrobius was a more admired classic than Tully. It was printed subjoined to Tully's OFFICES, in the infancy of the typographic art⁴. I, was translated into Greek by Maximus Planudes⁵; and is frequently quoted by Chaucer⁶. Particularly in the ASSEMBLY OF FOULES, he sup-

¹ This palace was consumed by fire in 1299, but immediately rebuilt, I suppose by Edward I., Stowe's LONDON, p. 379, 387. edit. 1599. So that these paintings must have been done between the years 1299, and 1322. It was again destroyed by fire in 1512, and never afterwards re-edified. Stowe, *ibid.* pag. 389. About the year 1500, the walls of the Virgin Mary's chapel, built by prior Silkested, in the cathedral of Winchester, were elegantly painted with the miracles, and other stories, of the New Testament, in small figures; many delicate traces of which now remain.

Falcandus, the old historian of Sicily, who wrote about the year 1200, says, that the chapel in the royal palace at Palermo, had its walls decorated 'de lapillulis quadris, partim aureis, partim diversicoloribus veteris ac novi Testamenti depictam historiam continentibus.' Sicil. Histor. p. 10. edit. Paris. 1550. 4to. But this was mosaic work, which, chiefly by means of the Crusades, was communicated to all parts of Europe from the Byzantine Greeks: and with which all the churches, and other public edifices at Constantinople, were adorned. EPIST. de COMPARAT. Vet. et Nov. Romæ. p. 122. Man. Chrysolor. Leo Ostiensis says, that one of the abbots of Cassino in Italy, in the eleventh century, sent messengers to Constantinople, to bring over artificers in MOSAIC, to ornament the church of the monastery, after Rome or Italy had lost that art for five hundred years. He calls Rome *magistra Latinitas*. Chron. Cassin. lib. iii. c. 27. Compare Muratori, ANTICH. ITALIAN. Tom. i. Diss. xxiv. p. 279. Nap. 1752. 4to.

² MSS. Reg. [Brit. Mus.] 19 D. 7. fol. Among the Harleian manuscripts, there is an Arabic book, containing the psalms of David, with an additional psalm, on the slaughter of the giant Goliath. MSS. Harl. 5476. See above.

³ But they were extant about the year 1000, for they are cited by Gerbert. Epist. 83. And by Peter of Poitou, who died in 1107. Barth. Advers. xxxii. 5. 58. Leland says, that Tully de REPUBLICA was consumed by fire, among other books, in the library of William Selling, a learned abbot of St. Austin's at Canterbury, who died in 1494. SCRIPT. CELLINGUS.

⁴ Venet. 1472. fol. Apud. Vindel. Spiram.

⁵ Lambecius mentions a Greek MSS. of Julian, a cardinal of S. Angelo, Ο *οὐερπος του Σκιπιωνος* 5. p. 153. The DISPUTATIO of Favonius Elogius, a Carthaginian rhetorician, and a disciple of St. Austin, on the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS, was printed by G. Schottus, Antw. 1613. 4to.

⁶ ROM. ROSE. lib. i. v. 7. [&c.]

An author that hight MACROBE,
But undoth us the AVISION

That halte nor dremis false ne lefe :
That whilom met KING CIPION.

poses himself to fall asleep after reading the *SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS*, and that Scipio shewed him the beautiful vision which is the subject of that poem¹. Nor is it improbable, that, not only the form, but the first idea of Dante's *INFERNO*, was suggested by this favourite apologue; which, in Chaucer's words, treats

————— Of heaven, and hell,
And yearth, and souls, that therein dwell. [Ibid v. 32.]

Not to insist on Dante's subject, he uses the shade of Virgil for a mystagogue; as Tully supposes Scipio to have shewn the other world to his ancestor Africanus.

But Hawes's capital performance is a poem entitled, 'THE PASSE-TYME OF PLEASURE, or the HISTORIE OF GRAUNDE AMOURE and LA BAL PUCEL: contayning the knowledge of the seven sciences, and the course of man's lyfe in this worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, groome of kyng Henry the seventh hys chambre².' It is dedicated to the king, and it was finished about the beginning of the year 1506.

If the poems of Rowlie are not genuine, the *PASTIME OF PLEASURE* is almost the only effort of imagination and invention which had yet appeared in our poetry since Chaucer. This poem contains no common touches of romantic and allegoric fiction. The personifications are often happily sustained, and indicate the writer's familiarity with the Provencal schol. The model of his versification and phraseology is that improved harmony of numbers, and facility of diction, with which his predecessor Lydgate adorned our octave stanza. But Hawes has added new graces to Lydgate's manner. Antony Wood, with the zeal of a true antiquary, laments, that 'such is the fate of poetry, that this book, which in the time of Henry the seventh and eighth was taken into the hands of all ingenious men, is now thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's stall!' The truth is, such is the good fortune of poetry, and such the improvement of taste, that much better books are become fashionable. It must indeed be acknowledged, that this poem has been unjustly neglected: and on that account, an apology will be

NONNES PR. TALE, v. 1238, Urr.

MACROBIUS that writith th' AVISION

In Affricke, of the worthy SCIPION.

DREME CH. v. 284. He mentions this as the most wonderful of dreams. HOUSE F. v. 407. lib. i. He describes a prospect more extensive and various than that which Scipio saw in his dream.

That sawe in dreame, at point devise,
And in other places.

Heven, and erth, hell, and paradise.

¹ He makes Scipio say to him, v. 110.

————— Thou hast the so wel borne

In looking of mine old book al to torne,

Of which MACROBIE raught not a lite, &c.

² By Wynkyn de Worde, in 1517. 4to. with wooden cuts. A second edition followed in 1554. By John Wayland, in 4to. A third, in 4to, by John Waley, in 1555. See a poem called a *Dialogue between a Lover and a Jay*, by one Thomas Feylde, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 4to. Princ. Prol. 'Though the laureate poetes in the old antiquite.' This obscure rhymers here only mentioned, as he has an allusion to his cotemporary Hawes.

less necessary for giving the reader a circumstantial analysis of its substance and design.

GRAUNDE AMOURE, the hero of the poem, and who speaks in his own person¹, is represented walking in a delicious meadow. Here he discovers a path which conducts him to a glorious image, both whose hands are stretched out and pointing to two highways; one of which is the path of CONTEMPLATION, the other of ACTIVE LIFE, leading to the Tower of Beauty. He chuses the last-mentioned path, yet is often tempted to turn aside into a variety of bye-paths, which seemed more pleasant: but proceeding directly forward, he sees afar off another image, on whose breast is written, 'This is the road to the Tower of DOCTRINE, he that would arrive there must avoid sloth, &c.' The evening being far advanced, he sits down at the feet of the image, and falls into a profound sleep; when, towards the morning, he is suddenly awakened by the loud blast of a horn. He looks forward through a valley, and perceives a beautiful lady on a palfrey, swift as the wind, riding towards him, encircled with tongues of fire². Her name was FAME, and with her ran two milk-white greyhounds, on whose golden collars were inscribed in diamond letters *Grace* and *Gouvernaunce*³.

¹ There is something dramatic in this circumstance. Raimond Vidal de Besaudin, a troubadour of Provence, who flourished about the year 1200, has given the following dramatic form to one of his *contes* or tales. One day, says the troubadour, Alphonsus, king of Castile, whose court was famous for good cheer, magnificence, loyalty, valour, the practice of arms and the management of horses, held a solemn assembly of minstrels and knights: When the hall was quite full, came his queen Eleanor, covered with a veil, and disguised in a close robe bordered with silver, adorned with the blason of a golden lion; who making obeisance, seated herself at some distance from the king. At this instant, a minstrel advancing to the king, addressed him thus. 'O king, emperor of valour, I come to supplicate you to 'give me audience.' The king, under pain of disgrace, ordered that no person should interrupt the minstrel in what he should say. The minstrel had travelled from his own country to recite an adventure which had happened to a baron of Aragon, not unknown to king Alphonsus; and he now proceeds to tell no unaffecting story concerning a jealous husband. At the close, the minstrel humbly requests the king and queen, to banish all jealous husbands from their dominions. The king replied, 'MINSTREL, your tale is pleasant and gentle, and you shall be rewarded. But to show you still further how much you have entertained me, I command that henceforth your tale shall be called LE JALOUX CHATIE.' Our troubadour's tale is greatly enlivened by these accompaniments, and by its being thrown into the mouth of a minstrel.

² In Shakespeare, RUMOUR is painted *full of tongues*. This was from the PAGEANTS.

³ Greyhounds were anciently almost as great favourites as hawks. Our forefathers reduced hunting to a science; and have left large treatises on this species of diversion, which was so connected with their state of life and manners. The most curious one I know, is, or was lately, among the MSS. of Mr. Farmor, of Tusmore in Oxfordshire. It is entitled, 'LE ART DE VENERIE, le quel maistre Guillaume Twici venour le roy d'Angleterre fist en son temps per aprendre autres.' This *maistre William Twici* was grand huntsman to Edward II. In the Cotton library, this book occurs in English under the names of William Twety and John Giffard, most probably a translation from the French copy, with the title of a *book of Venerie dialogue wise*. Princ. 'TWETY now will we begynnen.' MSS. Cotton VESPAS. B. xii. The less ancient tract on this subject, called the *Maistre of the Game*, written for the instruction of prince Henry, afterwards Henry V., is much more common. MSS. Digb. 182. Bibl. Bodl. I believe the *maistre venour* has been long abolished in England: but the *royal falconer* still remains. The latter was an officer of high dignity in the Grecian court of Constantinople, at an early period, under the style of *πρωτοειρακαριος*. Pachym. lib. i. c. 8. x. 15. Codin. cap. ii. Phrenzes says, that the emperor Andronicus Palæologus the younger kept more than 1,400 hawks, with almost as many men to take care of them. lib. i. c. 10.

About the year 750, Winifrid, or Boniface, a native of England, and archbishop of Mons, acquaints Ethelbald, a king of Kent, that he has sent him, one hawk, two falcons, and two shields. And Hediibert, a king of the Mercians, requests the same archbishop Winifrid, to send him two falcons which have been trained to kill cranes. EPISTOL. Winifrid. [Bonifac.

Her palfrey is Pegasus ; and the burning tongues denote her office of consigning the names of illustrious personages to posterity ; among which she mentions a lady of matchless accomplishments, named LA BELL PUCELL, who lives within a tower seated in a delightful island ; but which no person can enter, without surmounting many dangers. She then informs our hero, that before he engages in this enterprise, he must go to the Tower of DOCTRINE, in which he will see the Seven Sciences¹ : and that there, in the turret, or chamber, of Music, he will have the first sight of La Bell Pucell. FAME departs, but leaves with him her two greyhounds. Graunde Amoure now arrives at the Tower, or rather castle, of DOCTRINE, framed of fine copper, and situated on a craggy rock : it shone so bright, that he could distinctly discern the form of the building ; till at length, the sky being covered with clouds, he more visibly perceives its walls decorated with figures of beasts in gold, and its lofty turrets crowned with golden images². He is ad-

Mogunt. 1605. 1629. And in Bibl. Patr. tom. vi. and tom. xiii. p. 70. *Falconry*, or a right to sport with falcons, is mentioned so early as the year 986. Chart. Ottonis iii. Imperator. ann. 986. apud Ughell. de Episcop. Januens. A charter of Kenulf, king of the Mercians, granted to the abbey of Abingdon, and dated 821, prohibits all persons carrying hawks or falcons, to trespass on the lands of the monks. Dugd. Monast. i. p. 100. Julius Firmicus, who wrote about the year 355, is the first Latin author who mentions hawking, or has even used the word. *FALCO*. Mathes. lib. v. c. 7. vii. c. 4. Hawking is often mentioned in the capitularies of the eighth and ninth centuries. The *grand fauconier* of France was an officer of great eminence. His salary was 4000 florins ; he was attended by a retinue of 50 gentlemen and 50 assistant falconers, and allowed to keep 300 hawks. He licensed every vender of falcons in France ; and received a tribute for every bird that was sold in that kingdom, even within the verge of the court. The king of France never rode out, on any occasion, without this officer being in attendance.

An ingenious French writer insinuates, that the passion for hunting, which at this day subsists as a favourite and fashionable species of diversion in the most civilised countries of Europe, is a strong indication of our gothic origin, and is one of the savage habits, yet unrefined, of our northern ancestors. Perhaps there is too much refinement in this remark. The pleasures of the chase seem to have been implanted by nature ; and, under due regulation, if pursued as a matter of mere relaxation and not of employment, are by no means incompatible with the modes of polished life.

¹ The author of the *TRESOR*, a troubadour, gives the following account of his own system of erudition, which may not be inapplicable here. He means to shew himself a profound and universal scholar ; and professes to understand the seven liberal arts, grammar, the Latin language, logic, the Decreta's of Gratian, music according to Boethius and Guy Arétin, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, the ecclesiastic computation, medicine, pharmacy, surgery, necromancy, geomancy, magic, divination, and mythology, *better than Ovi and Thales le Menteur* : the histories of Thebes, Troy, Rome, Romulus, Cesar, Pompey, Augustus, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, who took Jerusalem, and the *Twelve Cesars down to Constantine* ; the history of Greece, and that of Alexander, who dying distributed his acquisitions among his *twelve peers* ; the history of France, containing the transactions of Clovis, converted by saint Remi ; Charles Martel, who *established tenths* ; king Pepin, Charlemagne and Roland, and the good king Louis. To these he adds, the HISTORY OF ENGLAND, which comprehends the arrival of Brutus in England, and his conquest of the giant Corineus, the prophesies of Merlin, the redoubted death of Arthur, the adventures of Gawaine, and the amours of Tristram and Bel Isould. Amidst this profusion of fabulous history, which our author seems to think real, the history of the Bible is introduced ; which he traces from the patriarchs down to the day of judgment. At the close of the whole, he gives us some more of his fashionable accomplishments ; and says, that he is skilled in the plain chant, in singing to the lute, in making canzonetts, pastorals, amorous and pleasant poesies, and in dancing : that he is beloved by ecclesiastics, knights, ladies, citizens, minstrels, squires, &c. The author of this *TREASURE*, or cyclopede of science, mentioned above, is Pierre de Corbian, who lived about the year 1200. Crescimbeni says that this *TRESOR* furnished materials of a similar compilation in Italian verse to Bennet, Dante's master ; and of another in French prose. Jul. Niger, Script. Flor. p. 112.

² He says, that the *little turrets* had for weathercocks or fans, images of gold, which, moving with the wind, played a tune. So Chaucer, CH. DREAME, v. 75.

mitted by COUNTENANCE the portress, who leads him into a court, where he drinks water of a most transcendent fragrance, from a magnificent fountain, whence flow four rivers, clearer than Nilus, Ganges, Tigris, or Euphrates¹. He next enters the hall framed of jasper, its windows crystal, and its roof overspread with a golden vine, whose grapes are represented by rubies²: the floor is paved with beryl, and the walls hung with rich tapestry, on which our hero's future expedition to the Tower of La Bell Pucell was gloriously wrought³. The marshall of this castle is REASON, the sewer OBSERVANCE, the cook TEMPERANCE, the high-steward LIBERALITY, &c. He then explains to DOCTRINE his name and intended adventure; and she entertains him at a solemn feast. He visits her seven daughters, who reside in the castle. First he is conducted to GRAMMAR, who delivers a learned harangue on the utility of her science: next to LOGIC, who dismisses him with a grave exhortation: then to RHETORIC, who crowned with laurel, and seated in a stately chamber, strewed with flowers, and adorned with the clear mirrors of speculation, explains her five parts in a laboured oration. Graunde Amoure resolves to pursue their lessons with vigour; and animates himself, in this difficult task, with the examples of Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate⁴,

	For everie yate (tower) of fine gold
A thousand fanis, aie turning,	<i>Eutimid</i> had, and briddes singing
Divers, and on eche fane a paire,	With opin mouth againe the aire:
And of a sute were all the toures:	And many a <i>small turret</i> hie.

Again, in the castle of PLEASANT REGARD, the fans on the high towers are mentioned as a circumstance of pleasure and beauty. ASSEMBL. LAD. v. 160.

The towris hie full pleasant shall he finde,	With <i>phanis freshe, turning with everi winde.</i>
And our author again, ch. xxxviii.	
Aloft the towers the golden fanes goode	Dyde with the wynde make full sweete armony
Them for to heare it was great melody.	

Our author here paints from the life. An excessive agglomeration of turrets, with their fans is one of the characteristic marks of the florid mode of architecture, which was now almost at its height. See views of the palaces of Nonesuch and Richmond.

¹ The Crusades made the eastern rivers more famous among the Europeans than any of their own. Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour of the thirteenth century, declares, he had rather please his mistress than possess all the dominions which are washed by Hebrus, Meander, and Tigris. Hist. Troub. ii. p. 485. The compliment would have been equally exaggerated, if he had alluded to some of the rivers of his own country.

² From Sir John Maundeville's TRAVELS. 'In the hall, is a vine made of GOLD, that goeth all aboute the hall; and it hath many branches of grapes, some are white, &c. All the RED are of RUBIES, &c.' ch. lxvii. Paulus Silentarius, in his description of the church of S. Sophia at Constantinople, mentions such an ornament. ii. 235.

Κλημασι χρυσοκομοισι περιδρομος αμπελος ερπει, &c.

Palmitibus auricomis circumcurrens vitis serpit.

³ In the eleventh book of Boccacio's THESEID, after Arcite is dead, Palamon builds a superb temple in honour of him, in which his whole history is painted. The description of this painting is a recapitulatory abridgement of the preceding part of the poem. Hawes's tapestry is less judiciously placed in the beginning of the piece, because it precludes expectation by forestalling all the future incidents.

⁴ He recites some of the pieces of the two latter. Chaucer, he says, wrote the BOOK OF FAME 'on hys own invencion.' The TRAGEDIES of the nine ladies, 'a translacyon.' The CANTERBURY TALES, 'upon hys ymaginacyon,' some of which are 'vertuous,' others

who are panegyrised with great propriety. He is afterwards admitted to ARITHMETIC, who wears a GOLDEN *wede*¹; and, last of all, is led to the Tower of MUSIC², which was composed of crystal, in eager expectation of obtaining a view of La Bell Pucell, according to FAME's prediction. MUSIC was playing on an organ, before a solemn assembly; in the midst of which, at length he discovers La Bell Pucell, is instantly captivated with her beauty, and almost as soon tells her his name, and discloses his passion³. She is more beautiful than Helen, Proserpine, Cressida, queen Hyppolita, Medea, Dido, Polyxena, Alcmena, Menalippa, or even *fair Rosamund*. The solemnity being finished, MUSIC and La Bell Pucell go forth into a stately temple, whither they are followed by our hero. Here MUSIC seats herself amidst a concert of all kinds of instruments⁴. She explains the principles of harmony. A

'glad' and 'merry.' The 'pytous dolour' of TROYLUS AND CRESSIDA, and 'many other bokes.'

Among Lydgate's works, he recites the LIFE of OUR LADY. ST. EDMUND'S LIFE. THE FALL OF PRINCES. THE THREE REASONS. THE CHORLE AND THE BIRD. THE TROY BOOK. VIRTUE AND VICE, [MSS. Harl. 2251, 63, fol. 95.] THE TEMPLE OF GLASSE. THE BOOK OF GODS AND GODDESSES. This last, I suppose, is THE BANQUET OF GODS AND GODDESSES.

The poem of the CHORLE AND THE BIRD our author calls a 'pamflete.' Lydgate himself says, that he translated this tale from a 'pamflete in Frensche,' st. 5. It was first printed by Caxton in his CHAUCER. Afterwards by Wynkyn de Worde, before 1500, in quarto. And, I think, by Copland. Ashmole has printed it under the title of HERMES'S BIRD, and supposes it to have been written originally by Raymund Lully: or at least made English by Cremer, abbot of Westminster, Lully's scholar. THEATR. CHEM. p. 213, 467, 465. Lydgate in the last stanza, again speaks of this piece as a 'translacyon owte of the Frenshe.' But the fable on which it is founded, is told by Petrus Alphonsus, a writer of the twelfth century, in his tract 'de Clericali Disciplina,' never printed.

Our author, in his recital of Chaucer's pieces, calls the LEGENDE OF GOOD WOMEN 'tragidydes.' Anciently a serious narrative in verse was called a 'tragedy.' And it is observable, that he mentions 'xix ladyes' belonging to this legend. Only 'nine' appear at present. 'Nineteen' was the number intended, as we may collect from Lydgate's FALL PR. Prol. and ibid. l. i. c. 6. Compare MAN OF L. T. Prol. v. 60, Urr. Where eight more ladies than are in the present 'legende' are mentioned. This piece is called the 'legendis 'of ix good women,' MSS. Fairfax. xvi. Chaucer himself says, 'I sawe cominge of ladyes 'Nineteen' in royaill habit,' v. 383, Urr. Compare Pars. T. Urr. p. 214, col. i.

¹ The walls of her chamber are painted in gold with the three fundamental rules of arithmetic.

² In the TRESOR of Pierre de Corbican, cited at large above, Music, according to Boethius and Guy Aretin, is one of the seven liberal sciences. At Oxford, the graduates in music, which still remains there as an academical science, are at this day required to shew their proficiency in Boethius DE MUSICA. In a pageant, at the coronation of Edward VI., Music personified appears among the seven sciences. Leland. Coll. APPEND. iii. 317. edit. 1770.

³ In the description of her person, which is very elegant, and consists of three stanzas, there is this circumstance, 'She gartered wel her hose.' ch. xxx. Chaucer has this circumstance in describing the *Wife of Bath*. Prol. v. 458.

Hire hosen weren of fine scarlet rede

Ful straite yteged.—

⁴ That is, tabours, trumpets, pipes, sackbuts, organs, recorders, harps, lutes, CROUDDs, TYMPHANS, [i. symphans] dulcimers, CLARICIMBALES, rebeckes, CLARYCHORDES. ch. xvi. At the marriage of James of Scotland with the princess Margaret, in the year 1703, 'the king began before hyr to play of the CLARYCHORDES and after of the LUTE. And upon the said 'CLARYCHORDE sir Edward Stanley played a ballade and sange therewith.' Again, the king and queen being together, 'after she played upon the CLARYCHORDE and after of the LUTE, 'he beinge upon his knee allwaies bare-headed.' Leland. Coll. APPEND. iii. p. 284, 285. edit. 1770. In Lydgate's poem, entitled RESON AND SENSUALITE, COMPLYED BY JOHN LYDGATE, various instruments and sorts of music are recited. MSS. Fairfax. xvi. Bibl. Bodl. [Pr. 'To 'all follys virtuous.'] 'Here rehersyth the auctor the MYNSTRALCYs that were in the 'gadyne'

Of al maner mynstralcy
Ffor there were rotys of Almayne,

That any man kan specifiye:
And eke of Arragon and Spayne:

dance is plaid¹, and Graunde Amoure dances with La Bell Pucell. He retires, deeply in love. He is met by COUNSELL, who consoles and conducts him to his repose in a stately chamber of the castle. In the morning, COUNSELL and our hero both together visit La Bell Pucell. At the gate of the garden of the castle they are informed by the portress CURTESY, that the lady was sitting alone in an arbour weaving a garland of various flowers. The garden is described as very delicious, and they find the lady in the arbour near a stately fountain, *among the floures of aromatyke fume*. After a long dialogue, in which for some time she seems to reject his suit, at last she resigns her heart; but withal acquaints her lover, that he has many monsters to encounter, and many dangers to conquer, before he can obtain her. He replies, that he is well acquainted with these difficulties; and declares, that, after having received instructions from ASTRONOMY, he will go to the Tower of CHIVALRY, in order to be more completely qualified to succeed in this hazardous enterprise. They take leave with tears; and the lady is received into a ship, which is to carry her into the island where her Tower stood. COUNSELL consoles Amoure², and leaves him to attend other desponding lovers. Our hero bids adieu in pathetic terms to the Tower of MUSIC, where he first saw Pucel. Next he proceeds to the TOWER OF GEOMETRY, which is wonderfully built and adorned. From thence he seeks ASTRONOMY, who resides in a gorgeous pavilion pitched in a fragrant and flowery meadow: she delivers a prolix lecture on the several operations of the mind, and parts of the body³. He then, accompanied with his greyhounds, enter an extensive plain overspread

Songes, stamper, and eke daunces,
And many unkouth notys newe
And instrumentys that dyd excelle,
Harpys, fythales, and eke rotys,
Lutys, ribbles, and geternes,
Orguys, cytolis, monacordys. —

Divers plente of plesaunces;
Of swiche folke as lovid trewe;
Many moo than I kan telle:
Well according with her notys,
More for estatys than tavernes;
There were trumpe, and trumpettes,

Lowde shallys, and doucettes.

Here GETERNE, is a GUITTAR, which, with CYTOLIS, has its origin in CITHARA. FYTHALES is FIDDLES. SHALLYS, I believe, should be SHALMIES, or SHAWMS. ORGUYS is ORGANS. By ESTATYS he means STATES, or solemn assemblies.

¹ Music commands her MYNSTRELLES to play the dance, which was called MAMOURS THE SWETE. So at the royal marriage just mentioned, 'The MYNSTRELLES begonne to play a basse dance, &c. After this done, THEY plaid a rownde, the which was daunced by the 'lorde Grey ledyng the said queene.—After the dinner incontynent THE MYNSTRELLES OF 'THE CHAMMER (chamber) began to play and then daunced the queene, &c.' Leland, APPEND. ubi supr. p. 284. seq.

² COUNSELL mentions the examples of Troilus and Cressida, and of Ponthus and Sidonia. Of the latter faithful pair, there is an old French romance, 'Le Roman du noble roy Ponthus 'fils du roy de Gallice et de la belle Sidoine fille du roy de Bretagne.' Without date, in bl. letter. 4to. It is in the royal library at Paris, MSS. fol. See Lengd. Bibl. Rom. ii. 250. And among the king's MSS. in the British museum there is, 'Le Livre du roy Ponthus,' 15 E. vi. 6. I think there are some elegant miniatures in this MSS. Our author calls him 'the famous knyght yclypped Ponthus, whych loved Sydonye.' ch. xvi. KING PONTIUS is among the copies of James Roberts, a printer in the reign of queen Elizabeth, Ames, p. 342. I believe it was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 'The hystory of Ponthus 'and Galyce, and of lytel Brytane.' With wooden cuts. 1511. 4to.

³ In a wooden cut Ptolomy the astronomer is here introduced, with a quadrant: and Plato, the *conynge and famous clerke*, is cited.

with flowers; and looking forward, sees a flaming star over a tower. Going forward, he perceives that this tower stands on a rough precipice of steel, decorated with beasts of various figures. As he advances towards it, he comes to a mighty fortress, at the gate of which were hanging a shield and helmet, with a marvellous horn. He blows the horn with a blast that shook the tower, when a knight appears; who, asking his business, is answered, that his name is Graunde Amour, and that he was just arrived from the tower of DOCTRINE. He is welcome by the knight, and admitted. This is the castle of CHILVALRY. The next morning he is conducted by the porter STEDFASTNESS into the base court, where stood a tower of prodigious height, made of jasper: on its summit were four images of armed knights on horses of steel, which, on moving a secret spring, could represent a turney. Near this tower was an ancient temple of Mars: within it was his statue, or picture, of gold, with the figure of FORTUNE on her wheel; and the walls were painted with the siege of Troy¹. He supplicates Mars, that he may be enabled to subdue the monster which obstructs his passage to the Tower of Pucell. Mars promises him assistance; but advises him first to invoke Venus in her temple. FORTUNE reproves Mars for presuming to promise assistance: and declares that all human glory is in the power of herself alone. Amoure is then led² by Minerva to king Melyzus³, the inventor of tilts and tournaments who dubs him a knight. He leaves the castle of CHIVALRY, and on the road meets a person, habited like a Fool, named Godfrey Gobilive⁴,

¹ This was a common subject of tapestry, as I have before observed: but as it was the most favourite martial subject of the dark ages, is here introduced with peculiar propriety. Chaucer, from the general popularity of the story, has made it a subject for painted glass. DREME CHAUC. v. 322. p. 406. Urr. col. i.

— — and with glas
Ful clere, and nat an hole ycrased,
For wholly all the story of Troy
Of Hector, and king Priamus,

Were al the windowes wel yglased
That to beholde it was grete joy;
Was in the glaisinge ywrought thus,
Achilles, &c.

In our author's description of the palace of Pucell, 'there was enameled with figures curious the syege of Troy.' cap. xxxviii. Sign. A. iii. edit. 1555. The arras was the syege of Thebes. *ibid.* In the temple of Mars was also 'the sege of Thebes depaynted fayre and clere' on the walls. cap. xxvii. Sign. Q. iii.

² Through the sumptuous hall of the castle, which is painted with the *Siege of Thebes*, and where many knights are playing at chess.

³ A fabulous king of Thrace, who, I think, is mentioned in Caxton's *RECUYAL OF THE HISTORIES OF TROY*, now just printed; that is, in the year 1471. Our author appeals to this romance, which he calls the *Recule of Troye*, as an authentic voucher for the truth of the labours of Hercules. ch. i. By the way, Boccaccio's *GENEALOGY OF THE GODS* is quoted in this romance of Troy, B. ii. ch. xix.

⁴ His father is DAVY DRUNKEN NOLE,
Who never dranke but in a fayre blacke boule

Here he seems to allude to Lydgate's poem, called *Of Jack Wat that could pull the lining out of a black boll.* MSS. Ashmol. Oxon. 59. ii. MSS. Harl. 2251. 12. fol. 14. One Jack Hare is the same sort of ludicrous character, who is thus described in Lydgate's *Tale of froward Maymonde.* MSS. Laud. D. 31. Bibl. Eodl.

A froward knave pleynty to descryve,
And a sloggard shortly to declare,
A precious knave that castith hym never to thryve,
His mouth weel weet, his slevis riht thredbare;

who enters into a long discourse on the falsehood of woman'. They both go together into the temple of Venus, who was now holding a solemn assembly, or court, for the redress of lovers. Here he meets with SAPIENCE, who draws up a supplication for him, which he presents to Venus. Venus after having exhorted him to be constant, writes a letter to Pucell, which she sends by Cupid. After offering a turtle, he departs with Godfrey Gobilive, who is overtaken by a lady on a palfrey, with a knotted whip in her hand, which she frequently exercises on Godfrey.¹ Amoure asks her name, which, she answers, is CORRECTION : that she lived in the tower of CHASTITY, and that he who assumed the name of Godfrey Gobilive was FALSE REPORT, who had just escaped from her prison, and disguised himself in a fool's coat. She invites Amoure to her Tower, where they are admitted by Dame MEASURE ; and led into a hall with a golden roof, in the midst of which was a carbuncle of a prodigious size, which illuminated the room². They are next introduced to a fair chamber ; where they are

A turnebroche, [turn-spit] a boy for hogge of ware,
With louring face noddynge and slumberynge,
Of new crystened, and called Jakke Hare,
Whiche of a boll can plukke out the lynnyng.

These two pieces of Lydgate appear to be the same.

¹ He relates, how Aristotle, for all his clergy, was so infatuated with love, that he suffered the lady, who only laughed at his passion, to bridle and ride him about his chamber. This story is in Gower, CONF. AMANT. lib. viii. fol. clxxxix. b. edit. ut supr.

I saw there Aristote also

Whom that the queene of Grece also
Hath bridleed, &c.

Then follows a long and ridiculous story about Virgil, not the poet, but a necromancer framed in the dark ages, who is deceived by the tricks of a lady at the court of Rome ; on whom, however, her paramour takes ample revenge by means of his skill in music. ch. xxix. I have mentioned this Virgil before, where I have falsely supposed him to be the poet. This fiction is also alluded to by Gower, and added to that of Aristotle's among his examples of the power of love over the wisest men.

And eke Virgile of acquaintance
Which was the daughter, as men said,

I sigh [saw] where he the maiden praid
Of temperour whilom of Rome.

There is an old book, printed in 1510, entitled, 'VIRGILIUS. This boke treateth of the lyfe of Virgilius, and of his deth, and many marvayles that he did in his lyfetye by witchcraft and 'nigramansy, thorough the help of the devylls of hell.' Coloph. 'Thus endeth the lyfe of 'Virgilius with many dyvers consaytes that he dyd. Emprynted in the cytie of Andewarpe 'by me John Doesborche, dwelling at the Camer Porte.' With cuts, octavo. It was in Mr. West's library. *Virgil's Life* is mentioned by Lancham among other romantic pieces, *Killingw. Castle*. p. 34. edit. 1575. 120. This fictitious personage, however, seems to be formed on the genuine Virgil, because, from the subject of his eighth Eclogue, he was supposed to be an adept in the mysteries of magic and incantation.

¹ In another place he is called FOLLY, and said to ride on a mare. When chivalry was at its height in France, it was a disgrace to any person, not below the degree of a gentleman, to ride on a mare.

² From Chaucer, ROM. ROSE, v. 1120. Urr. p. 223. a. RICHESSE is crowned with the costliest gems,

But all before full subtilty
The stone so cleare was and bright,
Men mightin sene to go for nede

A fine carboncle sel sawe I,
That al so sone as it was night,
A mile or two in length and brede.
Such light ysprange out of that stone.

But this is not uncommon in romance, and is an Arabian idea. In the *History* of the SEVEN CHAMPIONS, a book compiled in the reign of James I. by one Richard Johnson, and containing some of the most capital fictions of the old Arabian romance, in the adventure of the ENCHANTED FOUNTAIN, the knights entering a dark hall, 'tooke off their gauntlett from 'their left hands whereon they wore marvellous great and fine diamonds, that gave so much

welcomed by many famous women of antiquity, Helen *quene* Proserpine, the *lady Meduse*, Penthesilea, &c. The next morning CORRECTION shews our hero a marvellous dungeon of which SHAMFASTNESS is the keeper; and here FALSE REPORT is severely punished. He now continues his expedition, and near a fountain observes a shield and a horn hanging. On the shield was a lion rampant of gold in a silver field, with an inscription, importing, that this was the way to La Bell Pucell's habitation, and that whoever blows the horn will be assaulted by a most formidable giant. He sounds the horn: when instantly the giant appeared, twelve feet high, armed in brass, with three heads, on each of which was a streamer, with the inscription *Falsehood, Imagination, Perjury*. After an obstinate combat, he cuts off the giant's three heads with his sword *Claraprudence*. He next meets three fair ladies, VANITY, GOOD-OPERATION, FIDELITY. They conduct him to their castle with music: where, being admitted by the portress OBSERVANCE, he is healed of his wounds by them. He proceeds and meets PERSEVERANCE, who acquaints him, that Pucell continued still to love: that, after she had read Venus's letter STRANGENESS and DISDAIN came to her, to dissuade her from loving him; but that soon after, PEACE and MERCY¹ arrived, who soon undid all that DISDAIN and STRANGENESS had said, advising her to send PERSEVERANCE to him with a shield. This shield PERSEVERANCE now presents, and invites him to repose that night with her cousin COMFORT, who lived in a moated manor-place under the side of a neighbouring wood². Here he is ushered into a *chamber precious*, per-

'light, that they might *plainly see* all things that were in the hall, the which was very great 'and wide, and upon the walls were painted the figures of many furious fiends, &c.' SEC. P. ch. ix. And in Maundeville's TRAVELLS, 'The emperor hath in his chamber a pillar of gold, 'in which is a ruby and carbuncle a foot long, which lighteth all his chamber by night, &c.' ch. lxxii.

¹ MERCY is no uncommon divinity in the love-system of the troubadours. M. Millot's HIST. LITT. DES TROUBAD. tom. i. p. 181. Par. 1774.

² There is a description of a magnificent *manor-place*, curious for its antiquity, in an old poem, written before the year 1300, entitled a *Disputation bytwene a Crysten man and a Jewe*, perhaps translated from the French, MSS. Vernon. fol. 301. ut supr. [Carpentier's Suppl. du Cange, Lat. Gloss. V. RADIMERE.]

Forth heo (1) wenten on the fild
The eorthe cleved (3) as a scheld (4),
Some fonde thei on (5) stih,
The cristen mon hedde (7) farly
Aftir that stiz lay a strete,
Thei fond a Maner that was mete
Wel corven and wroht
To a place weore thei brouht
Ther was foulen (11) song,
Hose lenge wolde longe
On vche a syde of the halle,
Wyndowes in the walle

To an hul (2) thei bi held,
On the grownde grene :
Thei went theron (6) radly ;
What hit mihte mene.
Clere i pavet with (8) gete,
With murthes ful schene ;
With halles heize uppon (9) loft,
As paradys the (10) clene.
Much murthes among,
Fful luitell hym thouht ;
Pourpell, pelure, and (12) palle ;
Was wonderli (13) i wrouht ;

(1) They. (2) Hill.

(3) Cleaved.

(4) Shield.

(5) Road. Way. Cavern ascent.

(6) Readily. Easily.

(7) Was very attentive. Heeded.

(8) Paved with *gritt*, i.e. sand, or gravel.

(9) With halls built high.

(10) Bright, or pleasant, as Paradise.

(11) Fowls, birds.

(12) The guests sat on each side of the hall, cloathed in purple, furs, or ermine, and riche robes.

(13) Wonderfully wrought.

fumed with the richest odours. Next morning, guided by PERSEVERANCE and COMFORT, he goes forward, and sees a castle, nobly fortified, and walled with jet. Before it was a giant with seven heads, and upon the trees about him were hanging many shields of knights, whom he had conquered. On his seven heads were seven helmets crowned with seven streamers, on which were inscribed *Dissimulation, Delay, Discomfort, Variance, Envy, Detraction, Doubtfulness*. After a bloody battle, he kills the giant, and is saluted by the five ladies STEDFASTNESS, AMOROUS PURVEYANCE, JOY AFTER SORROW, PLEASAUNCE, GOOD REPORT, AMITIE, CONTINUANCE, all riding from the castle on white palfries. These ladies inform Amoure, that they had been exiled from La Pucell by DISDAINE, and besieged in this castle, for one whole year, by the giant whom he had just slain. They attend him on his journey, and travel through a dreary wilderness, full of wild beasts: at length they discern, at a vast distance, a glorious region, where stood a stately palace beyond a tempestuous ocean. 'That,' says PERSEVERANCE, 'is the palace of Pucelle.' They then discover, in the island before them, an horrible fiend, roaring like thunder, and breathing flame, which my author strongly paints.

The fyre was greet, it made the ylande lyght.

PERSEVERANCE tells our hero, that this monster was framed by the witches STRANGENESS and DISDAINE, to punish La Bell Pucell for having banished them from her presence. His body was composed of the seven metals, and within it a demon was inclosed. They now enter a neighbouring temple of Pallas; who shews Amoure, in a trance, the

There was ⁽¹⁴⁾ dosers on the ⁽¹⁵⁾ dees,	Hose the cheefe wolde ⁽¹⁶⁾ ches
That never richere was,	In no sale ⁽¹⁷⁾ souht;
Both the mot and the mold	Schone al on red golde
The cristene mon hadde ferli of that ⁽¹⁸⁾ folde,	That hider was brouzt.
Ther was erbes ⁽¹⁹⁾ growen grene,	Spices springynge bi twene,
Such hadde I not sene,	Ffor sothe as I say;
The thrustell ⁽²⁰⁾ song full srhille,	He newed notes at his wille;
Ffaire filowers to fille,	Ffine in that ffay;
And al the round table good,	Hou Arthur in eorthe ⁽²¹⁾ zod,
Sum sate and sum stod,	O the grounde grey;
Hit was a wonder siht	As thei wer quik men ⁽²²⁾ diht
	To seo hou they ⁽²³⁾ play.

Together with some of his expressions, I do not always understand this writer's context and transitions, which have great abruptness. In what he says of king Arthur, I suppose he means, that king Arthur's round table, and his knights, turneing, were painted on the walls of the hall.

⁽¹⁴⁾ DOSSER is a basket carried on the back. Lat. DORSARIUM. Chaucer's H. F. iii. 850. "Or else hutchis or DOSSERS." We must here understand Provisions.

⁽¹⁵⁾ DEES is here the table.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Whoever would chuse the best.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Hall. Lat. Sala.

⁽¹⁸⁾ House.

⁽¹⁹⁾ An Herbarary, for furnishing domestic medicines, always made a part of our ancient gardens. In Hawes's poem, now before us, in the delicious garden of the castle of Music, "Amiddest the garden there was an herber fayre and quadrante." ch. xviii. In the Glossary to Chaucer, *Erbers* is absurdly interpreted *Arbours*. Non. PR. T. v. 1081. 'Or erbe ive grow-
'ing in our erberis.' Chaucer is here enumerating various medical herbs, usually planted in
erberis, or herbaries.

⁽²⁰⁾ Thrush.

⁽²¹⁾ *Yod*, went. Walked on earth.

⁽²²⁾ As if they were living men.

⁽²³⁾ To see their sports, tournaments, &c.

secret formation of this monster, and gives him a box of wonderful ointment. They walk on the sea-shore, and espy two ladies rowing towards them; who land, and having told Amoure that they are sent by PATIENCE to enquire his name, receive him and his company into the ship PERFECTNESS. They arrive in the island; and Amoure discovers the monster near a rock, whom he now examines more distinctly. The face of the monster resembled a virgin's, and was of gold; his neck of silver; his breast of steel; his forelegs, armed with strong talons, of laten; his back of copper; his tail of lead, &c. Amoure, in imitation of Jason, anoints his sword and armour with the unguent of Pallas; which, at the first onset, preserves him from the voluminous torrent of fire and smoke issuing from the monster's mouth. At length he is killed; and from his body flew out a *foule ethiope*, or black spirit, accompanied with such a smoke that all the island was darkened, and loud thunder-claps ensued. When this spirit was entirely vanished, the air grew serene; and our hero now plainly beheld the magnificent castle of La Pucell, walled with silver, and *many a story upon the wall enameled royally*¹. He rejoins his company; and entering the gate of the castle, is solemnly received by PEACE, MERCY, JUSTICE, REASON, GRACE, and MEMORY. He is then led by the porress COUNTENAUNCE into the base court; where, into a conduit of gold, dragons spouted water of the richest odour. The gravel of the court is like gold, and the hall and chambers are most superbly decorated. Amoure and La Pucell sit down and converse together. Venus intervenes, attended by Cupid cloathed in a blue mantle embroidered with golden hearts pierced with arrows, which he throws about the lovers, declaring that they should soon be joined in marriage. A sudden transition is here made from the pagan to the christian theology. The next morning they are married, according to the catholic ritual, by LEX ECCLESIAE; and in the wooden print prefixed to this chapter, the lovers are represented as joining hands at the western portal of a great church, a part of the ceremonial of ancient marriages.² A solemn feast is then held in honour of the nuptials³.

¹ I know not from what romantic history of the crusades, Richard Johnson took the description of the stately house of the *courteous Jew* at Damascus, built for entertaining christian pilgrims, in which 'the walls were painted with as many stories as there were years since 'the creation of the world.' SEC. P. ch. iv. The word *enameled*, in the text, is probably used in the same sense as in Stowe, SURVEY LOND. p. 359. edit. 1599. 'The great bell-tower, [of the priory of S. John in Clerkenwell,] a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, 'guilt, and *inameled*, to the great beautifying of the cite, and passinge all other that I have 'seene, &c.' So again our author, Hawes, ch. ii.

—— The toure doth stande Made all of golde, *enameled* aboute
With noble stories.——

² For this custom, see the romance of APPOLYNE, ch. xxxiii.

³ Which is described thus, ch. xxix.

Why should I tary by long continuance Of the feast, &c.

In the same manner Chaucer passes over the particularities of Cambuscan's feast, Squ. T. v. 83. Urr. And of Theseus's feast, KN. T. v. 2199. Also MAN OF L. T. v. 704. And Spenser's FAIRY QU. v. iii. 3. And Matthew Paris, in describing the magnificent marriage and corona-

Here the poem should have ended. But the poet has thought it necessary to extend his allegory to the death and burial of his hero. Graund Amoure having lived in consummate happiness with his amiable bride for many years, saw one morning an old man enter his chamber, carrying a staff, with which he strikes Amoure's breast, saying, *Obey, &c.* His name is OLD AGE. Not long after came POLICE or Cunning, and AVARICE. Amoure now begins to abandon his triumphal shows and splendid carousals, and to be intent on amassing riches. At last arrived DEATH, who peremptorily announces that he must prepare to quit his wealth and the world. After this fatal admonition, came CONTRITION and CONSCIENCE, and he dies. His body is interred by MERCY and CHARITY; and while his epitaph is written by REMEMBRANCE, FAME appears; promising that she will enroll his name with those of Hector, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, king David, Alexander the Great, Julius Cesar, Arthur², Charlemagne³, and Godfrey.

tion of queen Eleanor in 1236, uses exactly the same formulary, and on a similar subject. 'Quid in ecclesia seriem enarrem deo, ut decuit, reverenter ministrantium? Quid in mendicantium dapium et diversorum libaminum describam fertilitatem redundantem? Venationis [venisonis] abundantiam? Piscium varietatem? Jocularum voluptatem? Ministrantium venustatem' &c.' HIST. ANGL. sub. HEN. iii. p. 406. edit. Tig. ut supr. Compare another feast described in the same chronicle, much after the same manner; and which, the writer adds, was more splendid than any feast celebrated in the time of Ahasuerus, king Arthur, or Charlemagne. *ibid.* p. 87r.

¹ The chief reason for ranking king David among the knights of romance was, as I have already hinted, because he killed the giant Goliath: an achievement mentioned by Hawes.

² Of Arthur and his knights he says, that their exploits are recorded 'in roiall bokes and "jestes hystoriall" ch. xliii. Sir Thomas Maillorie had now just published his MORTE ARTHUR, a narrative digested from various French romances on Arthur's story. Caxton's printed copy of this favourite volume must have been known to our poet Hawes, which appeared in 1485 fol. By the way, in panegyrising Chaucer, Hawes mentions it, as a circumstance of distinction, that his works were printed. ch. xliiii.

—— Whose name

IN PRINTED bokes doth remayne in fame.

This was natural at the beginning of the typographic art. Many of Chaucer's poems were not recently printed by Caxton.

With regard to Maillorie's book, much, if not most, of it, I believe, is taken from the great French romance of LANCELOT, translated from Latin into French at the command of one of our Henrys, a metrical English version of which is now in Benet library at Cambridge. (See a specimen in Mr. Naasmith's curious catalogue, p. 54.) I have left it doubtful whether it was Henry III. who ordered this romance to be translated into Latin, vol. i. p. 115. But, besides the proofs there suggested, in favour of that hypothesis, it appears, that Henry III. paid great attentions to these compositions, from the following curious anecdote just published, which throws new light on that monarch's character.

Arnaud Daniel, a troubadour, highly celebrated by Dante and Petrarch, about the year 1240 made a voyage into England, where, in the court of Henry III. he met a minstrel, who challenged him at *difficult rhymes*. The challenge was accepted, a considerable wager was laid, and the rival bards were shut up in separate chambers of the palace. The king, who appears to have much interested himself in the dispute, allowed them ten days for *composicion* and five more for *learning to sing*, their respective pieces; after which, each was to exhibit his performance in the presence of his majesty. The third day, the English minstrel announced that he was ready. The troubadour declared he had not wrote a line; but that he had tried, and could not as yet put two words together. The following evening he overheard the minstrel practising his *chanson* to himself. The next day he had the good fortune to hear the same again, and learned the air and words. At the day appointed they both appeared before the king. Arnaud desired to sing first. The minstrel, in a fit of the greatest surprise and astonishment, suddenly cried out, *C'est ma chanson, This is MY SONG*. The king said it was impossible. The minstrel still insisted upon it; and Arnaud, being close pressed, ingenuously told the whole affair. The king was much entertained with this adventure; and ordering the wager to be withdrawn, loaded them with rich presents. But afterwards obliged Arnaud to give a *chanson* of his own composition. Millot, ut supr. tom. ii. p. 49r.

In the mean time I would not be understood to deny, that Henry II. encouraged the

of Bulloign¹. Afterwards TIME, and ETERNITIE clothed in a white vestment and crowned with a triple diadem of gold, enter the temple, and pronounce an exhortation. Last follows an epilogue, in which the poet apologises for his hardness in attempting to *feign* and to *devise* this fable.

The reader readily perceives, that this poetical apologue is intended to shadow the education of a complete gentleman; or rather to point out those accomplishments which constitute the character of true gallantry, and most justly deserve the reward of beauty. It is not pretended, that the personifications display that force of colouring, and distinctness of delineation, which animate the ideal portraits of John of Meun. But we must acknowledge, that Hawes has shewn no inconsiderable share of imagination, if not in inventing romantic action, at least in applying and enriching the general incidents of the Gothic fable. In the creation of allegoric imagery he has exceeded Lydgate. That he is greatly superior to many of his immediate predecessors and cotemporaries, in harmonious versification, and clear expression, will appear from the following stanza.

Besydes this gyaunt, upon every tree
I did see hanging many a goodly shielde
Of noble knyghtes, that were of hie degree,
Whiche he had slayne and mured in the fieldes:
From farre this gyaunt I ryght wel behelde;
And towarde hym as I rode on my way,
On his first heade I saw a banner gay. [Ch. xxxv.]

To this poem a dedication of eight octave stanzas is prefixed, addressed to Henry VII.: in which our author professes to follow the manner of his *maister* Lydgate.

pieces; for it partly appears, that Gualter Mapes, archdeacon of Oxford, translated, from Latin into French, the popular romance of SAINT GRAAL, at the instance of Henry II. to whom he was chaplain, about the year 1160. See MSS. Reg. 20 D. iii. a manuscript perhaps coeval with the translator; and, if so, the original copy presented to the king. Maister Benoit, or benedict, a rhymier in French, was also patronized by this monarch, at whose command he compiled a metrical Chronicle of the DUKES of NORMANDY: in which are cited Isidore Hispalensis, Pliny, and St. Austin. MSS. Harl. 1717. 1. on vellum. See fol. 85. 192. 163, 236. This old French poem is full of fabulous and romantic matter; and seems to be partly translated from a Latin Chronicle, DE MORIBUS ET ACTIS PRIMORUM NORMANNIE DUCUM, written about the year 1000, by Dudo, dean of St. Quinton's and printed among Du Chesne's SCRIPTOR. NORMAN. p. 49. edit. 1619. Maister Benoit ends with our Henry I. Dudo with the year 996.

³ With his DOUSEPERES, or twelve peers, among which he mentions Rowland and Oliver.

¹ These are the NINE WORTHIES: to whom Shakespeare alludes in LOVE'S LAB. LOST. 'Here is like to be a good presence of WORTHIES. He presents Hector of Troy: The swain, 'Pompey the Great: The parish-curate, Alexander: Armado's page, Hercules: The pedant, 'Judas Macchabeus, &c.' ACT. v. Sc. i. Elias Cairels, a troubadour of Perigord, about the year 1240, wishes for the wisdom of Solomon, the courtesy of Roland, the puissance of Alexander, the strength of Samson, the friendly attachment of sir Tristram, the CHEVALERIE of sir Gawaine, and the learning of Merlin. Though not immediately connected with the present purpose, I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the remainder of our troubadour's idea of complete happiness in this world. His ambition can be gratified by nothing less than by possessing, 'Une si parfaite loyauté, que nul chevalier et nul jongleur n' aient rien a re- 'prendre en lui; une maitresse jeune, jolie, et decente; mille cavaliers bien en ordre pour le 'suivre par tout, &c.' Millot, HIST. LITT. des TROUBAD. tom. i. p. 388.

To folowe the trace and all the perfytness
 Of my maister Lydgate, with due exercise,
 Such fayned tales I do fynde [Invent] and devyse:
 For under coloure a truthe may aryse,
 As was the guyse, in old antiquitie,
 Of the poetes olde a tale to surmyse,
 To cloake the truthe.————

In the course of the poem he complains, that since Lydgate, *the most dulcet sprynge of famous rhetorike*, that species of poetry which deals in fiction and allegoric fable, had been entirely lost and neglected. He allows, that some of Lydgate's successors had been skilful versifiers in the *balade royall* or octave stanza, which Lydgate carried to such perfection: but adds this remarkable restriction,

They *fayne* no *fables* pleasaunt and *covert*:—
 Makynge balades of fervent amytie,
 As gestes and tryfles¹.————

These lines, in a small compass, display the general state of poetry which now prevailed.

Coeval with Hawes was William Walter, a retainer to sir Henry Marney, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster: an unknown and obscure writer whom I should not have named, but that he versified, in the octave stanza, Boccacio's story, so beautifully paraphrased by Dryden, of Sigismonda and Guiscard. This poem, I think, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and afterwards reprinted in the year 1597, under the title of THE STATELY TRAGEDY OF GUISCARD AND SIGISMOND². It is in two books. He also wrote a dialogue in verse, called the *Spectacle of Lovers*³, and the *History of Titus and Gesippus*, a translation from a Latin romance concerning the siege of Jerusalem.

About the year 1490, Henry Medwall, chaplain to Morton archbishop of Canterbury, composed an interlude, called NATURE, which was afterwards translated into Latin. It is not improbable, that it was played before the archbishop. It was the business of chaplains in great houses to compose interludes for the family. This piece was printed by Rastel, in 1538, and entitled, 'NATURE, a goodly interlude of nature, compyllyd by mayster Henry Medwall, chaplayn to the 'right reverent father in God, Johan Morton, sometyme cardynall, and archebyschop of Canterbury.'

¹ Ch. xiv. So Barklay, in the SHIP OF FOOLLES, finished in 1508, fol. 18. a. edit. 1570. He is speaking of the profane and improper conversation of priests in the choir.

And all of fables and *jestes* of Robin Hood, Or other *trifles*. — — —

² Viz. 'Certaine worthy MSS. poems of great antiquite, reserved long in the studie of a 'Northfolke gentleman, now first published by J. S. Lond. R. D. 1597,' 12mo. In this edit. beside the story of SIGISMUNDA, mentioned in the text, there is 'The Northern Mother's 'Blessing, written nine yeares before the death of G. Chaucer. And The Way to Thrift.' This collection is dedicated to the worthiest Poet MAISTER EDMOND SPENSER.

³ Begins the PROLOGUE, 'Forasmuche as ydelness is rote of all vices.' This and the following piece are also printed in quarto, by Wynkin de Worde.

In the year 1497, Laurence Wade, a Benedictine monk of Canterbury¹, translated, into English rhymes, *THE LIFE OF THOMAS A BECKETT*, written about the year 1180, in Latin², by Herbert Bosham³. The manuscript, which will not bear a citation, is preserved in Benet college in Cambridge³. The original had been translated into French verse by Peter Langtoft⁴. Bosham was Becket's secretary, and present at his martyrdom.

SECTION XXIX.

I PLACE Alexander Barklay within the year 1500, as his *SHIP OF FOOLS* appears to have been projected about that period. He was educated at Oriel college in Oxford⁵, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests, or prebendaries, of the college of St. Mary Ottery in Devonshire⁶. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery⁷; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury. [MSS. Bale, Sloan. f. 68]. He temporised with the changes of religion; for he possessed some church preferments in the reign of Edward VI⁸. He died, very old, at Croydon, in Surrey⁹, in the year 1552.

¹ Professed in the year 1467. *CATAL. Mon. Cant.* inter MSS. C. C. C. N. 7.

² *VITA ET RES GESTÆ THOMÆ EPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS*, published in the *QUADRILOGUS* Paris. 1495. 4to.

³ MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. CCCXCVII. 1. Beginn. Prol. 'O ye vertuous soverayns 'spirituall and temporall.'

⁴ Pits. p. 800. APPEND.

⁵ He seems to have spent some time at Cambridge, *ECLOG. i.* Signat. A. iii.

And once in Cambridge I heard a scoller say, One of the same that go in copes gay.

⁶ The chief patron of his studies appears to have been Thomas Cornish, provost of Oriel college, and Suffragan bishop of Tyne, in the diocese of Bath and Wells; to whom he dedicates, in a handsome Latin epistle, his *SHIP OF FOOLS*. But in the poem, he mentions 'My Maister Kyrkham,' calling himself 'his true servitour, his chaplayne, and bede-man,' fol. 152. b. edit. 1570. Some biographers suppose Barklay to have been a native of Scotland. It is certain that he has a long and laboured encomium on James IV., king of Scotland; whom he compliments for his bravery, prudence, and other eminent virtues. One of the stanzas of this panegyric is an acrostic on *JACOBUS*. fol. 206. a. He most probably was of Devonshire or Gloucestershire.

⁷ In the title to his translation from Mancinus, called the *MIRROUR OF GOOD MANNERS*.

⁸ He was instituted to Much Badew in Essex, in 1546. *Newcourt*, REP. i. 254. And to Wokey in Somersetshire, the same year. *Registr. Wellens.* He had also the church of All Saint's, in Lombard-street, London, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, which was vacant by his death, Aug. 24, 1552. *Newcourt*, ut *supr.*

⁹ He frequently mentions Croydon in his *ECLOGES*. He was buried in Croydon church, *ECL. i.* Signat. A. iii.

And as in CROIDON I heard the Collier preache.

Again, *ibid.*

While I in youth in CROIDON towne did dwell.

Again, *ibid.*

He hath no felowe betwene this and CROIDON
Save the proude plowman *Gnatho of Choltrington.*

He mentions the collier again, *ibid.*

Such maner riches the *collier* tell thee can:

Also, *ibid.*

As the riche shepheard that woned in *Mortlake.*

Barklay's principal work is the *SHIP OF FOYLES*, above-mentioned. About the year 1470, Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title¹. The design was to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident, or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French² and, in the year 1488 into tolerable Latin verse, by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the inventor Brandt. [See THE PROLOGUE.] From the original, and the two translations, Barklay formed a large English poem, in the balade or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed by Pinson in 1509, whose name occurs in the poem.

Howbeit the charge PINSON has on me layde
With many fooles our navy not to charge⁴.

It was finished in the year 1508, and in the college of St. Mary Ottery, as appears by this rubric, 'The SHYP OF FOLYS, translated in the 'colege of saynt Mary Ottery, in the counte of Devonshyre, oute of 'Laten, Frenche, and Doch, into Englishe tonge, by Alexander Barclay, preste and chaplenin the sayd colledge M.CCCC.VIII⁵. Our author's stanza is verbose, prosaic, and tedious: and for many pages together, his poetry is little better than a trite homily in verse. The title promises much character and pleasantry: but we shall be disappointed, if we expect to find the foibles of the crew of our ship touched by the hand of the author of the *CANTERBURY TALES*, or exposed in the rough yet strong satire of *Pierce Plowman*. He sometimes has a

¹ I presume this is the same Sebastian Brandt, to whom Thomas Acuparius, poet laureate, dedicates a volume of Poggius's works, Argentorat. 1513. fol. He is here styled, 'Juris utriusque doctor, et S. P. Q. Argentinensis cancellarius.' The dedication is dated 1511. Hendreich. PANDECT. p. 703.

² By Joce Bade. Paris, 1497. In verse. From which the French prose translation was made the next year.

³ With this title, 'Sebastiani Brandt NAVIS STULTIFERA Mortalium, a vernaculo ac 'vulgari sermone in Latinum conscripta, per JACOBUM LOCHER cognomine Philomusum 'Suevum cum figuris. Per Jacobum Zachoni de Romano, anno 1488,' 4to. In the colophon, it is said to have been 'jampridem traducta' from the German original by Locher; and that this Latin translation was revised by the inventor Brandt, with the addition of many new FOOLS. A second edit. of Locher's Latin was printed at Paris, in 1498. 4to. There is a French prose translation by Jehan Drouyn, at Lyons, 1498. fol. In the royal library at Paris, there is a curious copy of Barklay's English *SHIP OF FOLYS*, by Pinson, on vellum, with the woodcuts: a rarity not, I believe, to be found in England.

⁴ Fol. 38. In another place he complains that some of his 'words' are 'amis,' on account of the 'printers not perfect in science.' And adds that,

— The printers in their busynes
Do all their workes speedily and in haste. fol. 258. b.

⁵ In folio. A second edit., from which I cite, was printed with his other works, in the year 1570, by Cawood, in folio, with curious wooden cuts, taken from Pinson's impression, viz., 'THE SHIP OF FOYLES, wherein is showed the folly of all states, with divers other works, adjoined to the same, &c.' This has both Latin and English. But Ames, under *Wynkyn de Worde*, recites 'The Ship of Fools in this World,' 4to. 1517. HIST. PRINT. p. 94.

stroke of humour : as in the following stanza, where he wishes to take on board the eight secondaries, or minor canons, of his college. *'Alexander Barclay ad FATUOS, ut dent locum OCTO SECUNDARIIS beatæ Mariæ de Ottery, qui quidem prima hujus ratis transtra merentur'* [Fol. 68.]

Softe, Foolis, softe, a litle slacke your pace,
Till I have space you to' order by degree ;
I have eyght neyghbours, that first shall have a place
Within this my shyp, for they most worthy be :
They may their learning receyve costles and free
Their walles abutting and joining to the schooles¹ ;
Nothing they can [know] yet nought will they learn nor see,
Therefore shall they guide this one ship of fooles.

The ignorance of the English clergy is one of the chief objects of his animadversion. He says [fol. 2.]

For if one can flatter, and beare a hawke on his fist,
He shalbe made parson of Honington or of Clift.

These were rich benefices in the neighbourhood of St. Mary Ottery. He disclaims the profane and petty tales of the times.

I write no jeste ne tale of Robin Hood [fol. 23.]
Nor sowe no sparkles, ne sede of viciousness ;
Wise men love vertue, wilde people wantonnes,
It longeth not my science nor cuning,
For Philip the sparrow the dirige to sing.

The last line is a ridicule on his cotemporary Skelton, who wrote a *LITTLE BOKE OF PHILIP SPARROW*, or a *Dirge*,

For the soule of Philip Sparrow That was late slaine at Carow, &c.²
And in another place, he thus censures the fashionable reading of his age ; much in the tone of his predecessor Hawes.

For goodly scripture is not worth an hawe,
But tales are loved ground of ribaudry,
And many are so blinded with their foly,
That no scriptur thinke they so true nor gode
As is a foolish jest of Robin hode. [Fol. 23.]

As a specimen of his general manner, I insert his character of the Student, or Bookworm : whom he supposes to be the First Fool in the vessel.

That³ in this ship the chiefe place I governe,

¹ To the collegiate church of St. Mary Ottery a school was annexed, by the munificent founder, Grandison, bishop of Exeter. This college was founded in the year 1337.

² See Skelton's *WORKS*, p. 215. edit. 1736. This will be mentioned again, below.

³ I subjoin the Latin from which he translates, that the reader may judge how much is our poet's own. fol. 1. a.

Primus in excelso teneo quod nave rudentes,
Sultivagosque sequor comites per flumina vasta,

Non ratione vacat certa, sensuque latenti : Congestis etenim stultus confido libellis ;
Spem quoque, nec parvam, congesta volumina præbent.

By this wide sea with foolis wandering,
The cause is plaine and easy to discerne ;
Still am I busy bookes assembling,
For to have plentie it is a pleasaunt thing,
In my conceyt, to have them ay in hand ;
But what they meane do I not understande.

But yet I have them in great reverence
And honour, saving them from filth and ordure ;
By often brusshing and much diligence,
Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt coverture
Of damas, sattin, or els of velvet pure¹ :
I keep them sure fearing least they should be lost
For in them is the cunning wherein I me boast.

But if it fortune that any learned man
Within my house fall to disputation,
I drawe the curtaynes to shewe my bokes then,
That they of my cunning should make probation :
I love not to fall in alterication :
And while the commen, my bookes I turne and winde,
For all is in them, and nothing in my minde.

Ptolomeus² the riche caused, longe agone,
Over all the worlde good bookes to be sought,
Done was his commandement, &c.

* * * * *

Lo in likewise of bookes I have store,
But few I reade, and fewer understande ;
I folowe not their doctrine, nor their lore,
It is enough to beare a booke in hande :
It were too much to be in such a lande ;
For to be bounde to loke within the booke
I am content on the fayre coveryng to looke.——

Eche is not lettred that nowe is made a lorde,
For eche a clerke that hath a benefice ;
They are not all lawyers that plees do recorde,

Calleo nec verbum, nec libri sentio mentem : Attamen in magno per me servantur honore,
Pulveris et cariem plumatis tergo flabellis. Ast ubi doctrinæ certamen volvitur, inquam,
Ædibus in nostris librorum culta supellex Eminet, et chartis vivo contentus opertis,

Quas video ignorans, juvat et me copia sola.
Constituit quondam dives Ptolomeus, haberet

Ut libros toto quæsitos undique mundo ; Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse putabat :
Non tamen arcanæ legis documenta tenebat, Queis sine non poterat vitæ disponere cursum.

En pariter teneo numerosa volumina, tardus :

Pauca lego, viridi contentus tegmine libri. Cur vellem studio sensus turbare frequenti,
Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere rebus ? Qui studet, assiduo motu fit stultus et amens.

Seu studeam, seu non, dominus tamen esse vocabor ;

Et possum studio socium disponere nostro, Qui pro me sapiat, doctasque examinet artes :
Aut si cum doctis versor, concedere malo Omnia, ne cogar fors verba Latina profari.

¹ Students and monks were anciently the binders of books. In the first page of a MSS. Life of Conubranus, this note occurs, 'Ex conjunctione domini Wyllelmi Edys monasterii B. Mariæ S. Modwenæ virginis de Burton super Trent monachi, dum esset studens Oxoniæ, 'A.D. MDXVII.' MSS. Cotton. CLEOPATR. ii. MSS. Coll. Oriol. N. vi. 3. et 7, Art. The word Conjunctio is *ligatura*. The book is much older than this entry.

² Ptolomeus Philadelphus, for whom he quotes Josephus, lib. xii.

All that are promoted are not fully wise ;
On suche chance now fortune throws her dice :
That though one knowe but the yrishe game
Yet would he have a gentlemans name.

So in likewise, I am in such a case,
Though I nought can [know] I would be called wise ;
Also I may set another in my place
Which may for me my bookes exercise ;
Or els I will ensue the common guise,
And say *concedo* to every argument
Lest by much speech my Latin should be spent [fol. 2.]

In one part of the poem, Prodicus's apologue, of Hercules meeting VIRTUE and PLEASURE, is introduced. In the speech of PLEASURE, our author changes his metre ; and breaks forth into a lyrical strain, not totally void of elegance and delicacy, and in a rhythmical arrangement adopted by Gray.

All my vesture is of golde pure,
With couerture of fine asure,
Softe silke betwene, lest it might fret ;
My purple pall oercovereth all
My gay chaplet with stones set,
In silver net my haire upknet,
Cleare as cristall, no thing egall.—

With harpe in hande, alway I stande,
 Passing eche houre, in swete pleasour ;
 A wanton bande, of every lande, Are in my towre, me to honour,
 Some of valour, some bare and poore ;
 Kinges in their pride sit by my side :
 Every freshe floure, of swete odoure,
 To them I provide, that with me bide.—

Whoer they be, that folowe me, And gladly flee to my standarde,
They shall be free, nor sicke, nor see
Adversitie, and paynes harde.
No poynt of payne shall he sustayne,
But joy soverayne, while he is here ;
No frost ne rayne there shall distayne
His face by payne, ne hurt his chere.
He shall his hede cast to no drede
To get the mede [reward] and lawde of warre ;
Nor yet have nede, for to take hede,
How battayles spede, but stande afarre.
Nor yet be bounde to care the sounde
Of man or grounde, or trompet shrill ;
Strokes that redound shall not confounde,
Nor his minde wounde, but if he will, &c. [fol. 241.]

All ancient satirical writings, even those of an inferior cast, have their merit, and deserve attention, as they transmit pictures of familiar manners, and preserve popular customs. In this light, at least, *Barklay's SHIP OF FOOLS*, which is a general satire on the times, will be found entertaining. Nor must it be denied, that his language is more cultivated than that of many of his cotemporaries, and that he con-

tributed his share to the improvement of the English phraseology. His author, Sebastian Brandt, appears to have been a man of universal erudition ; and his work, for the most part, is a tissue of citations from the ancient poets and historians.

Barklay's other pieces are the *MIRROUR OF GOOD MANNERS*, and five *EGLOGES*¹.

The *MIRROUR* is a translation from a Latin elegiac poem, written in the year 1516, by Dominic Mancini *DE QUATUOR VIRTUTIBUS*. It is in the ballad-stanza². Our translator, as appears by the address prefixed, had been requested by Sir Giles Alyngton to abridge, or modernise, Gower's *CONFESSION AMANTIS*. But the poet declined this undertaking, as unsuitable to his age, infirmities, and profession ; and chose rather to oblige his patron with a grave system of ethics. It is certain that he made a prudent choice. The performance shews how little qualified he was to correct Gower.

Our author's *EGLOGES*, I believe, are the first that appeared in the

¹ He also wrote, 'The figure of our mother holy church oppressed by the French king,' printed for Pinson, 4to.—'Answer to John Skelton the Poet.'—'The Lives of S. Catharine, S. Margaret, and St. Etheldred.'—'The Life of S. George,' from Mantuan : dedicated to N. West bishop of Ely, and written while our author was a monk of Ely.—'De Pronuntiatione Gallica.' John Palsgrave, a polite scholar, and an eminent preceptor of the French language about the reign of Henry VIII., and one of the first who published in English a grammar of system of rules for teaching that language, says in his 'L'Eclaircissement de la language Francois,' addressed to Henry VIII., and printed (fol. Lond.) in 1530, that our author Barklay wrote a tract on this subject at the command of Thomas duke of Norfolk.—'The famous Cronycle of the Warre which the Romans had agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kyngdom of Numidy: which cronycle is compyled in Latyn by the renowned Romaine Sallust.' And translated into Englishe by SYR ALEXANDER BARKLAY, preest, at the commaundment of the hye and mighty prince Thomas duke of Norfolk. In two editions, by Pinson, of this work, both in folio, and in the public library at Cambridge, the Latin and English are printed together. The Latin is dedicated to Vesey bishop of Exeter, and dated 'ex Cellula Hatfeld regis (i.e. Kings Hatfield, Hertfordshire) iii. id. Nov.' A new edition, with out the Latin and the two dedications, was printed by J. Waley, 1557, 4to.—*ORATIONES VARIE.—DE FIDE ORTHODOXA.*—To these I add, what does not deserve mention in the text, a poem translated from the French, called *The CASTEL OF LABOURE*, wherein is riches, vertue, and honor. It is of some length, and an allegory ; in which Lady REASON conquers Despair, Poverty, and other evils, which attend a poor man lately married. The Prologue begins, 'Ye mortal people that desire to obtayne.' The poem begins, 'In musyng an evenyng with me was none.' Printed for Wynken de Worde, 1506. 4to. And again by Pinson, without date, 4to. In seven-lined stanzas. By mistake I have mentioned before this piece as anonymous. Bishop Alcock's *CASTEL OF LABOURE* was translated into English from a French poem by Octavien de S. Gelais, a bishop, and an eminent translator of the classics into French at the restoration of learning. Viz. 'Le CHASTEAU DE LABOUR en rime francoise, auquel est contenu l'adresse de riches et chemin de pauvrete, par Octavien de S. Gelais, &c. Paris, Gallyot du Pre, 1536, 16mo.' Our highest efforts of poetry at this period were translations from the French. This piece of S. Gelais was also translated into English rhymes by one *Dane*, or *dominus*, *James* : the same perhaps who made the following version, 'Here begynneth the ORCHARDE OF SYON : in the which is contayned the revelation of saynt Catherine of Sene, with ghostly fruytes and presyous plantes for the helthe of mannes soule. Translated by Dane James. Prynted at the cost of master Richard Sutton esquire, Steward of the monasterie of Syon, 1519.' For Wynkyn de Worde, in folio, with fine Gothic cuts in wood. This *Master Richard Sutton*, steward of the opulent monastery of Sion near London, was one of the founders of Brasenose college in Oxford.

Printed as above, 1570. fol. And by Pinson, at the command of Richard earl of Kent. Without date, 4to. The Latin elegiacs are printed in the margin, which have been frequently printed. At Basle, 1543. At Antwerp, 1550. With the epigram of Peter Carmelian annexed. And often before. Lastly, at the end of *MARTINI Braccarenensis Formula honestæ Vitæ*, Helmstad. 1691. 8vo. They are dedicated 'Frederico Severinati episcopo Malleacensi.' They first appeared at Leipsic, 1516. See Trithemius, concerning another of his poem's Mancini's *De passione domini*, cap. 995.

English language'. They are, like Petrarch's and Mantuan's², of the moral and satirical kind ; and contain but few touches of rural description and bucolic imagery. They seem to have been written about the year 1514³. The three first are paraphrased, with very large additions, from the MISERIE CURIALIUM of Eneas Sylvius⁴, and treat of the *Miseryes of Courtiers and Courtes of all Princes in general*. The fourth, in which is introduced a long poem in stanzas, called the *Tower of Vertue and Honour*⁵, of the *behaviour of riche men agaynst poetes*. The fifth, of the *disputation of citizens and men of the country*. These pastorals, if they deserve the name, contain many allusions to the times. The poet is prolix in his praises of Alcock bishop of Ely, and founder of Jesus college in Cambridge⁶.

Yes since his dayes a cocke was in the fen, [The isle of Ely]
I knowe his voyce among a thousand men :
He laught, he preached, he mended every wrong ;
But, Coridon, alas no good thing bideth long !
He All was a Cock [Alcock], he wakened us from slepe,
And while we slumbered, he did our foldes kepe.
No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges wood,
Could hurte our fouldes, his watching was so good.
The hungry wolves, whch that time did abounde,
What time he crowed⁷, abashed at the sounde.

¹ Printed as above, 1570, fol. First, I believe, by Humphrey Powell. 4to. Without date. Perhaps about 1550.

² Whom he mentions, speaking of EGLOGES. EGLOG. I. PROL.

And in like maner, nowe lately in our dayes, Hath other poets attempted the same wayes,
As the most famous Baptist Mantuan The best of that sort since poets first began,
And Frauncis Petrarke also in Italy, &c.

³ Because he praises 'noble Henry which now *departed late*.' Afterwards he falls into a long panegyric on his successor Henry VIII. EGLOG. i. As he does in the SHIP OF FOOLLES, fol. 205. a. where he says,

This noble prince beginneth vertuously By justice and pitie his realme to mayntayne.
He then wishes he may retake Jerusalem from the Turks ; and compares him to Hercules, Achilles, &c.

⁴ That is pope PIUS II., who died in 1464. This piece is among his EPISTLES, some of which are called Tracts. EPIST. CLVI.

⁵ It is properly an elegy on the death of the duke of Norfolk, lord high admiral

⁶ This very learned and munificent prelate deservedly possessed some of the highest dignities in church and state. He was appointed bishop of Ely in 1486. He died at Wisbeach, 1501. WHART. ANGL. SACR. i. 675. 801. 381. Rosse says, that he was tutor to prince Edward, afterwards Edward V., but removed by the king's uncle Richard. Rosse, I think, is the only historian who records this anecdote. HIST. REG. ANGL. p. 212. edit. Hearn.

⁷ Among Wren's MSS. Collections, Registr. parv. Confistorii Eliensis, called the BLACK BOOK,) the following curious memorial, concerning a long sermon preached by Alcock at St. Mary's in Cambridge, occurs. 'I. Alcock, divina gratia episcopus Eliensis prima die dominici, ca. 1488, bonum et blandum sermonem prædicavit in ecclesia B. Mariæ Cantabrig. qui 'incept in hora prima post meridiem et duravit in horam tertiam et ultra.' He published an address to the clergy assembled at Barnwell, under the title of GALLICANTUS ad confratres suos curatos in synodo apud Barnwell 25 Sept. 1498. To which is annexed his CONSTITUTION for celebrating certain feasts in his diocese. Printed for Pinson, 1498. 4to. In the beginning is the figure of the bishop preaching to his clergy, with two cocks on each side. And there is a cock in the first page. By the way, Alcock wrote many other pieces. THE HILL OF PERFECTION, from the Latin. For Pinson, 1497. 4to. For Wynkyn de Worde, 1497. 4to. Again, for the same, 1501. 4to. THE ABBEY OF THE HOLY GHOST that shall be founded and grounded in a clear conscience, in which abbey shall dwell twenty and nine ladies ghostly. For the same, 1531. 4to. Again, for the same, without date, but before 1500. 4to. At the end, 'Thus endeth without bost, The Abby of the holi gost.' (MSS. Harl. 5272. 3.—1704. 9. fol. 32. b. And MSS. C. C. Oxon. 155. And MSS. MORE, 191.) SPOUSAGE OF

This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe,
 Than is a lion abashed of an oxe.
 When he went, faded the floure of al the fen ;
 I boldly sweare this cocke trode never hen !

Alcock, while living, erected a beautiful sepulchral chapel in his cathedral, still remaining, but miserably defaced. To which the shepherd alludes in the lines that follow :

This was the father of thinges pastorall,
 And that well sheweth his cathedrall.
 There was I lately, aboute the midst of May :
 Coridon, his church is twenty sith more gay
 Then all the churches between the same and Kent ;
 There sawe I his tombe and chapel excellent.
 Our parishe church is but a dongeon
 To that gay churche in comparison.—
 When I sawe his figure lye in the chapel side, &c.¹

In another place he thus represents the general lamentation for the death of this worthy prelate : and he rises above himself in describing the sympathy of the towers, arches, vaults, and images, of Ely monastery.

The pratie palace by him made in the fen²,
 The maides, widowes, the wives, and the men,
 With deadly dolour were pearsed to the hearte,
 When death constraynd this shepherd to departe.
 Corne, grasse, and fieldes, mourned for wo and payne,
 For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne.
 The pleasaunt floures for him faded eche one.—
 The okes, elmes : every sorte of dere³
 Shrunke under shadowes, abating all their chere.
 The mightie walles of Ely monastery,
 The stones, rockes, and towres semblably,
 The marble pillours, and images eche one,
 Swete all for sorrowe, when this cocke was gone, &c. [Ecl. 3.]

It should be remembered, that these pastorals were probably written while our poet was a monk of Ely : and although Alcock was then dead, yet the memory of his munificence and piety was recent in the monastery⁴.

A VIRGIN TO CHRIST, 1486. 4to. HOMELIÆ VULGARES. MEDITATIONES PLÆ. A fragment of a comment upon the SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS, in English verse, is supposed to be by bishop Alcock, MSS. Harl. 1704. 4. fol. 13.

¹ EGLOG, i. Signat. A. iii.

² He rebuilt, or greatly improved, the episcopal palace at Ely.

³ Beasts, quadrupeds of all kinds. So in the romance of SYRE BEVIS, Signat. F. iii.

Rattes and myse and such smal *dere* Was his meate that seven yere.

Whence Shakespeare took, as Dr. Percy has observed, the well-known distich of the madman in KING LEAR, ACT iii. Sc. 4.

Mice and rats and such small DEERE Have been Tom's food for seven long yeere

It cannot now be doubted, that Shakespeare in this passage wrote DEER, instead of GEER or CHEER, which have been conjecturally substituted by his commentators.

⁴ He also compliments Alcock's predecessour Moreton, afterwards archbishop of Canter-

Speaking of the dignity and antiquity of shepherds, and particularly of Christ at his birth being first seen by shepherds, he seems to describe some large and splendid picture of the Nativity painted on the walls of Ely cathedral.

I sawe them myselfe well paynted on the wall,
Late gasing upon our churche cathedrall:
I saw great wethers, in picture, and small lambes,
Daunsing, some sleping, some sucking of their dams;
And some on the ground, mesemed, lying still:
Then sawe I horsemen appendant of an hill;
And the three kings with all their company
Their crownes glittering bright and oriently,
With their presents and giftes mysticall:
All this behelde I in picture on the wall. [Ecl. 5.]

Virgil's poems are thus characterised, in some of the best turned lines we find in these pastorals:

He sunge of fieldes, and tilling of the ground,
Of shepe and oxen, and battayle did he sounde;
So shrille he sounded in termes eloquent
I trowe his tunes went to the firmament. [Ecl. 4.]

He gives us the following idea of the sports, spectacles, and pleasures, of his age.

Some men deliteth beholding men to fight,
Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,
Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes and male¹.—
Some glad is to see these ladies beauteous,
Goodly appoynted in clothing sumptuous:
A number of people appoynted in like wise²
In costly clothing, after the newest gise:
Sportes, disguising³, fayre coursers mount and prounce,
Or goodly ladies and knightes sing and daunce:
To see fayre houses, and curious picture,
Or pleasaunt hanging⁴, or sumptuous vesture,
Of silke, of purpure, or golde moste orient,
And other clothing divers and excellent:
Hye curious buildinges, or palaces royall,
Or chapels, temples fayre and substanciall,
Images graven, or vaultes curious⁵;
Gardeyns, and meadowes, or places⁶ delicious,

bury: not without an allusion to his troubles, and restoration to favour, under Richard III. and Henry VII. EGL. iii.

And shepheard MORETON, when he durst not appeare,
Howe his olde servauntes were carefull of his chere;
In payne and pleasour they kept fidelitie,
Till grace agayne gave him authoritie, &c.

And again, EGL. iiiii.

Micene (Mecenas) and MORETON be deade and gone certaine.

The DEANE OF POWLES, I suppose dean Colet, is celebrated as a preacher, *ibid.* As is, The olde friar that wonned in 'Greenwich,' EGL. v.

¹ Armour and coats of mail.

² Apparelled in uniform.

³ Masques, &c.

⁴ Tapestry.

⁵ Roofs, curiously vaulted.

⁶ Houses, Seats.

Forests and parkes well furnished with dere,
Cold pleasant streames, or welles fayre and clere,
Curious cundytes, &c¹.

We have before seen, that our author and Skelton were rivals. He

¹ EGL. ii. I shall here throw together in Notes, some traits in these Eclogues of the common customs and manners of the times. A shepherd, after mentioning his skill in shooting birds with a bow, says, EGL. i.

No shepheard, throweth the AXLETREE so farre.

A gallant is thus described, EGL. ii.

For women use to love them most of all,
Which boldly bosteth, or that can sing and jet;
Whiche hath the maistry oftymes in tournament,
Or that can gambauld, or dance feat and gent.

The following sorts of wine are recited, EGL. ii.

As muscadell, caprike, romney, and malmesey,
From Genoe brought, from Greece, or Hungary.

As are the dainties of the table, *ibid.*

A shepherd at court must not think to eat,
——Swanne, nor heron, Curlewe, nor crane. ——

Again, *ibid.*

What fishe is of favour swete and delicious,—
Rosted or sodden in swete herbes or wine;
Or fried in oyle, most saporous and fine.—
—— The pasties of a hart.——
The crane, the fesaunt, the peacock, and curlewe,
The partriche, plover, bittorn, and heronsewe:
Seasoned so well in licour redolent,
That the hall is full of pleasant smell and sent.

At a feast at court, *ibid.*

Slowe be the sewers in serving in alway,
But swift be they after, taking the meate away;
A speciall custom is used them amonge,
No good dishe to suffer on borde to be long:
If the dishe be pleasaunt, eyther fleshe or fishe,
Ten handes at once swarme in the dishe;
And if it be fleshe ten knives shall thou see
Mangling the fleshe, and in the platter flee:
To put there thy handes is perill without fayle,
Without a gauntlet or els a glove of mayle.

The two last lines remind us of a saying of Quin, who declared it was not safe to sit down to a turtle-feast in one of the city-halls, without a basket-hilted knife and fork. Not that I suppose Quin borrowed his bon mots from black letter books.

The following lines point out some of the festive tales of our ancestors. EGL. iv.

Yet would I gladly heare some mery FIT
Of Mayde Marian, or els of Robin Hood;
Or Bentley's Ale which chafeth well the blood,
Of Perte of Norwich, or sauce of Wilberton,
Or buckish Toby well-stuffed as a ton.

He mentions *Bentley's Ale*, which maketh me to winke, EGL. ii.

Some of our ancient domestic pastimes and amusements are recorded, EGL. iv.

Then is it pleasure the yonge maydens amonge
To watche by the fire the winter-nightes long;——
And in the ashes some playes for to marke,
To cover wardenes [pears] for faulte of other warke:
To toste white shevers, and to make prophitroles;
And, astir talking, oftymes to fill the bowles, &c.

He mentions some musical instruments, EGL. ii.

—— Methinkes no mirth is scant,

alludes to Skelton, who had been laureated at Oxford, in the following lines.

Then is he decked as *poet laureate*,
When stinking Thais made him her *graduate*:—
If they have smelled the *artes triviall*.
They count them poets *hye and heroicall*. [Ecl. iv.]

The TOWER OF VERTUE AND HONOUR, introduced as a song of one of the shepherds into these pastorals, exhibits no very masterly strokes of a sublime and inventive fancy. It has much of the trite imagery usually applied in the fabrication of these ideal edifices. It, however, shews our author in a new walk of poetry. This magnificent tower, or castle, is built on inaccessible cliffs of flint: the walls are of gold, bright as the sun, and decorated with *olde historyes and pictures manyfolde*: the turrets are beautifully shaped. Among its heroic inhabitants are Henry VIII., Howard duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Shrewsbury. LABOUR is the porter at the gate, and VIRTUE governs the house. LABOUR is thus pictured, with some degree of spirit.

Fearfull is LABOUR, without favour at all,
Dreadful of visage, a monster intractable :
Like Cerberus lying at gates infernall ;
To some men his looke is halfe intollerable,
His shoulders large for burden strong and able,
His bodie bristled, his necke mightie and stiffe ;
By sturdie sinewes his joynts strong and stable,
Like marble stones his handes be as stiffe.

Here must man vanquish the dragon of Cadmus,
Gainst the Chimere here stoutly must he fight ;
Here must he vanquish the fearfull Pegasus,
For the golden flece here must he shewe his might :
If LABOUR gainsay, he can nothing be right :
This monster LABOUR oft changeth his figure,
Sometime an oxe, a bore, or lion wight,
Playnely he seemeth thus changeth his nature.

Like as Protheus ofte changeth his stature.

* * * * *

Under his browes he dreadfully doth lowre

Where no rejoycing of minstrelsie doth want ;
The bagpipe or fiddle to us is delectable, &c.

And the mercantile commodities of different countries and cities, EGL. iv.

England hath cloth, Bordeus hath store of wine,
Cornwalle hath tinne, and Lymster wooles fine.
London hath scarlet, and Bristowe pleasaut red, &c.

Of songs at feasts, EGL. iv.

When your fat dishes smoke hot upon your table,
Then laude ye songes and balades magnifie,
If they be merry, or written craftely,
Ye clappe your handes and to the makinge harke,
And one say to another, lo here a proper warke.

He says that minstrels and singers are highly favoured at court, especially those of the *French gise*. EGL. ii. Also jugglers and pipers, EGL. iv.

With glistering eyes, and side-dependant beard,
For thirst and hunger alway his chere is soure,
His horned forehead doth make faynt hearts afeard.

Alway he drinketh, and yet alway is drye,
The sweat distilling with droppes abundant, &c.

The poet adds, that when the noble Howard had long boldly contended with this hideous monster, had broken the bars and doors of the castle, had bound the porter, and was now preparing to ascend the tower of Virtue and Honour, FORTUNE and DEATH appeared, and interrupted his progress. [Egl. IV.]

The first modern Latin Bucolics are those of Petrarch, in number twelve, written about the year 1350¹. The Eclogues of Mantuan, our author's model, appeared about the year 1400, and were followed by many others. Their number multiplied so soon, that a collection of thirty-eight modern bucolic poets in Latin was printed at Basil, in the year 1546². These writers judged this indirect and disguised mode of dialogue, consisting of simple characters which spoke freely and plainly, the most safe and convenient vehicle for abusing the corruptions of the church. Mantuan became so popular, as to acquire the estimation of a classic, and to be taught in schools. Nothing better proves the reputation in which this writer was held, than a speech of Shakespeare's pedant, the pedagogue Holofernes. '*Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub ulmo*'³, and so forth. Ah, good old MANTUAN! I may 'speak of thee, as the traveller doth of Venice, *Vinegia, Vinegia, chi non te vedi, ei non te pregia*. Old MANTUAN! Old MANTUAN! Who 'understandeth thee not, loveth thee not'⁴. But although Barklay copies Mantuan, the recent and separate publication in England of Virgil's bucolics, by Wynkyn de Worde⁵, might partly suggest the new idea of this kind of poetry.

With what avidity the Italian and French poets, in their respective languages, entered into this species of composition, when the rage of Latin versification had subsided, and for the purposes above-mentioned, is an inquiry reserved for a future period. I shall only add here, that before the close of the fifteenth century, Virgil's bucolics were translated into Italian⁶, by Bernardo Pulci, Fossa de Cremona, Benivieni, and Fiorini Buoninsegni.

¹ BUCOLICORUM ECLOGÆ XII.

² Viz. xxxviii. AUTHORES BUCOLICI, Basle. 1546. 8vo.

³ One of the Mantuan's lines. Farnaby in his Preface to Martial says, that FAUSTE PRECOR GELIDA, was too often preferred to ARMA VIRUMQUE CANO. I think there is an old black letter translation of Mantuan into English. Another translation appeared by one Thomas Harvey, 1656. Mantuan was three times printed in England before the year 1600. Viz. B. Mantuani Carmelitæ theologi ADOLESCENTIA seu BUCOLICA. With the commentary of Jodocus Badius. Excud. G. Dewes and H. Marshe, 1584. 12mo. Again, for the same, the same year, 12mo. Again, for Robert Dexter, 1598. 12mo. With Arguments to the Eclogues, and notes by John Murelius, &c.

⁴ LOVE'S LAB. L. ACT, iv. Sc. 3.

⁵ BUCOLICA VIRGILII CUM COMMENTO FAMILIARI. At the end, AD JUVENES HUIUS MARONIANI OPERIS COMMENDATIO. DIE VERO viii. APRILIS. 4to. And they were reprinted by the same, 1514. and 1516.

⁶ Viz. LA BUCOLICA DI VIRGILIO per Fratrem Evangelistam FOSSA de Cremona ord. ser-

SECTION XXX.

It is not the plan of this work to comprehend the Scottish poetry. But when I consider the close and national connection between England and Scotland in the progress of manners and literature, I am sensible I should be guilty of a partial and defective representation of the poetry of the former, was I to omit in my series a few Scottish writers, who have adorned the present period, with a degree of sentiment and spirit, a command of phraseology, and a fertility of imagination, not to be found in any English poet since Chaucer and Lydgate: more especially as they have left striking specimens of allegorical invention, a species of composition which appears to have been for some time almost totally extinguished in England.

The first I shall mention is William Dunbar, a native of Salton in East Lothian, about the year 1470. His most celebrated poems are *THE THISTLE AND THE ROSE*, and *THE GOLDEN TERGE*.

THE THISTLE AND THE ROSE was occasioned by the marriage of James IV., king of Scotland, with Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry VII., king of England: an event, in which the whole future political state of both nations was vitally interested, and which ultimately produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms. It was finished on the ninth day of May in the year 1503, nearly three months before the arrival of the queen in Scotland: whose progress from Richmond to Edinburgh was attended with a greater magnificence of parade, processions, and spectacles, than I ever remember to have seen on any similar occasion¹. It may be pertinent to premise, that Margaret was

vorum. In Venezia, 1494. 4to. But thirteen years earlier we find, Bernardo PULCI nella *BUCOLICA*, di Virgillio: di Jeronimo BENIVIENI, Jacopo FIORINO Buoninsegni de Sienna: *Epistole di Luca Pulci*. In Firenze, per Bartolomeo Miscomini, 1474. A dedication is prefixed, by which it appears, that Buoninsegni wrote a *PISCATORY ECLOGUE*, the first ever written in Italy, in the year 1468. There was a second edition of Pulci's version, *La BUCOLICA di VIRGILIO tradotta per Bernardo PULCI con l'Elegie*. In Fiorenza, 1494.

¹ See a memoir, cited above, in Leland's *COLL.* tom. iii. APPEND. edit. 1770. p. 265. It is worthy of particular notice, that during this expedition there was in the magnificent suite of the princess a company of players, under the direction of one John English, who is sometimes called Johannes. 'Amonge the saide lordes and the qweene was in order, Johannes and his 'companye, the menstrells of musicke, &c.' p. 267, 299, 300, 280, 289. In the midst of a most splendid procession, the princess rode on horse-back behind the king into the city of Edinburgh, p. 287. Afterwards the ceremonies of this stately marriage are described; which yet is not equal, in magnificence and expence, to that of Richard II. with Isabell of France, at Calais, in the year 1397. This last-mentioned marriage is recorded with the most minute circumstances, the dresses of the king and the new queen, the names of the French and English nobility who attended, the presents, one of which is a golden cup studded with jewels, and worth three thousand pounds, given on both sides, the banquets, entertainments, and a variety of other curious particulars, in five large vellum pages, in an ancient Register of Merton priory in Surrey, in old French. MSS. LAUD, E. 54. fol. 105. b. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Froissart, who is most commonly prolix in describing pompous ceremonies, might have greatly enriched his account of the same royal wedding, from this valuable and authentic record. *CRON.* tom. iv. p. 226. ch. 78, B. penult. Paris. 1574. fol. Or lord Berners's Translation, vol. ii, f. 275. cap. ccxvi. edit. Pinson, 1523. fol. The presents at this marriage ascertain a doubtful reading in

a singular patroness of the Scottish poetry, now beginning to flourish. Her bounty is thus celebrated by Stewart of Lorne, in a Scotch poem, called LERGES OF THIS NEW YEIR DAY, written in the year 1527.

Grit god relief¹ MARGARET our quene !
 For and scho war and scho has bene²
 Scho wold be larger of lufray³
 Than all the laif that I of mene⁴,
 For lerges⁵ of this new-yeir day⁶.

Dunbar's THISTLE AND ROSE is opened with the following stanzas, which are remarkable for their descriptive and picturesque beauties.

Quhen⁷ Merche was with variand windis past,
 And Apperyll had with her silver shouris
 Tane leif⁸ of Nature, with ane orient blast,
 And lusty May, that muddir⁹ is of flouris
 Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris¹⁰,
 Amang the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,
 Quhois harmony to heir it was delyt :
 In bed at morrow sleiping as I lay,
 Methoct Aurora, with her cristall ene
 In at the window lukit¹¹ by the day,
 And halsit¹² me with visage pale and grene ;
 On quhois hand a lark sang, fro the splene¹³,
 'Awak, luvaris¹⁴, out of your slemering¹⁵,
 'Se how the lusty morrow doth upspring !'
 Methoct freshe May befoir my bed upstude,
 In weid¹⁶ depaynt of mony diverse hew,
 Sober, benygn, and full of mansuetude,
 In bright attair of flouris forgit new¹⁷,
 Hevinly of color, quhyt, reid, brown, and blew,

Chaucer, viz. 'Un NOUCHE pr. CCC. livr.—It. un riche NOUCHE.—Un NOUCHE priz de cynk 'centz marcz'—In the CLERKE'S TALE. Grisilde has a crown 'full of *euchis* grete and smale.' The late editor acquaints us, that the best manuscripts read *nouchis*.—In the same Note, For 'a golden cup, READ 'a collar of gold,' *colere d'or*.

¹ Great god help, &c.

³ Bounty. Fr *L'Offre*.

⁶ St. x.

¹⁰ Mattin orisons

⁷ When. *Qu* has the force of *wh*.

⁴ Any other I could speak of.

⁸ Taken Leave.

² If she continues to do as she has done.

⁵ Largess. Bounty.

⁹ Mother.

Where he also calls the birds the *chapel-clarkes* of Venus, St. iii. In the COURTE OF LOVE, Chaucer introduces the birds singing a mass in honour of May. Edit. Urr. p. 570. v. 1353, seq.

On May-day, when the lark began to ryse, To MATTINS went the lustie nighngale.

He begins the service with *Domine labia*. The eagle sings the *Venite*. The poppingay *Cali enarrant*. The peacock *Dominus regnavit*. The owl *Benedicite*. The *Te Deum* is converted into *Te Deum AMORIS*, and sung by the thrush, &c. &c. Skelton, in the BOKE OF PHILIP SPARROW, ridicules the missal, in supposing various parts of it to be sung by birds, p. 226. edit. Lond. 1739, 12mo. Much the same sort of fiction occurs in St. David Lyndesay's COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPYNGO, edit. ut. infr. SIGNAT. B. iii.

Suppose the geis and hennis suld cry alarum,
 And we sall serve *secundum usum, Sarum, &c.*

¹¹ Looked.

¹² Hailed.

¹³ With good will. Loudly.

¹⁴ Lovers,

¹⁵ Slumbering.

¹⁶ Attire.

¹⁷ From Chaucer, MILLER'S TALE, v. 147, p. 25. Urr.

Full brightir was the shining of hir hewe

Than in the Towre the noble *forged newe*.

Balmit in dew, and gilt with Phebus' bemys;
 Quihil al the house illumynit of her lemys¹.

MAY then rebukes the poet, for not rising early, according to his annual custom, to celebrate the approach of the spring; especially as the lark has now announced the dawn of day, and his heart in former years had always,

—————glaid and blissful bene
 Sangis² to mak undir the levis grene³.

The poet replies, that the spring of the present year was unpromising and ungenial; unattended with the usual song of birds, and serenity of sky: and that storms and showers, and the loud blasts of the horn of *lord* Eolus, had usurped her mild dominion, and hitherto prevented him from wandering at leisure under the vernal branches. MAY rejects his excuse, and with a smile of majesty commands him to arise, and to perform his annual homage to the flowers, the birds, and the sun. They both enter a delicious garden, filled with the richest colours and odours. The sun suddenly appears in all his glory, and is thus described in the luminous language of Dunbar.

The purpoure sone, with tendir bemys reid,
 In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
 Thorow goldin skyis putting up his heid,
 Quhois gilt tressis schone so wondir cleir,
 That all the world take comfort far and neir⁴.

Immediately the birds, like the morning-stars, singing together, hail the unusual appearance of the sun-shine.

And, as the blissful sone of cherarchy⁵,
 The fowlis sung throw comfort of the licht;
 The burddis did with oppin voices cry,
 'O luvaris, fo away throw dully nicht,
 'And welcum day that comfortis every wicht.
 'Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora schene,
 'Hail princes Nature, hail Venus luvis quene⁶.

NATURE is then introduced, issuing her interdict, that the progress of the spring should be no longer interrupted, and that Neptune and Eolus should cease from disturbing the waters and air.

Dame Nature gaif an inhibitioun thair,
 To fers Neptune, and Eolus the bauld⁷,
 Nocht to perturb the wattir nor the air;
 And that no schouris⁸ nor blastis cawld

¹ Brightness

² Songs.

³ St. iv. See CHAUCER'S KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 1042. p. 9. Urr.

She was arisin, and all redie dight,

For May will have no sluggardy annight;

And makith it out of his slepe to sterte,

The season prikkith every gentill herte;

And sayth, aryse, and do May observaunce, &c.

⁴ St. viii.

⁵ The hierarchy. See JOB, ch. xxxviii. v. 7. The morning-stars singing together.

⁶ St. ix.

⁷ Bold.

⁸ Read *Scho-u-ris*

Effray suld¹ floris, nor fowlis on the fauld ;
 Scho bad eke Juno goddes of the sky
 That scho the hevin suld amene and dry².

This preparation and suspense are judicious and ingenious, as they give dignity to the subject of the poem, awaken our curiosity, and introduce many poetical circumstances. NATURE immediately commands every bird, beast, and flower, to appear in her presence, and, as they had been used to do every May-morning, to acknowledge her universal sovereignty. She sends theroe to bring the beasts, the swallow to collect the birds, and the yarrow³ to summon the flowers. They are assembled before her in an instant. The lion advances first, whose figure is drawn with great force and expression.

This awefull beist full terrible was of cheir,
 Persing of luke, and stout of countenance,
 Ryght strong of corps, of fassoun fair but feir⁴,
 Lusty of shaip, lycht of deliverance,
 Reid of his cullour as the ruby glance,
 In field of gold he stude full mychtely,
 With floure de lucis sirculit⁵ lustely⁶.

This is an elegant and ingenious mode of blazoning the Scottish arms, which are a lion with a border, or tressure, adorned with flower de luces. We should remember, that heraldry was now a science of high importance and esteem. NATURE lifting up his *clumis cleir*, or shining claws, and suffering him to rest on her knee, crowns him with a radiant diadem of precious stones, and creates him the king of beasts: at the same time she enjoins him to exercise justice with mercy, and not to suffer his subjects of the smallest size or degree, to be oppressed by those of superior strength and dignity. This part of NATURE'S charge to the lion is closed with the following beautiful stroke, which indicates the moral tenderness of the poet's heart.

And lat no bowgle with his busteous⁷ hornis
 The meik pluch ox⁸ oppress for all hys pryd,
 Bot in the yok go peciable him besyd⁹.

She next crowns the eagle king of fowls; and sharpening his talons like darts of steel, orders him to govern great and small, the wren or the peacock, with an uniform and equal impartiality. I need not point out to my reader the political lessons couched under these commands. NATURE now calls the flowers; and observing the thistle to be surrounded with a busn of spears, and therefore qualified for war, gives

¹ Should hurt.

² St. x.

³ The yarrow is *Achillea*, or *Millefolium*, commonly called *Sneewort*. There is no reason for selecting this plant to go on a message to the flowers; but that its name has been supposed to be derived from *Arrow*, being held a remedy for healing wounds inflicted by that weapon. The poet, to apologise for his boldness in personifying a plant, has added, 'full craftely con-jurit scho.' St. xii.

⁴ Fierce.

⁵ Encircled.

⁶ St. xiv.

⁷ Boisterous. Strong.

⁸ Plough-ox.

⁹ St. xvi.

him a crown of rubies, and says, 'In field go forth and fend the laif¹.' The poet continues elegantly to picture other parts of the royal arms : in ordering the thistle, who is now king of vegetables, to prefer all herbs or flowers, of rare virtue, and rich odour : nor ever to permit the nettle to associate with the flour de lys, nor any ignoble weed to be ranked in competition with the lily. In the next stanza, where NATURE directs the thistle to honour the rose above all other flowers, exclusive of the heraldic meaning, our author with much address insinuates to king James IV. an exhortation to conjugal fidelity, drawn from the high birth, beauty, and amiable accomplishments, of the royal bride the princess Margaret².

Nor hald no udir flower in sic denty³
 As the fresche ROSE of cullour reid and quhyt ;
 For gif thou dois⁴, hurt is thyne honesty,
 Considering that no flour is so perfytt,
 So full of vertew, pleasans, and delyt,
 So ful of blisfull angelick bewty,
 Imperial birth, honour, and dignite⁵.

NATURE then addresses the rose, whom she calls, 'O lusty daughter 'most benyng,' and whose lineage she exalts above that of the lily. This was a preference of Tudor to Valois. She crowns the rose with *clarefied* gems, the lustre of which illumines all the land. The rose is hailed queen by the flowers. Last, her praises are sung by the universal chorus of birds, the sound of which awakens the poet from his delightful dream. The fairy scene is vanished, and he calls to the muse to perpetuate in verse the wonders of the splendid vision.

Although much fine invention and sublime fabling are displayed in the allegorical visions of our old poets, yet this mode of composition, by dealing only in imaginary personages, and by excluding real characters and human actions, necessarily fails in that chief source of entertainment which we seek in ancient poetry, the representation of ancient manners.

Another general observation, immediately resulting from the subject of this poem, may be here added, which illustrates the present and future state of the Scottish poetry. The marriage of a princess of England with a king of Scotland, from the new communication and

¹ Defend the rest.

² Among the pageants exhibited at Edinburgh in honour of the nuptials, she was complimented with the following curious mixture of classical and scriptural history. 'Ny to that cross was a scarfawst [scaffold] made, where was represented Paris and the three Deesses, 'with Mercure that gaff hym the apyll of gold for to gyffe to the most fayre of the Thre, 'which he gave to Venus. In the scarfawst was also represented the Salutation of Gabrielle 'to the Virgyne in saying *Ave gratia*, and sens after (next,) the sollemnization of the very 'maryage betwix the said Vierge (Virgin) and Joseph.' Leland, COLL. iii. APPEND. p. 239. *ut* supr. Not to mention the great impropriety, which they did not perceive, of applying such a part of scripture.

³ *Dainty*. Price.

⁴ If thou doest.

⁵ St. xxi.

intercourse opened between the two courts and kingdoms by such a connection, must have greatly contributed to polish the rude manners, and to improve the language, literature, and arts of Scotland.

The design of Dunbar's GOLDEN TERGE, is to shew the gradual and imperceptible influence of love, when too far indulged, over reason. The discerning reader will observe, that the cast of this poem is tingured with the morality and imagery of the ROMAUNT OF THE ROSE, and the FLOURE AND LEAFE, of Chaucer.

The poet walks forth at the dawn of a bright day. The effects of the rising sun on a vernal landscape, with its accompaniments, are thus delineated in the manner of Lydgate, yet with more strength, distinctness, and exuberance of ornament.

Richte as the starre of day began to schyne,
When gone to bed was Vesper and Lucyne,
I raise, and by a rosier¹ did me test :
Upsprang the golden candle matutyne,
With cleir depurit² bemys chrystallyne,
Glading the mirry fowlis in thair nest :
Or Phebus was in purpour kaip³ revest,
Upsprang the lark, the hevenis menstral syne⁴,
In May intill a morrow mirthfullest.

Full angelyk the birdis sang thair houris,
Within thair courtings⁵ grene, within thair bouris
Apparrellit quhaite and reid with blumys sweit :
Ennamelit was the feild with all cullouris,
The perlit droppis schuke as in silver schouris⁶,
While al in balme did branche and levis fleit
Depairt from Phebus, did Aurora greit
Hir chrystall teiris I saw hing on the flouris,
Quhilk he for lufe all drank up with his heit

For mirth of May, with skippis and with hoppis,
The birdis sang upon the tendir croppis⁷,
With curious notes, as Venus' chapell-clarkes :
The rosis reid, now spreiding of their knoppis⁸,
Were powderit⁹ bricht with heavenly beryl-droppis,
Throw bemys reid lemyng as ruby sparks ;
The skyis rang with schoutyng of the larks,
The purpour hevin owreskalit in silver sloppis¹⁰
Owregilt the treis, branchis, levis and barks.

Down thruch the ryss¹¹ ane revir ran with stremis

¹ Rose-tree. ² Purified. ³ Cape. Ere Phebus was dressed in his purple robe.

⁴ Then, ⁵ Curtains. ⁶ The pearled drops fell from the trees like silver showers.

⁷ Branches. ⁸ Knobs. Buds.

⁹ Besprinkled. An heraldic term. OBSERV. on the FAIRY QUEEN, ii. p. 158. seq.

¹⁰ Covered with streaks, *slips*, of silver.

¹¹ Through the bushes, the trees. Rice, or *Ris*, is properly a long branch. This word is till used in the west of England. Chaucer, MILLER'S TALE, v. 215. p. 26. Urr. edit.

And thereupon he had a fair surplice As white as is the blosome on the *rice*.

So lustely upoun the lykand¹ lemis,
 That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht,
 Quhilk Shaddowit all about with twynklyng glemis²;
 The bewis³ baithit war in secound bemis,
 Through the reflex of Phebus visage bricht
 On every side the ege raise on hicht⁴ :
 The bank was grene, the son was full of bemis,
 The streimeirs cleir as starres in frostie nicht.
 The crystall cleir, the sapheir firmament,
 The ruby skyies of the reid orient,
 Kest⁵ beryl bemis on emerault bewis grene,
 The rosy garth⁶, depaynt, and redolent,
 With purpoure, asure, gold, and gowlis⁷ gent,
 Arrayit was, by dame Flora the quene
 Sa nobilly, that joy was for to sene :
 The rocke⁸, agane the river resplendent,
 As low illuminate all the levis schene⁹.

Our author, lulled by the music of the birds, and the murmuring of the water, falls asleep on the flowers, which he calls *Flora's mantill*. In a vision, he sees a ship approach, whose sails are like the *blossom upon the spray*, and whose masts are of gold bright as the *star of day*¹⁰. She glides swiftly through a crystal bay ; and lands in the blooming meadows, among the green rushes and reeds, an hundred ladies clad in rich but loose attire. They are clothed in green kirtles ; their golden tresses, tied only with glittering threads, flow to the ground ; and their snowy bosoms are unveiled.

So in a Scottish poem by Alexander Scott, written 1562. ANCIENT SCOTTISH POEMS, Edinb. 1770. p. 194.

Welcumoure rubent rois [rose] upon the *rice*.

So also Lydgate, in his poem called LONDON LICKPENNY, MSS. Harl. 367.

Hot pescode own [one] began to crye, Straberys rype, and *cherryes in the RYSE*.

That is, as he passed through London streets, they cried, hot pease, ripe strawberries, and cherries on a *bough*, or twig. ¹ Pleasant.

² The water blazed like a lamp, and threw about it shadowy gleams of twinkling light.

³ Boughs. ⁴ The high-raised edges, or bank. ⁵ Cast. ⁶ Garden.

⁷ Gules. The heraldic term for red.

⁸ The rock, glittering with the reflection of the river, illuminated as with fire all the bright leaves. *Lowe* is flame.

⁹ *Str. i. seq.* Compare Chaucer's Morning, in the KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 1493. p. 12. Urr.

The mery lark, messengere of the day, Salewith in her song the morowe gray ;

And fyrie Phebus rysing up so bright That all the orient laughith at the sight,

And with his streimis dryith in the greves The silver dropis hanging in the leves.

It is seldom that we find Chaucer indulging his genius to an absurd excess in florid descriptions. The same cannot be said of Lydgate.

¹⁰ In our old poetry and the romances, we frequently read of ships superbly decorated. This was taken from real life. Froissart, speaking of the French fleet in 1387, prepared for the invasion of England under the reign of Richard II. says, that the ships were painted with the arms of the commanders and gilt, with banners, pennons, and standards, of silk : and that the masts were painted from top to bottom, glittering with gold. The ship of lord Guy of Tremoyll was so sumptuously garnished, that the painting and colours cost 2000 French franks, more than 222 pounds of English currency at that time. Grafton's CHRON. p. 364. At his second expedition into France, in 1417, king Henry V. was in a ship, whose sails were of purple silk most richly embroidered with gold. Speed's CHRON. B. ix. p. 636. edit. 1611. Many other instances might be brought from ancient miniatures and illuminations.

Als fresche as flours that in the May upspreids
 In kirtills grene, withoutin kell¹ or bands
 Their bricht hair hung glittering on the strand
 In tressis cleir, wy pit² with golden threidis ;
 With pawpys³ whyt, and middills small as wands⁴

In this brilliant assembly, the poet sees NATURE, *dame Venus quene*, *the fresche AURORA*, May, *lady Flora schene*, Juno, Latona, Proserpine, Diana goddess of the chase and *woodis grene*, *lady Clio*, Minerva, Fortune, and Lucina. These *michty quenes* are crowned with diadems, glittering like the morning-star. They enter a garden. May, the queen of mirthful *months*, is supported between her sisters April and June : as she walks up and down the garden, the birds begin to sing, and NATURE gives her a gorgeous robe adorned with every colour under heaven.

Thair sawe I NATURE present till⁵ her a gown
 Riche to beholde, and noble of renoune,
 Of everie hew that undir the hevin has bene
 Depaint and braid⁶ by gud proportioun⁷.

The vegetable tribes then do their obeisance to NATURE, in these polished and elegant verses.

And every blome on branche, and eik on bank,
 Opnit, and spred their balmy levis dank,
 Full law inclyne and to thair queen full cleir,
 Whom for their noble nurissing thay thank⁸.

Immediately another court, or groupe, appears. Here Cupid the king presides :

— — — a bow in hand ay bent,
 And dreadfull arrowis groundin scherp and squhair.
 Thair sawe I Mars the god armipotent
 Awefull and stirme, strong and corpulent.
 Thair sawe I crabit⁹ Saturne, auld and hair¹⁰,
 His look was lyk for to perturb the air.
 Thair was Mercurius, wise and eloquent,
 Of retorik that fund¹¹ the floris fair¹².

These are attended with other pagan divinities, Janus, Priapus, Eolus, Bacchus the *glader of the table*, and Pluto. They are all arrayed ingreen ; and singing amorous ditties to the harp and lute, invite the ladies to dance. The poet quits his ambush under the trees, and pressing forward to gain a more perfect view of this tempting spectacle, is espied by Venus. She bids her *keen archers* arrest the intruder. Her attendants, a groupe of fair ladies, instantly drop their green mantles, and each discovers a huge bow. They form themselves in battle-array, and advance against the poet.

¹ Caul.
⁷ St. x.

² Bound.
⁸ St. xi.

³ Paps.
⁹ Crabbed.

⁴ St. vii.
¹⁰ Hoar.

To her.
¹¹ Found.

⁶ Broad.
¹² St. xiii.

And first of all, with bow in hand ay bent,
 Came dame BEAUTY, richt as scho wald me schent ;
 Syne followit all her damosalls in feir,
 With many divers awfull instrument¹ :
 Into the praisss FAIR HAVING² with her went :
 Syne³ PORTRATOR, PLESANCE, and lusty CHEIR,
 Than came RESSOUN, with Schield of golde so cleir,
 In plait of mail, as Mars armipotent,
 Defendit me that noble⁴ chevelier⁵.

BEAUTY is assisted by *tender* YOUTH with her *virgins ying*, GREEN INNOCENCE, MODESTY, and OBEDIENCE : but their resistance was but feeble against the golden target of REASON. WOMANHOOD then leads on PATIENCE, DISCRETION, STEDFASTNESS, BENIGNE LOOK, MYLDE CHEIR, and HONEST BUSINESS.

Bot RESSOUN bare the Terge with sic constance,
 Thair scharp essay might do me no deirance⁶,
 For all thair praisss and awfull⁷ ordinance⁸.

The attack is renewed by DIGNITY, RENOWN, RICHES, NOBILITY, and HONOUR. These, after displaying their *high* banner, and shooting a cloud of arrows, are soon obliged to retreat. Venus, perceiving the rout, orders DISSEMBLANCE to make an attempt to pierce the Golden Shield. DISSEMBLANCE, or DISSIMULATION, chuses for her archers PRESENCE, FAIR CALLING, and CHERISHING. These bring back BEAUTY to the charge. A new and obstinate conflict ensues.

Thik was the schott of grindin arrowis kene,
 Bot RESSOUN, with the Schield of Gold so schene,
 Weirly⁹ defendit quhosoeir assayit :
 The awfull schour he manly did sustene¹⁰.

At length PRESENCE by whom the poet understands that irresistible incentive accruing to the passion of love by society, by being often admitted to the company of the beloved object, throws a magical powder into the eyes of REASON ; who is suddenly deprived of all his powers, and reels like a drunken man. Immediately the poet receives a deadly wound, and is taken prisoner by BEAUTY ; who now assumes a more engaging air, as the clear eye of REASON is growing dim by intoxication. DISSIMULATION then tries all her arts on the poet : FAIR CALLING smiles upon him : CHERISHING soothes him with soft speeches : NEW ACQUAINTANCE embraces him awhile, but soon takes her leave, and is never seen afterwards. At last DANGER delivers him to the custody of GRIEF.

By this time 'God Eolus his bugle blew.' The leaves are torn with the blast : in a moment the pageant disappears, and nothing re-

¹ Formidable weapons.

⁵ St. xvii.

¹⁰ St. xxiii.

⁶ Injury.

² Behaviour.

⁷ Weapons:

³ Next.

⁸ St. xix.

⁴ Warrior.

⁹ Warily.

mains but the forest, the birds, the banks, and the brook¹. In the twinkling of an eye they return to the ship; and unfurling the sails, and stemming the sea with a rapid course, celebrate their triumph with a discharge of ordinance. This was now a new topic for poetical description. The smoke rises to the firmament, and the roar is re-echoed by the rocks, with a sound as if the rain-bow had been broken.

And as I did awak of this swowning²,
The joyfull fowlis merrily did sing
For mirth of Phebus tendir bemis schene.
Sweit was the vapours, soft the morrowing,
Hailsum the vaill³ depaynt with flours ying,
The air intemperit sober and amene;
In whit and red was al the erd besene,
Throw Naturis nobill fresch ennameling
In mirthfull May of every moneth quene⁴.

Our author then breaks out into a laboured encomium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. This I chuse to recite at large, as it shews the peculiar distinction anciently paid to those fathers of verse; and the high ideas which now prevailed, even in Scotland, of the improvements introduced by their writings into the British poetry, language, and literature⁵.

O reverend CHAUSYR, rose of rhetouris all,
As in our tonge ane flour⁶ imperial
That raise in Britain ever, quha reidis richt⁷,
Tho beiris of makin⁸ the triumphs royall,
The fresche enamilit termes celestiall:
This mater couth haif illuminit full bricht⁹:
Was thou nocht of our English all the licht,
Surmounting every tounge terrestriall
As far as Mayis morrow dois midnycht.

O moral GOWER, and LYDGATE laureat,
Your suggarit¹⁰ tonguis, and¹¹ lippis aureat,
Bene till our¹² eris cause of gret delyte;
Your angelic mouth most mellifluat
Our rude language has cleir illumynat,
And has owregilt our speiche, that imperfyte
Stude, or your goldin pennis schup to wryt¹³,
This yle befoir was bair and dissolat¹⁴
Of rhetoric, or lusty fresche¹⁵ indyte¹⁶.

This panegyric, and the poem, is closed with an apology, couched

² St. xxvi.

³ Dream.

⁴ Vale.

⁵ St. xxviii.

⁶ Other instances occur in the elder Scotch poets.

⁷ One flower.

⁸ Ever rose, or sprung, in Britain, whoso reads right.

⁹ Thou bearest of poets.

¹⁰ This subject would have appeared to some advantage, had not, &c.

¹¹ Sugared.

¹² Lips.

¹³ To our ears.

¹⁴ Ere your golden pens were shaped to write.

¹⁵ Bare and desolate.

¹⁶ Elegant composition.

⁷ St. xxx

in elegant metaphors, for his own comparative humility of style. He addresses the poem, which he calls a *litill quair*.

O know quhat thou of rhetoric has spent ;
Of hir lusty rosis redolent
Is nane into thy garland sett on hicht¹.
O schame² thairfor, and draw the out of ficht :
Rude is thy weid³, destitute, bair, and rent,
Weill aucht thou be affeirit of the licht⁴!

Dunbar's DAUNCE has very great merit in the comic style of painting. It exhibits a group of figures touched with the capricious but spirited pencil of Callot. On the eve of Lent, a general day of concession, the poet in a dream sees a display of heaven and hell. Mahomet⁵, or the devil, commands a dance to be performed by a select party of fiends particularly by those, who in the other world had never made concession to the priest, and had consequently never received absolution. Immediately the SEVEN DEADLY SINS appear ; and present a mask, or mummer, with the newest gambols just imported from France⁶. The first is PRIDE, who properly takes place of all the rest, as by *that SIN fell the angels*. He is described in the fashionable and gallant dress of those times : in a bonnet and gown, his hair thrown back, his cap awry, and his gown affectedly flowing to his feet in large folds.

Let se, quoth he⁷, now quha beginis ?
With that the fowll Deadly Sinnis
Begouth to leip attanis⁸.
And first of all in dance was PRYD,
With hair wyld bak, bonet on syde,
Lyk to make vaistie wanis ;
And round about him as a quheill⁹,
Hang all in rumpillis¹⁰ to the heill,
His kethat¹¹ for the nanis¹².
Many proud trumppour¹³ with him trippit,
Throw skaldan¹⁴ fyr ay as they skippit
They girnd with hyddous¹⁵ granis¹⁶.

¹ No fresh and fragrant roses of rhetoric are placed on high in thy garland.

² Be ashamed.

³ Weed. Dress.

⁴ Str. xxxi.

⁵ Mahon. Sometimes written Mahoun, or Mahound. Mat. Paris. p. 289. ad ann. 1236. And Du Fresne, Lat. Glosi. V. MAHUM. The christians in the crusades were accustomed to hear the Saracens swear by their prophet Mahomet : which thence became in Europe another name for the devil.

⁶ The original is *garmountis*. In the Memoir, cited above, concerning the progress of the princess Margaret into Scotland, we have the following passage. 'The lord of Northumberland made his *devoir*, at the departyng, of *gambades* and *lepps*, (leaps,) as did likewise the lord Scrop the father, and many others that retourned agayne, in *takyng ther congie*, p. 281.

⁷ Mahomet.

⁸ Began to dance at once.

⁹ Wheel.

¹⁰ Rumples.

¹¹ Casaque, Cassock.

¹² Nonce. Designedly.

¹³ Deceiver. See Spenser's SIR TROMPART. Or perhaps an empty fellow, a rattle. Or Tromppour may be *trumpeter*, as in Chaucer's KNIGHT'S TALE, v. 2673. See Chaucer's CANTERBURY TALES, with the NOTES of the very judicious and ingenious editor. Lond. 1775. vol. iv. p. 231.

¹⁴ Scalding.

¹⁵ They grinned hideously.

¹⁶ Str. ii.

Several *holy harlots* follow, attended by monks, who make great sport for the devils¹.

Heilie Harlottis in hawtain wyis²,
Come in with mony sindrie gyis³,
But yet luche nevir⁴ Mahoun :
Quhill priestis cum with bair schevin⁵ nekks,
That all the feynds lewche⁶, and maid gekks⁷,
Back-belly, and Bawsy-brown.

Black-belly and Bawsy-brown are the names of popular spirits in Scotland. The latter is perhaps our ROBIN GOODFELLOW, known in Scotland by the name of BROWNIE.

ANGER is drawn with great force, and his accompaniments are boldly feigned. His hand is always upon his knife, and he is followed, in pairs, by boasters, threateners, and quarrelsome persons, all armed for battle, and perpetually wounding one another⁸.

Than YRE come in with sturt⁹ and stryfe ;
His hand was ay upon his knyfe,
He brandeist lyk a beir :
Bostaris, braggarists, and barganeris,
Efter hym passit in pairis,
All bodin in feir of weir¹⁰ :
In jakkis, stryppis, and bonnettis of steil¹¹,
Thair leggis wer cheyned to the heill¹²,
Frawart was thair affeir¹³ ;
Sum upom uder with brands beft¹⁴, Sum jagit utheris to the heft¹⁵
With knyvis that scheirp coud scheir¹⁶.

ENVY is equal to the rest. Under this SIN our author takes occasion to lament, with an honest indignation, that the courts of princes should still give admittance and encouragement to the whisperers of idle and injurious reports¹⁷.

Next in the dance followit INVY, Fild full of feid¹⁸ and fellony,
Hid malyce and dispyte ;
For pryvie haterit¹⁹ that tratour trymlit²⁰,
Him followit mony freik dissymlit²¹,
With feynit wordis quhyte.

¹ St. iii.

² Haughty guise.

³ Gambols.

⁴ Never laughed.

⁵ While priests came with bare-shaven.

⁶ Laughed.

⁷ Signs of derision.

⁸ St. iv.

⁹ Disturbance. Affray.

¹⁰ Literally, 'All arrayed in feature of war.' *Bodin*, and *feir of war*, are in the Scotch statute-book. Sir David Lyndesay thus speaks of the state of Scotland during the minority of James V. COMPLAINT OF THE PAPYNOG. SIGNAT. B. iii. edit. ut infr.

Oppressioun did sa loud his bougill blaw,

That none durst ride but into *feir of weir*.

That is, *without being armed for battle*

¹¹ In short jackets, plates, or slips, and bonnets of steel. Short coats of mail and helmets.

¹² Either, chained together. Or, their legs armed with iron, perhaps iron net-work, down to the heel.

¹³ Their business was untoward. Or else, their look *forward*, fierce. *Feir* is feature.

¹⁴ Some struck others, their companions, with swords.

¹⁵ Wounded others to the quick. To the haft.

¹⁶ Cut sharp.

¹⁷ St. v.

¹⁸ Enmity.

¹⁹ Hatred.

²⁰ Trembled.

²¹ Dissembling gallant.

And flattereris into mens facis, And back-byttaris¹ of sundry racis,
To ley² that had delyte.
With rownaris³ of fals lesingis⁴: Allace ! that courtis of noble kingis
Of tham can nevyr be quyte⁵ !

AVARICE is ushered in by a troop of extortioners, and other miscreants, patronised by the magician Warlock, or the demon of the covetous; who vomit on each other torrents of melted gold, blazing like wild-fire: and as they are emptied at every discharge, the devils replenish their throats with fresh supplies of the liquefied metal⁶.

SLOTH does not join the dance till he is called twice : and his companions are so slow of motion, that they cannot keep up with the rest, unless they are roused from their lethargy by being sometimes warmed with a glimpse of hell-fire⁷.

Syne SWIRNES, at the seccound bidding,
Come lyk a sow out of a midding⁸,
Full slepy was his grunye⁹.
Mony sweir bumbard belly-huddroun¹⁰,
Mony slute daw and slepy duddroun¹¹,
Him servit ay with sounye¹².
He drew tham forth intill a chenye¹³,
And Belliall, with a brydill reynie¹⁴,
Evir lascht on the lunye¹⁵.

I daunce they were so slow of feit That gait them in the fyre a heit
And maid tham quicker of conyie¹⁶.

LUST enters, neighing like a horse¹⁷, and is led by IDLENESS. When his associates mingle in the dance, their visages burn red like the turkis-stone¹⁸. The remainder of the stanza, although highly characteristic, is too obscene to be transcribed. But this gave no offence. Their manners were too indelicate to be shocked at any indecency. I do not mean that these manners had lost their delicacy, but that they had not yet acquired the sensibility arising from civilisation. In one of the Scottish interludes of this age, written by a fashionable court-poet, among other ridiculous obscenities, the trying on of a Spanish padlock in public makes a part of theatrical representation.

GLUTTONY brings up the rear ; whose insatiable rout are incessantly calling out for meat and drink, and although they are drenched by the devils with draughts of melted lead, they still ask for more.

¹ Backbiters.

2 Lye.

³ Rounders, whispers. To *round in the ear*, or simply to *round*, was to whisper in the ear.

4 Falsities.

7 ST. vii.

8 Dunghill.

11 Slothful, idle

13 Into a chain.
15 Lashed them on the loins.

17 'Berand like a bagit horse

18 ST. viii.

5 Free.

9 Snout. Visage.

12 Attended on him with care.

14 A bridled-rein. Thong of leather.

16 Apprehension.

6 ST. vi.

¹⁰ Lazy, drunken sloven.

The French *baguette* need not be explained.

Than the fowll monster GLUTTONY,
 Of wame¹ unsasiable and gredy,
 To daunce syn did him dress:
 Him followit mony fowll drunckhart,
 With can and collop, cop² and quart,
 In surfett and excess.
 Full many a waistless wally-drag³,
 With waimis⁴ unweildable did furth wag,
 In creische⁵ that did inress:
 Drink, ay thay cryit with mony a gaip⁶,
 The feyns gave them hait leid to lap⁷,
 Thair lovery⁸ was na less⁹.

At this infernal dance no minstrels plaid. No GLEEMAN, or minstrel, ever went to hell; except one who committed murder, and was admitted to an inheritance in hell *by brief of richt*, that is, *per breve de recto*¹⁰. This circumstance seems an allusion to some real fact.

The concluding stanza is entirely a satire on the highlanders. Dunbar, as I have already observed, was born in Lothian, a county of the Saxons. The mutual antipathy between the Scottish Saxons and the Highlanders was excessive, and is not yet quite eradicated. Mahoun, or Mahomet, having a desire to see a highland pageant, a fiend is commissioned to fetch Macfadyen; an unmeaning name¹¹, chosen for its harshness. As soon as the infernal messenger begins to publish his summons, he gathers about him a prodigious crowd of *Ershe men*; who soon took up great room in hell. These loquacious *termagants* began to chatter like rooks and ravens, in their own barbarous language: and the devil is so stunned with their horrid yell, that he throws them down to his deepest abyss, and smothers them with smoke.

Than cryd Mahoun for a heleand padyane,
 Syn ran a feynd to fetch Makfadayne
 Far northwart in a nuke¹²:
 Be he the correnoth had done schout¹³,
 Ersche men so gadderit him about,
 In hell grit rume thay tuke:

¹ Womb. Belly.

² Cup.

³ Out-cast.

⁴ Wombs. Bellies.

⁵ Fat.

⁶ Gape.

⁷ Hot lead to drink, to lap.

⁸ Desire. Appetite.

⁹ St. ix.

¹⁰ St. x.

¹¹ But a common one in Scotland.—A. M.

¹² Nook.

¹³ As soon as he had made the cry of distress, what the French call a *l'aide*. Some suppose, that the *correnoth*, or *corynoch*, is a highland tune. In MAK-GREGOR'S TESTAMENT, [MSS. infr. citat.] the author speaks of being out-lawed by the CORRINOCH, v. 51.

The loud CORONACH¹ then did me exile,

Throw Lorne, Argyle, Monteith, and Braidalbane, &c.

That is, *The Hue and Cry*. I presume, what this writer, in another place, calls the KINGS-HORN, is the same thing, v. 382.

Quhen I have beine aft at the KINGIS-HORNE.

¹ Coronach means lament or wailing at the death-song of the chief, and not the Hue and Cry; in the writings of Sir W. Scott now made known to all the world. KING'S-HORN again is the name of an ancient burgh in Fife.—Wharton evidently knew little of Scotland.—A. M.

Thae turmagantis¹ with tag and tatter
 Full loud in Ersche begout to clatter,
 And rowp² lyk revin and ruke.
 The devil sa devit³ wes with thair yell
 That in the deepest pot of hell
 He smorit them with smoke⁴.

I have been prolix in my citations and explanations of this poem, because I am of opinion, that the imagination of Dunbar is not less suited to satirical than to sublime allegory: and that he is the first poet who has appeared with any degree of spirit in this way of writing since Pierce Plowman. His THISTLE AND ROSE, and GOLDEN TERGE, are generally and justly mentioned as his capital works: but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic cast. The measure of this poem is partly that of Sir THOPAS in Chaucer: and hence we may gather by the way, that Sir THOPAS was anciently viewed in the light of a ludicrous composition. It is certain that the pageants and interludes of Dunbar's age must have quickened his invention to form those grotesque groupes. The exhibition of MORALITIES was now in high vogue among the Scottish. A morality was played at the marriage of James IV. and the princess Margaret. Mummeries, which they call GYSARTS, composed of moral personifications, are still known in Scotland: and even till the beginning of this century, especially among the festivities of Christmas, itinerant maskers were admitted into the houses of the Scottish nobility

SECTION XXXI.

ANOTHER of the distinguished luminaries, that marked the restoration of letters in Scotland at the commencement of the sixteenth century, not only by a general eminence in elegant erudition, but by a cultivation of the vernacular poetry of his country, is Gawain Douglas. He was descended from a noble family, and born in the year 1475⁵. According to the practice of that age, especially in Scotland, his education perhaps commenced in a grammar-school of one of the monasteries; there is undoubted proof, that it was finished at the

¹ Perhaps the poet does not mean the common idea annexed to *termagant*. The context seems to shew, that he alludes to a species of wild-fowl, well known in the highlands, and called in the Scottish statute-book *termigant*¹. Thus he compares the highlanders to a flock of their country birds. For many illustrations of this poem, I am obliged to the learned and elegant editor of ANCIENT SCOTTISH POEMS, lately published from Lord Hyndford's MSS. and to whom I recommend a task, for which he is well qualified, The History of Scottish Poetry.

² Chattered hoarsely.

³ Deafened.

⁴ St. xi.

⁵ Hume, HIST. DOUGL. p. 219.

¹ Ptarmigan.—A. M.

university of Paris. It is probable, as he was intended for the sacred function, that he was sent to Paris for the purpose of studying the canon law : in consequence of a decree promulgated by James I., which tended in some degree to reform the illiteracy of the clergy, as it enjoined, that no ecclesiastic of Scotland should be preferred to a prebend of any value without a competent skill in that science¹. Among other high promotions in the church, which his very singular accomplishments obtained, he was provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles at Edinburgh, abbot of the opulent convent of Abberbrothock, and bishop of Dunkeld. He appears also to have been nominated by the queen regent to the archbishoprick, either of Glasgow, or of St. Andrew's : but the appointment was repudiated by the pope². In the year 1513, to avoid the persecutions of the duke of Albany, he fled from Scotland into England, and was most graciously received by Henry VIII. who, in consideration of his literary merit, allowed him a liberal pension³. In England he contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, one of the classical scholars of Henry's court⁴. He died of the plague in London, and was buried in the Savoy church, in the year 1521⁵.

In his early years he translated Ovid's ART OF LOVE, the favorite Latin system of the science of gallantry, into Scottish metre, which is now lost⁶. In the year 1513, and in the space of sixteen months⁷, he translated into Scottish heroics the Eneid of Virgil, with the additional thirteenth book by Mapheus Vegius, at the request of his noble patron Henry earl of Sinclair⁸. But it was projected so early as the year 1501. For in one of his poems written that year⁹, he promises to Venus a translation of Virgil, in atonement for a ballad he had published against her court : and when the work was finished, he tells Lord Sinclair, that he had now made his peace with Venus, by translating the poem which celebrated the actions of her son Eneas¹⁰. No metrical version of a classic had yet appeared in English ; except of Boethius, who scarcely deserves that appellation. Virgil was hitherto commonly known, only by Caxton's romance on the subject of the Eneid ; which, our author says, no more resembles Virgil, than the devil is like St. Austin¹¹.

¹ Lest. REB. GEST. SCOT. Lib. ix.

² Thynne, CONTINUAT. HIST. SCOT. 455.

³ Hollinsh. SCOTS. 307.—iii. 872.

⁴ Bale, xiv. 58.

⁵ Weaver, FUN. MON. p. 446. And Stillingfl. ORIG. BRIT. p. 54.

⁶ Edit. Edinb. fol. 1710. p. 483. In the EPISTLE, or EPILOGUE, to Lord Sinclair. I believe the editor's name is ROBERT FREEBAIRN, a Scotchman. This translation was first printed at London, 1553. 4to. bl. lett.

⁷ Lest. REB. GEST. SCOT. lib. ix. p. 379. Rom. 1675.

⁸ EPILOGUE, ut supr.

⁹ The PALICE OF HONOUR. ad calcem.

¹⁰ EPIL. ut supr.

¹¹ PROLOGUE to the Translation, p. 5. The MSS. notes written in the margin of a copy of the old 4to. edition of this translation, by Patrick Junius, which bishop Nicolson (HIST. LIBR. p. 99.) declares to be excellent, are of no consequence, Bibl. Bodl. ARCHIV. SELD. B. 54. 4to. The same may be said of Junius's Index of obsolete words in this translation, Cod. MSS. Jun. 114. (5225.) See also Mus. Ashmol. DIVERSE SCOTCH WORDS, &c COD. ASHM. 846. 13.

This translation is executed with equal spirit and fidelity : and is a proof, that the lowland Scotch and English languages were now nearly the same. I mean the style of composition ; more especially in the glaring affectation of anglicising Latin words. The several books are introduced with metrical prologues, which are often highly poetical ; and shew that Douglas's proper walk was original poetry. In the prologue to the sixth book, he wishes for the Sybill's golden bough, to enable him to follow his master Virgil through the dark and dangerous labyrinth of the infernal regions¹. But the most conspicuous of these prologues is a description of May. The greater part of which I will insert².

As fresche Aurore, to mychty Tithone spous,
 Ischit³ of her saffron bed, and euyr⁴ hous,
 In crammesye⁵ clad and granite violate,
 With sanguyne cape, the selvage⁶ purpurate ;
 Unschet⁷ the wyndoys of hir large hall,
 Spred all with rosis, and full of balme royall.
 And eik the hevinly portis cristallyne
 Upwarpis brade, the warlde till illumyne.
 The twynkling stremouris⁸ of the orient
 Sched purpoure sprayngis with gold and asure ment⁹.
 Eous the stede, with ruby hammys rede,
 Abouf the seyis listis furth his hede
 Of culloure sore, and somedeale broun as bery,
 For to alichtin and glad our emispery ;
 The flambe out brastin at the neis thirlis.—
 Quhil schortlie, with the blesand¹⁰ torche of day,
 Abulzeit¹¹ in his lemand¹² fresche array,
 Furth of his palice ryall ischit Phebus,
 With golden croun and visage glorious,
 Crisp haris¹³, bricht as chrissolite or thopas ;
 For quhais hew¹⁴ mycht nane behold his face :
 The firie sparkis brasting from his ene,
 To purge the air, and gilt the tender grene.—
 The auriat phanis¹⁵ of his trone soverane
 With glitterand glance overspred the octiane¹⁶ ;
 The large fludis, lemand all of licht,
 Bot with ane blenk¹⁷ of his supernal sicht,
 For to behald, it was ane glorie to se
 The stabillyt¹⁸ wyndis, and the calmyt se ;
 The soft sessoun¹⁹, the firmament serene ;
 The loune illuminate are²⁰, and firth²¹ amene :

¹ In the PROLOGUE to the eighth book, the alliterative manner of Pierce Plowman is adopted.

² Page. 400.

³ Issued.

⁴ Ivory.

⁵ Crimson.

⁶ Edge.

⁷ Unhurt, i.e. opened.

⁸ Streamers.

⁹ Streaks mingled with, &c.

¹⁰ Blazing.

¹¹ Fr. Habille. Cloathed.

¹² Luminous.

¹³ Curled locks.

¹⁴ Whose excessive brightness.

¹⁵ Ocean.

¹⁶ Fanies, or vanes, of gold.

¹⁷ Only with one glance.

¹⁸ Settled, calmed.

¹⁹ Season.

²⁰ Air without wind, &c.

²¹ Frith.

The silver scalit fyschis on the grete¹,
 Ouer thowrt² clere stremes sprinkilland³ for the hete.
 With fynnys schin and broune as synopare⁴,
 And chesal talis⁵, stour and here and there⁶:
 The new cullour, alichting⁷ all the landis,
 Forgane the stanryis schene⁸, and beriall strandis:
 Ouhil the reflex of the diurnal bemes
 The bene bonkis⁹ kest ful of variant glemes:
 And lustie Flora did her blomes sprede
 Under the fete of Phebus fulzeart¹⁰ stede,
 The swardit soyll embrode with selkouth hewis¹¹
 Wod and forest obumbrate with bewis¹²,
 Quhais blysful branchis, porturate¹³ on the ground,
 With schaddois schene schew rocchis rubicund:
 Towris, turrettis, kinnallis¹⁴, and pynnakillis hie,
 Of kirkis, castellis, and ilk faire citie
 Stude payntit, every fane, phioll¹⁵, and stage¹⁶,
 Apoun the playn grounde by thaire awn umbrage¹⁷.
 Of Eolus north blastis havand¹⁸ no drede,
 The fulze spred hir brad bosum on brede¹⁹.—
 The cornis croppis, and the bere new-brerde²⁰,
 With gladsum garment revesting the herde²¹.—
 The variant vesture of the venust vale
 Schrowdis the scherand fur²², and every fale²³
 Ouerfrett²⁴ with fulzeis, and fyguris ful dyuers²⁵,
 The pray²⁶ bysprent with spryng and sproutis dyspers,
 For callour humours on the dewy nycht,
 Rendryng sum place the gyrs pylis thare licht,
 Als fer as catal the lang somerys day
 Had in thare pasture ete and gnypp away:
 And blyssful blossomys in the blomyt zard
 Submittis thare hedys in the zoung sonnys safgard:
 Iue leius²⁷ rank ouerspred the barmkyn²⁸ wall,
 The blomit hauthorne cled his pykis all,
 Furth of fresche burgeouns²⁹ the wyne grapis³⁰ zing

¹ Sand, gravel.² Athwart, across, through.³ Gliding swiftly, with a tremulous motion, or vibration, of their tails.⁴ Cinnabar.⁵ Tails shaped like chissels.⁶ Swimming swiftly, darting hastily.⁷ Illuminating.⁸ Over, upon, over-against, the bright gravel, or small stones, thrown out on the banks of rivers. Hence, the strands were all of beryl.⁹ Pleasant banks.¹⁰ Brilliant, glittering.¹¹ Bladed with grass, and embroidered with strange colours.¹² Boughs.¹³ Portrayed, painted, reflected.¹⁴ Battlements.¹⁵ Round tower.¹⁶ Story.¹⁷ Their own shadow.¹⁸ Having.¹⁹ The soil, the country, spread abroad her expansive bosom.²⁰ New-sprung barley.²¹ Earth.²² Furrow.²³ Turf.²⁴ It is evident our author intends to describe two distinct things, viz. corn-fields, and meadows or pasture-lands: the former in the three first lines; THE VARYANT VESTURE, &c. is plainly arable, and the FULZEIS AND FYGURIS FULL DYVERS, are the various leaves and flowers of the weeds growing among the corn, and making a piece of embroidery. And here the description of corn-fields ends: and that of pasture-lands begins at, THE PRAY BYSPRENT, &c. PRAY, not as the printed glossary says, CORRUPTEDLY FOR SPRAY, but formed, through the French, from the Lat. PRATUM, and SPRYNGAND SPROUTIS, rising springs, from the Ital.

SPRUZZARE, SPRUZZOLARE, ASPERGERE.

²⁵ Leaves.²⁶ Mead.²⁷ Ivy-leaves.²⁸ Rampart.²⁹ Sprigs.³⁰ Young.

Endlang the trazileys¹ dyd on twistis hing,
 The loukit² buttouns on the gemyt treis
 Ouerspredand leuis of naturis tapestryis.
 Soft gresy verdoure eftir balmy schouris,
 On curland stalkis symland to thare flowris:
 Behaldand thame sa mony divers hew
 Sum piers³, sum pale, sum burnet, and sum blew,
 Sum gres, sum gowlis, sum purpure, sum sanguane,
 Blanchit or broun, fauch zallow mony ane,
 Sum heuinly colourit in celestial gre,
 Sum⁴ watty hewit as the haw wally⁵ se,
 And sum departe in freklis rede and quhyte,
 Sum bricht as gold with aureate leuis lyte.
 The dasy did on⁶ crede hir crownel smale,
 And euery flour unlappit in the dale,
 In battil gers⁷ burgeouns, the banwart wyld,
 The claur, catcluke, and the cammomyld;
 The flourdelyce furth sprede his heuynly hew,
 Floure damas, and columbe blak and blew,
 Sere downis smal on dentilioun⁸, sprang,
 The zoung grene⁹ blomit strabery leus amang,
 Gimp jereflouris¹⁰ thareon leuis unschet,
 Fresche prymrois, and the pourpour violet,
 The rois knoppis, tetand furth thare hede,
 Gan chyp, and kyth thare vernale lippis rede,
 Crysp skarlet leuis sum schedd and baith at attanis,
 Kest¹¹ fragrant smel amynd fra goldin granis¹²,
 Heuinlie lyllyis, with lokker and toppis quhyte,
 Opynnit and schew thare creistis redemyte¹³,
 The balmy vapour from thare sylkyn croppis
 Distilland halesum sugurat hony droppis,
 And sylver schakeris¹⁴ gran fra leuis hing,
 With chrystal sprayngis on the verdure zing:
 The plane poudelit with semelie seitis sound,
 Bedyit ful of dewy peirlys round;
 So that ilk burgeon, syon, herbe, or floure,
 Wox all enbalmit of the fresche liquour,
 And baithit hait did in dulce humouris flete,
 Quhareof the beis wrocht thare hony swete.—

¹ Trellisses. Espaliers for vines.

² Locked. Enclosed. Gemmed.

⁵ Blue and wavy.

⁸ Dandelion.

¹⁰ Gillyflowers.

⁶ Unbraid.

³ Red.

⁴ Watchet.

⁷ Grass embattelled.

⁹ Young weeds.

original. Probably the poet wrote *thare awin*. See ver. 72. *thare awin umbrage*.
¹¹ It is observable, that our Poet never once mentions the scent of flowers till he comes to the rose, and never at all the scent of any particular flower, except the rose, not even of the lily; for I take it, the words, *from thare sylkyn croppis*, are meant to describe the flowers in general; and *the balmy vapour* to be the same with the *fresche liquour*, and *the dulce humouris quhareof the beis wrocht thare hony swete*, an exhalation distinct from that which causes the scent. Afterwards *redolent odour*, is general; for he certainly means to close his description of the vegetable world, by one universal cloud of fragrance from all nature.

¹² Seeds.

¹³ Redeemed. Released, opened. The glossary says, Decked, Beautiful, from *Redemitus*,
 Lat. ¹⁴ Shakers.

Swannis¹ souchis throw out the respan² redis,
 Ouer all the lochis³ and the fludis gray,
 Sersand by kynd ane place quhare they suld lay;
 Phebus rede foule his curale creist can stere,
 Oft strekand furth his hekkil crawand clere
 Amyd the wortis, and the rutis gent,
 Pickland hys mete in alayis quhare he went,
 His wyffis Toppa and Partolet hym by,
 As bird al tyme that hantis bygamy;
 The payntit powne⁴ paysand with plumys gym,
 Kest up his tale ane proud plesand quhile rym⁵,
 Ischrowdit in his fedderane bricht and schene,
 Schapand the prent of Argois hundreth ene;
 Amang the bronys⁶ of the olyue twistis,
 Sere smale floulis, wirkand crafty nestis,
 Endlang the hedgeis thik, and on rank akis⁷
 Ilk bird reiosand with thare mirthful makis:
 In corneris and clere fenesteris of glas
 Full besely Arachne weuand was,
 To knyt hyr nettis and hyr wobbis sle,
 Tharewith to cauch the litil mige⁸ or fle:
 Under the bewis bene in lufely valis,
 Within fermance and parkis clois of palis,
 The bustuous bukkis rakis furth on raw,
 Heirdis of hertis throw the thyck wod schaw,
 The zoung fownys followand the dun days⁹,
 Kiddis skip pand throw ronnyes eftir rais¹⁰,
 In lesuris¹¹ and on lewis litill lammes
 Full tait and trig socht bletand to thare dammes.
 On salt stremes wolk Dorida and Thetis,
 By rynnand strandis, nymphs and naiades,
 Sic as we clepe wenschis and damyssellis,
 In gersy grauis wanderand by spring wellis,
 Of blomed branchis and flouris quhyte and rede
 Plettand their lusty chaplettis for thare hede:
 Sum sang ring sangis, ledis, and roundis,
 With vocis schil, quhil all the dale resoundis.—
 Dame naturis menstrualis on that uthyr parte,
 Thare blissful bay intonyng euery arte,

¹ That Milton had his eye upon this passage is plain, from his describing the swan, the cock, and peacock, in this order, and with several of the attributes that our author has given them. See *PARAD. L. vii.* 438. seq.

—— The SWAN with arched neck
 Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
 Her state with oary feet; yet oft they quit
 The dank, and rising on stiff pennons, tower
 The mid æreal sky: Others on ground
 Walk'd firm: the crested COCK, whose clarion sounds
 The silent hours, and th' OTHER, whose gay train
 Adorns him, color'd with the florid hue
 Of rainbows and starry eyes.—

² Rustling.

⁴ Peacock.

⁸ Great.

⁵ Wheel-rim.

⁹ Does.

⁶ Branches.

¹⁰ Roes.

³ Lakes.

⁷ Oaks.

¹¹ Leasowes.

To bete thare amouris of thare nychtis bale,
 The merle, the mauys, and the nychtingale,
 With mirry notis myrthfully furth brist,
 Enforsing thaym quha nicht do clink it best :
 The knowschot¹ croud is and pykkis on the ryse,
 The stirling changis diuers steuynnys nyse²,
 The sparrow chirmis in the wallis clyft,
 Goldspink and lintquhite fordynnand the lyft³,
 The gukkow galis⁴, and so quhitteris the quale,
 Quhil ryveris reirdit⁵, schawis, and euery dale,
 And tendir twistis trymblyt on the treis,
 For birdis sang, and bemyng of the beis,
 In werblis dulce of heuinlie armonyis,
 The larkis loude releischand⁶ in the skyis,
 Louis thare lege⁷ with tonys curious ;
 Bayth to dame Natur, and the fresche Venus,
 Rendring hie laudis in thare obseruance,
 Quhais suggourit throttis⁸ made glade hartis dance,
 And al smal foulis singis on the spray ;

Welcum the lord of licht, and lampe of day,
 Welcum fosterare of tendir herbis grene,
 Welcum quhikkynnar of flurist flouris schene,
 Welcum support of euery rute and vane,
 Welcum confort of al kind frute and grane,
 Welcum the birdis beild⁹ apoun the brere,
 Welcum maister and reulare of the zere,
 Welcum welefare of husbandis at the plewis¹⁰,
 Welcum reparare of woddis, treis, and bewis,
 Welcum depaynter of the blomyt medis,
 Welcum the lyffe of euery thing that spredis,
 Welcum storare¹¹ of all kynd bestial,
 Welcum be thy bricht bemes gladand al¹².

¹ Dove.

² Fine tunes. In Chaucer's CUCKOWE AND NIGHTINGALE, the latter is said to GREDE, v. 135. p. 544. Urr.

And that for that skil ocy ocy I GREDE.

That is, *I cry*. Ital. *Gridare*. The word is used with more propriety, in Adam Davie's GEST OF ALEXANDER, written in 1312. fol. 55. col. 2. [See supr. i. 220.]

Averil is meory, and longith the day, Ladies loven solas and play,
 Swaynes justis, knyȝtis turnay,
 Syngith the nyȝtyngale, GREDETH the Jay.

³ Firmament.

⁴ Cries. So Chaucer of the nightingale. COUR. L. v. 1357.

But DOMINE LABIA gan he crie and GALE.

So the Friar is said to *gale*, WIFE OF B. PROL. v. 832. ⁵ Resounded.

⁶ Mounting.

⁸ Sugared Throats.

⁹ Who build.

⁷ Praised their Lady NATURE.

¹¹ Restorer.

¹⁰ Ploughs.

¹² In the last-mentioned excellent old poem, Autumn is touched with these circumstances, fol. 95. col. 2.

In tyme of heruest merry it is ynouz,
 The hayward bloweth his horne,
 The grapes hongon on the vyne,
 Kyng Alisaunder a morowe arist,
 Fiorth he went farre into Ynde

Peres and apples hongeth on bouz,
 In everych felde ripe is corne,
 Swete is trewe love and fyne ;
 The sonne dryveth away the mist,
 Moo mervayles for to fynde.

The poetical beauties of this specimen will be relished by every reader who is fond of lively touches of fancy, and rural imagery. But the verses will have another merit with those critics who love to contemplate the progress of composition, and to mark the original workings of genuine nature ; as they are the effusion of a mind not overlaid by the descriptions of other poets, but operating, by its own force and bias, in the delineation of a vernal landscape, on such objects as really occurred. On this account, they deserve to be better understood ; and I have therefore translated them into plain modern English prose. In the meantime, this experiment will serve to prove their native excellence. Divested of poetic numbers and expression, they still retain their poetry ; and, to use the comparison of an elegant writer on like occasion, appear like Ulysses, still a king and conqueror although disguised like a peasant, and lodged in the cottage of the herdsman Eumæus.

‘ Fresh Aurora, the wife of Tithonus, issued from her saffron bed and ivory house. She was cloathed in a robe of crimson and violet colour ; the cape vermilion, and the border purple : she opened the windows of her ample hall, overspread with roses, and filled with balm, or nard. At the same time, the crystal gates of heaven were thrown open, to illumine the world. The glittering streamers of the orient diffused purple streaks mingled with gold and azure.—The steeds of the sun, in red harness of rubies, of colour brown as the berry, lifted their heads above the sea, to glad our hemisphere : the flames burst from their nostrils :—While shortly, apparelled in his luminous array, Phebus, bearing the blazing torch of day, issued from his royal palace ; with a golden crown, glorious visage, curled locks bright as the chrysolite or topaz, and with a radiance intolerable.—The fiery sparks, bursting from his eyes, purged the air, and gilded the new verdure.—The golden vanes of his throne covered the ocean with a glittering glance, and the broad waters were all in a blaze, at the first glimpse of his appearance. It was glorious to see the winds appeased, the sea becalmed, the soft season, the serene firmament, the still air, and the beauty of the watery scene. The silver-scale fishes, on the gravel, gliding hastily, as it were from the heat or sun, through clear streams, with fins shining brown as cinnabar, and chissel-tails, darted here and there. The new lustre, enlightening all the land, beamed on the small pebbles on the sides of rivers, and on the strands, which looked like beryl : while the reflection of the rays played on the banks in variegated gleams ; and Flora threw forth her blooms under the feet of the sun’s brilliant horses. The bladed soil was embroidered with various hues. Both wood and forest were darkened with boughs ; which, reflected from the ground, gave a shadowy lustre to the red rocks. Towers, turrets, battlements, and high pinnacles, of churches, castles, and every fair city, seemed

'to be painted ; and, together with every bastion and story, expressed
 'their own shape on the plains. The glebe, fearless of the northern
 'blasts, spread her broad bosom.—The corn-crops, and the new-sprung
 'barley, recloathed the earth with a gladsome garment.—The varie-
 'gated vesture of the valley covered the cloven furrow ; and the barley-
 'lands were diversified with flowery weeds. The meadow was be-
 'sprinkled with rivulets: and the fresh moisture of the dewy night
 'restored the herbage which the cattle had cropped in the day. The
 'blossoms in the blowing garden trusted their heads to the protection
 'of the young sun. Rank ivy-leaves overspread the wall of the ram-
 'part. The blooming hawthorn cloathed all his thorns in flowers.
 'The budding clusters of the tender grapes hung end-long, by their
 'tendrils, from the trellises. The gems of the trees unlocking, ex-
 'panded themselves into the foliage of Nature's tapestry. There was
 'a soft verdure after balmy showers. The flowers smiled in various
 'colours on the bending stalks. Some red, &c. Others, watchet, like
 'the blue and wavy sea ; speckled with red and white ; or, bright as
 'gold. The daisy unbraided her little coronet. The grass stood em-
 'battelled, with banewort, &c. The seeded down flew from the dandelion.
 'Young weeds appeared among the leaves of the strawberries. Gay
 'gilliflowers, &c. The rose buds, putting forth, offered their *red vernal*
 '*lips* to be kissed ; and diffused fragrance from the crisp scarlet that
 'surrounded their golden seeds. Lilies, with white curling tops,
 'shewed their crests open. The odorous vapour moistened the silver
 'webs that hung from the leaves. The plain was powdered with round
 'dewy pearls. From every bud, scyon, herb, and flower, bathed in
 'liquid fragrance, the bee sucked sweet honey.—The swans clamoured
 'amid the rustling reeds ; and searched all the lakes and gray rivers
 'where to build their nests. The red bird of the sun lifted his coral
 'crest, crowing clear among the plants and *rutis gent*, picking his food
 'from every path, and attended by his wives Toppa and Partlet. The
 'painted peacock with gaudy plumes, unfolded his tail like a bright
 'wheel, inshrouded in his shining feathers, resembling the marks of
 'the hundred eyes of Argus. Among the boughs of the twisted olive,
 'the small birds framed their artful nests, or along the thick hedges, or
 'rejoiced with their merry mates on the tall oaks. In the secret nook,
 'or in the clear windows of glass, the spider full busily wove her sly
 'net, to ensnare the little gnat or fly. Under the boughs that screen
 'the valley, or within the pale-inclosed park, the nimble deer trooped
 'in ranks, the harts wandered through the thick woody shaws, and
 'the young fawns followed the dappled does. Kids skipped through
 'the briers after the roes ; and in the pastures and leas, the lambs,
 '*full tight and trig*, bleated to their dams. Doris and Thetis walked
 'on the salt ocean ; and Nymphs and Naiads, wandering by spring-
 'wells in the grassy groves, plaited lusty chaplets for their hair, of

'blooming branches, or of flowers red and white. They sung, and danced, &c.—Meantime, dame Nature's minstrels raise their amorous notes, the ring-dove coos and pitches on the tall copse, the starling whistles her varied descant, the sparrow chirps in the clefted wall; the goldfinch and linnet filled the skies, the cuckow cried, the quail twittered; while rivers, shaws, and every dale resounded; and the tender branches trembled on the trees at the song of the birds, and the buzzing of the bees, &c.'

This Landscape may be finely contrasted with a description of WINTER, from the Prologue to the seventh book¹, a part of which I will give in literal prose.

'The fern withered on the miry fallows! the brown moors assumed a barren mossy hue: banks, sides of hills, and bottoms, grew white and bare: the cattle looked hoary from the dank weather: the wind made the red weed waver on the dike: from crags and the foreheads of the yellow rocks hung great icicles, in length like a spear: the soil was dusky and gray, bereft of flowers, herbs, and grass: in every holt and forest, the woods were stripped of their array. Boreas blew his bugle horn so loud, that the solitary deer withdrew to the dales: the small birds flocked to the thick briers, shunning the tempestuous blasts, and changing their loud notes to chirping: the cataracts roared, and every linden-tree whistled and *brayed* to the sounding of the wind. The poor labourers *went wet and weary, draggled in the fen*. The sheep and shepherds lurked under the hanging banks, or wild broom.—Warm from the chimney-side, and refreshed with generous cheer, I stole to my bed, and laid down to sleep; when I saw the moon, shed through the windows her twinkling glances, and watery light: I heard the horned bird, the night-owl, shrieking horribly with crooked bill from her cavern: I heard the wild-geese, with screaming cries, fly over the city through the silent night. I was soon lulled asleep; till the cock clapping his wings, crowed thrice, and the day peeped. I waked and saw the moon disappear, and heard the jack-daws cackle on the roof of the house. The cranes, prognosticating tempests, in a firm phalanx, pierced the air with voices sounding like a trumpet. The kite, perched on an old tree, fast by my chamber, cried lamentably, a sign of the dawning day. I rose, and half-opening my window, perceived the morning, livid, wan, and hoary; the air overwhelmed with vapour and cloud; the ground stiff, gray, and rough; the branches rattling; the sides of the hills looking black and hard with the driving blasts; the dew-drops congealed on the stubble and rind of trees; the sharp hail-stones, deadly cold, *hopping* on the thatch and the neighbouring causeway, &c.'

Bale, whose titles of English books are often obscured by being put

into Latin, recites among Gawain Douglass's poetical works, his *Narrationes aureæ*, and *Comædiæ aliquot sacræ*¹. Of his *NARRATIONES AUREÆ*, our author seems to speak in the *EPILOGUE* to *VIRGIL*, addressed to his patron lord Sinclair².

I have also a strange command [comment] compyld,
To expone strange hystories and termes wild.

Perhaps these tales were the fictions of ancient mythology. Whether the *COMOEDIÆ* were sacred interludes, or *MYSTERIES*, for the stage, or only sacred narratives, I cannot determine. Another of his original poems is the *PALICE OF HONOUR*, a moral vision, written in the year 1501, planned on the design of the *TABLET* of Cebes, and imitated in the elegant Latin dialogue *De Tranquillitate Animi* of his countryman Florence Wilson, or Florentius Volusenus³. It was first printed at London, in 1553⁴. The object of this allegory, is to shew the instability and insufficiency of worldly pomp, and to prove, that a constant and undeviating habit of virtue is the only way to true Honour and Happiness, who reside in a magnificent palace, situated on the summit of a high and inaccessible mountain. The allegory is illustrated by a variety of examples of illustrious personages; not only of those, who by a regular perseverance in honourable deeds gained admittance into this splendid habitation, but of those, who were excluded from it, by debasing the dignity of their eminent stations with a vicious and unmanly behaviour. It is addressed, as an apologue for the conduct of a king, to James IV.; is adorned with many pleasing incidents and adventures, and abounds with genius and learning.

SECTION XXXII.

WITH Dunbar and Douglass I join sir David Lindesay, although perhaps in strictness he should not be placed so early as the close of the fifteenth century. He appears to have been employed in several offices about the person of James V., from the infancy of that monarch, by whom he was much beloved; and at length, on account of his singular skill in heraldry, a science then in high estimation and among the most polite accomplishments, he was knighted and appointed Lion

¹ xiv. 58.

² Ut suprà. p. 483.

³ Lugd. apud Seb. Gryph. 1543. 4to.

⁴ In quarto. Again, Edinb. 1579. 4to. 'When pale Aurora with face lamentable.' Douglass also wrote a small Latin History of Scotland. See also a *DIALOGUE* concerning a theological subject to be debated between, *duos famatos viros*, G. Douglas provost of Saint Giles, and master David Cranstoun bachelour of divinity, prefixed to John Major's *COMMENTARII in prim. Sentent.* Paris. 1519. fol.

king of arms of the kingdom of Scotland. Notwithstanding these situations, he was an excellent scholar¹.

Lyndesay's principal performances are *The DREME*, and *The MONARCHIE*. In the address to James V. prefixed to the *DREME*, he thus, with much tenderness and elegance, speaks of the attention he paid to his majesty when a child,

When thou wes young, I bare thee in myne arme
Full tenderlie, till thow begouth to gang²;
And in thy bed oft lappit thee full warme
With lute in hand, syne³ sweitlie to thee sang.

He adds, that he often entertained the young prince with various dances and gesticulations, and by dressing himself in feigned characters, as in an interlude⁴. A new proof that theatrical diversions were now common in Scotland.

Sumtyme in dansing feirelie I flang,
And sumtyme playand fairsis⁵ on the flure :
* * * * *

And sumtyme lyke ane feind⁶ transfigure,
And sumtyme lyke the grieslie gaist of Gy⁷,
In divers formis oftymes disfigure,
And sumtyme dissagist full plesandlie⁸.

¹ WARKIS OF THE FAMOUS AND WORTHIE KNIGHT SCHIR DAVID LYNDESAY of the Mount, &c. Newly correctit and vindicate from the former erroris, &c. Pr. by Johne Scott, A.D. 1568. 4to. They have been often printed. I believe the last edition is at Edinburgh, 1709. 12mo. (In Edin. 1806.)

² Began to walk.

³ Then.

⁴ So also his COMPLAYNT to the Kingis Grace. SIGNAT. E. iii.

—— As ane chapman bures his pak,
And sometimes stridlingis on my nek,
And ay quhen thow come from the scule,
I wol thou luffit me better than

I bure thy grace upon my bak;
Dansand with many bend and bek.——
Than I behuift to play the fule.—
Nor now some wyfe dois hir gude man.

⁵ Playing farces, frolics.

⁶ In the shape of a fiend.

⁷ The griesly ghost of Guy earl of Warwick.

⁸ Disguised, masked, to make sport. SIGNAT. D. i. He adds, what illustrates the text, above.

So sen thy birth I have continuallie
Ben occupyt, and ay to thy plesour, And sumtyme Sewar, Coppar, and Carvour.
That is, sewer, and cupper or butler. He then calls himself the king's *secretit Thesaurar*,
and *chief Cubicular*. Afterwards he enumerates some of his own works.

I have at lenth the storeis done discryve
Of Hector, Arthur, and gentill Julius, Of Alexander, and worthy Pompeius.
Of Jason and Medea, all at lenth, Of Hercules the actis honorable,
And of Sampson the supernaturall strength, And of leil luffaris [lovers] stories amiable;
And oftymes have I seinzeit mony fable, Of Troilus the sorrow and the joy,
And sieges all of Tirc, Thebes, and Troy.
The prophceis of Rymour, Beid, and Marling,
And of mony other plesand histories, Of the reid Etin, and the gyir catling.

That is, the prophceis of Thomas Rymour, venerable Bede, and Merlin. [See supr. vol. i. p. 74. 75. seq. And MSS. Ashm. 337. 6.] Thomas the RIMOUR, or Thomas Leirmouth of Erceuldoun, seems to have wrote a poem on Sir Tristram. Rob. BRUNNE says this story would exceed all others,

If men yt sayd as made THOMAS.

That is, 'If men recited it according to the original composition of Thomas Erceuldoun, or the 'RIMOUR.' Langtoft's CHRON. Append. Pref. p. 100. vol. i. edit. Hearne. Oxon. 1725. 8vo. He flourished about 1280. I do not understand the REID ETIN, and the GYIR CATLING : but

In the PROLOGUE to the DREME, our author discovers strong talents for high description and rich imagery. In a morning of the month of January, the poet quits the copse and the bank, now destitute of verdure and flowers, and walks towards the sea-beach. The dawn of day is expressed by a beautiful and brilliant metaphor.

By this, fair Titan with his lemis licht
Oer all the land had spred his banner bricht.

In his walk, musing on the desolations of the winter, and the distance of spring, he meets Flora disguised in a sable robe¹.

I met dame Flora in dule weid dissgysit²,
Quhilk into May was dulce and delectabill,
With stalwart³ storms her sweitness war supprist,
Her hevinlie hewis war turnid into sabill,
Quhilk umquihle⁴ war to luffaris amiabill.
Fled from the frost the tender flouris I saw
Under dame NATURIS mantill lurking law⁵.

The birds are then represented, flocking round NATURE, complaining of the severity of the season, and calling for the genial warmth of summer. The expostulation of the lark with Aurora, the sun, and the months, is conceived and conducted in the true spirit of poetry.

'Allace, AURORE, the syllie lark gan cry,
'Quhare has thou left thy balmy liquour sweit
'That us rejoysit, mounting in the skye?
'Thy sylver dropps are turnit into sleit!
'O fair Phebus where is thy holsum heit?
* * * * *

'Quhair art thou, MAY, with JUNE thy sister schene,
'Weill bordourit with dasyis of delyte?
'And gentill JULIE, with thy mantill grene
'Enamilit with rosis reid and quhyte?

The poet ascends the cliffs on the sea-shore, and entering a cavern *high in the crags*, sits down to register in rhyme some mery mater of antiquitie. He compares the fluctuation of the sea with the instability of human affairs; and at length, being comfortably shrouded from the falling sleet by the closeness of his cavern, is lulled asleep by the whistling of the winds among the rocks, and the beating of the tide. He then has the following vision.

He sees a lady of great beauty, and benignity of aspect; who says, she comes to sooth his melancholy by shewing him some new spectacles. Her name is REMEMBRANCE. Instantaneously she

GYR is a masque or masquerade. Many of Lyndesay's Interludes are among Lord Hyndford's MSS. of Scotch poetry, and are exceedingly obscene. One of Lyndesay's MORALITIES, called, ANE SATVRE OF THE THREE ESTAITS 'in commendation of vertew and vytuperation 'of vyce,' was printed at Edinburgh, 1602. This piece, which is intirely in rhyme, and consists of a variety of measures, must have taken up four hours in the representation.

¹ SIGNAT. D. ii.

³ Violent.

⁴ Once, one while.

² Disguised in a dark garment.

⁵ Low.

carries him into the center of the earth. Hell is here laid open¹; which is filled with popes, cardinals, abbots, archbishops in their pontifical attire, and ecclesiastics of every degree. In explaining the causes of their punishments, a long satire on the clergy ensues. With these are joined *bishop* Caiphas, *bishop* Annas, the traitor Judas, Mahomet, Chorah, Dathan, and Abiram. Among the tyrants, or unjust kings, are Nero, Pharaoh, and Herod. Pontius Pilate is hung up by the heels. He sees also many duchesses and countesses, who suffer for pride and adultery. She then gives the poet a view of purgatory².

A litle above that dolorous dungeon,
We enterit in ane countre full of cair;
Quhare that we saw mony one legioun
Gretand and grouland with many ruthfull rair³.
Quhat place is this, quod I, of blis so bair?
Scho answerit and said, Purgatorie,
Qhuilk purgis saulis or they cum to glorie⁴.

After some theological reasonings on the absurdity of this intermediate state, and having viewed the dungeon of unbaptized babes, and the limbus of the souls of men who died before Christ, which is placed in a vault above the region of torment, they reascend through the bowels of the earth. In passing, they survey the secret riches of the earth, mines of gold, silver, and precious stones. They mount through the ocean, which is supposed to environ the earth: then travel through the air, and next through the fire. Having passed the three elements, they bend towards heaven, but first visit the seven planets⁵. They enter the sphere of the moon, who is elegantly styled,

¹ It was a part of the old mundane system, that hell was placed in the centre of the earth. So a fragment, cited by Hearne, GLOSSARY Rob. Glouc. ii. 583.

Ryght so is hell-pitt, as clerkes telles, Amyde the erthe and no where elles.

So also an old French tract, LIMAIGE DU MONDE, or Image of the world, 'Saches que en la terre est enfer, car enfer ne pourrait estre en si noble lieu comme est l'air, &c.' ch. viii.

² I have mentioned a Vision of Hell, under the title of OWAYNE MILES. One Gilbertus Ludensis, a monk sent by king Stephen into Ireland, where he founded a monastery, with an Irish knight called OEN, wrote *De OENI Visione in Purgatorio*. Wendover, apud Mat. Paris, sub. ann. 1153. Reg. Stephan. According to Ware, Gilbertus flourished in the year 1152. SCRIPTOR. HIBERN. p. 111. Among the MSS. of Magdalene college in Oxford, are the VISIONES of Tundal, or Tungal, a knight of Ireland. 'Cum anima mea corpus exueret.' MSS. Coll. Magd. 53. It is printed in Tinmouth's SANCTIOLOGIUM. And in the SPECULUM HISTORIALE of Vincentius Bellovacensis, lib. xxvii. cap. 88. He is called Fundalus in a MSS. of this piece. Bibl. Bodl. NE. B. 3. 16. He lived in the year 1149. Ware, ut supr. p. 55. I believe this piece is in the Cotton library, under the name of TUNDALE, MSS. CALIG. A. 12. f. 17. See what is said in Froissart, of the visions of a cave in Ireland, called saint Patrick's Purgatory, tom. ii. c. 200. Berner's Transl.

³ Roar. There is a MSS. of a knight, called SIR OWERN, visiting St. Patrick's Purgatory, Bibl. Bodl. MSS. BODL. 550. MSS. Cott. NERO. A. vii. 4. This piece was written by Henry, a Cistercian monk of Saltry in Huntingtoshire. T. Messingham. FLORILEG. p. 86. seq. In the Catalogue of the library of the Sion monastery, which contained fourteen hundred volumes, in Bennet library, it is falsely attributed to Hugo de Salterea. MSS. C. C. C. C. xli. The French have an ancient spiritual romance on this favorite expedition, so fertile of wonders, entitled, 'LE VOYAGE du Puys Saint Patrix, auquel lieu on voit les peines du Purgatoire et aussi les joyes de Paradis, Lyon, 1506. 4to.'

⁴ SIGNAT. D. iii.

⁵ The planetary system was thus divided. i. The Primum Mobile, or first motion. ii. The

Quene of the sea, and beautie of the night.

The sun is then described, with great force.

Than past we to the sphair of Phebus bricht,
That lusty lamp and lanterne of the hevin :
And glader of the steris with his licht ;
And principal of all the planets sevin,
And sate in myddis of thame all full evin :
As roy¹ royall rolling in his sphair
Full plesandlie into his goldin chair.—

For to discryve his diademe royall,
Bordourit about with stonis schyning bricht,
His goldin car, or throne imperiall,
The four stedis that drawith it full richt, &c².

They now arrive at that part of heaven which is called the CHRYS-TALLINE³, and are admitted to the *Empyreal*, or heaven of heavens. Here they view the throne of God, surrounded by the nine orders of angels, singing with ineffable harmony⁴. Next the throne is the Virgin Mary, the queen of queens, 'well cumpanyit with ladyis of delyte.'

cristalline heaven, in which were placed the fixed stars: iii. The twelve signs of the zodiac. iv. The spheres or circles of the planets in this order: viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and lastly the moon, which they placed in the centre of universal nature. Again, they supposed the earth to be surrounded by three elementary spheres, fire, air, and water. Milton, in his *Elegy on the DEATH OF A FAIR INFANT*, makes a very poetical use of the notion of a *primum mobile*, where he supposes that the soul of the child hovers.

————— Above that high FIRST MOVING SPHERE,
Or in th' Elysian fields, &c.

ST. vi. v. 39. See PARAD. L. iii. 483.

¹ To be pronounced dissyllabically.

² SIGNAT. E. i.

³ Most of this philosophy is immediately borrowed from the first chapters of the Nurem-burgh Chronicle, a celebrated book when Lyndesay wrote, printed in the year 1493. It is there said, that of the waters above the firmament which were frozen like crystal, God made the crystalline heaven, &c. fol. iv. This idea is taken from GENESIS, i. p. See also saint Paul, EPIST. COR. ii. xii. 2. The same system is in Tasso, where the archangel Michael descends from heaven, GIER. LIB. C. ix. st. 60. seq. And in Milton, PARAD. L. iii. 481.

They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
And that crystalline sphere, &c.

⁴ Because the scriptures have mentioned several degrees of angels, Dionysius the Areopagite, and others, have divided them into nine orders; and those they have reduced into three hierarchies. This was a tempting subject for the refining genius of the school-divines: and accordingly we find in Thomas Aquinas a disquisition, *De ordinatione Angletorum secundum Hierarchias et Ordines*. QUÆST. cviii. The system, which perhaps make a better figure in poetry than in philosophy, has been adopted by many poets who did not outlive the influence of the old scholastic sophistry. See Dante, PARAD. C. xxviii. Tasso mentions, among *La grande oste del ciel*,

TRE FOLTE SQUADRE, et ogni squadra instrutta
In TRE ORDINI gira, &c.

GIER. LIB. xviii. '96. And Spenser speaks of the angels singing in their TRINALL TRIPLI-CITIES. FAIR. QU. i. xii. 39. And again, in his Hymne of HEAVENLY LOVE. See also Sannazarius, DE PART. VIRGIN. iii. 241. Milton perhaps is the last poet who has used this popular theory. PARAD. L. v. 748.

Regions they pass'd and mighty regencies
Of Seraphim, and Potentates, and Thrones,
In their TRIPLE DEGREES.—

And it gives great dignity to his arrangement of the celestial army.

—————Th' empyreal host
Of angels, by imperial summons call'd,
Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne,

An exterior circle is formed by patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, conquerors in the three battles of the world, of the flesh, and of the devil, martyrs, confessors, and *doctours in divinitie*, under the command of St. Peter, who is represented as their lieutenant-general.

Milton, who feigns the same visionary route with very different ideas, has these admirable verses, written in his nineteenth year, yet marked with that characteristical great manner, which distinguishes the poetry of his maturer age. He is addressing his native language.

Yet I had rather, if I were to chuse,
Thy service in some graver subject use ;
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound :
Such, when the deep-transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles ; and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blisfull deitie
How he before the thunderous throne doth lie,
Listening to what unshorn Apollo sings
To th' touch of golden wires, while Hebe brings
Immortal nectar to her kingly sire.
Then passing through the spheres of watchfull fire,
And mistie regions of wide air next under,
And hills of snow, and lofts of piled thunder,
May tell at length how green-eyed Neptune raves,
In heaven's defiance mustering all his waves¹.

REMEMBRANCE and the poet, leaving heaven, now contemplate the earth, which is divided into three parts. To have mentioned America, recently discovered, would have been heresy in the science of cosmography ; as that quarter of the globe did not occur in Pliny and Ptolemy². The most famous cities are here enumerated. The poet next desires a view of Paradise ; that glorious *garth*, or garden, of every flower. It is represented as elevated in the middle region of the

Forthwith from all the ends of heaven appear'd,
Under their HEIRARCHIES in ORDERS bright,
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,
Standards and gonfalons, twixt van and rear
Stream in the air, and for distinction serve
Of HIEARCHIES, of ORDERS, and DEGREES.

Such splendid and sublime imagery has Milton's genius raised on the problems of Thomas Aquinas ! See also *ibid.* v. 600. Hence a passage in his Hymn on THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY is to be illustrated. *St.* xiii. v. 131.

And with your ninefold harmony
Make up full concert to the angelike symphony.

That is, the symphony of the nine orders of angels was to be answered by the ninefold music of the spheres. One [Thomas Haywood, a most voluminous dramatic poet in the reign of James I., wrote a long poem with large notes on this subject, called THE HIERARCHIE OF ANGELS, printed in folio, at London, 1635. Jonson's ELEGIE ON MY MUSE, in the UNDERWOOD. p. 260. edit. fol. Lond. 1640.

¹ At a VACATION EXERCISE, c. Newton's MILT. ii. p. 11.

² For the benefit of those who are making researches in ancient cosmography, I observe that the map of England, mentioned by Harrison and Hearne, and belonging to Merton college library, appears to have existed at least so early as the year 1512. For in that year, it was lent to the dean of Wells, William Cosyn, with a caution of forty shillings. Registr. Vet. Coll. Mert. fol. 218. b. See its restitution, *ibid.* fol. 219. b.

air, in a climate of perpetual serenity¹. From a *fair* fountain, springing in the midst of this ambrosial garden, descend four rivers, which water all the east. It is inclosed with walls of fire, and guarded by an angel

The cuntre closit is about full richt,
With wallis hie of hote and birnyng fyre,
And straitly kept by and angett bricht².

From Paradise a very rapid transition is made to Scotland. Here the poet takes occasion to lament, that in a country so fertile, and filled with inhabitants so ingenious and active, universal poverty, and every national disorder, should abound. It is very probable, that the poem was written solely with a view of introducing this complaint. After an enquiry into the causes of these infelicities, which are referred to political mismanagement, and the defective administration of justice, the COMMONWEALTH OF SCOTLAND appears, whose figure is thus delineated.

We saw a busteous berne³ cum oer the bent⁴,
But⁵ hors on fute, als fast as he micht go ;
Quhose rayment was all raggit, rewin⁶, and rent,
With visage leyne, as he had fastit Lent :
And fordwart fast his wayis he did advance,
With ane richt melancholious countenance :
With scrip on hip, and pyikstaff in his hand.
As he had bene purposit to pas fra hame.
Quod, I, gude man, I wald fane understand,
Geve that ye pleisit⁷, to wit⁸ quhat wer your name!
Quod he, my sone, of that I think greit schame.
Bot sen thow wald of my name have ane feill,
Forswith they call me⁹ *Johne the Comoun weill*¹⁰.

The reply of SYR COMMONWEALTH to our poet's question, is a long and general satire on the corrupt state of Scotland. The spiritual plelates, he says, have sent away Devotion to the mendicant friars : and are more fond of describing the dishes at a feast, than of explaining the nature of their own establishment.

Sensual Pleasure has banished Chastity,
Liberality, Loyalty, and Knightly Valour, are fled,
And Cowardice with lords is laureate.

From this Sketch of Scotland, here given by Lyndesay, under the reign of James V., who acted as a viceroy to France, a Scottish

¹ 'Paradisus tantæ est altitudinis, quod est inaccessibilis secundum Bedam ; et tam altus, quod etheream regionem pertingat, &c.' CHRON. NUR. ut supr. f. viii. b.
² SIGNAT. E. iii. ³ Boisterous fellow. ⁴ Coarse grass. ⁵ Without.
⁶ Riven. ⁷ If you please. ⁸ Know.
⁹ JOHN, for what reason I know not, is a name of ridicule and contempt in most modern languages.
¹⁰ SIGNAT. F. i.

historian might collect many striking features of the state of his country during that interesting period, drawn from the life.

The poet then supposes, that REMEMBRANCE conducts him back to the cave on the sea-shore, in which he fell asleep. He is awakened by a ship firing a broadside¹. He returns home, and entering his oratory, commits his vision to verse. To this is added an exhortation of ten stanzas to king James V: in which he gives his majesty advice, and censures his numerous instances of misconduct, with incredible boldness and asperity. Most of the addresses to James V., by the Scottish poets are satires instead of panegyrics.

I have not at present either leisure or inclination, to enter into a minute enquiry, how far our author is indebted in his DREME to Tully's DREAM OF SCIPIO, and the HELL, the PURGATORY, and the HEAVEN, of Dante².

Lyndesay's poem, called MONARCHIE, is an account of the most famous monarchies that have flourished in the world: but, like all the Gothic prose-histories, or chronicles, on the same favourite subject, it begins with the creation of the world, and ends with the day of judgment³. There is much learning in this poem. It is a dialogue between EXPERIENCE and a courtier. This mode of conducting a narrative by means of an imaginary mystagogue, is adopted from Boethius. A descriptive prologue, consisting of octave stanzas opens the poem in which the poet enters a delightful park⁴. The sun clad in his embroidered mantle, brighter than gold or precious stones, extinguishes the *horned queen of night*, who hides her visage in a *misty veil*. Immediately Flora began to expand.

¹ They spared not the powder nor the stones.

A proof that stones were now used instead of leaden bullets. At first they shot darts, or *carrieaux*, i. e. quarrels, from great guns. Afterwards stones, which they called *gun-stones*. In the BRUT OF ENGLAND, it is said, that when Henry V., before Harefleete, received a taunting message from the Dauphine of France, and a ton of tennis-balls by way of contempt, 'he anoone lette make tenes balles for the *Dolfin* (Henry's ship) in all the haste that they myght, and they were great CONNESTONES for the *Dolfin* to playe with alle.' But this game at tennis was too rough for the besieged, when Henry 'playede at the tenes with his harde CONNESTONES, &c.' See Strutt's CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE ENGLISH, vol. ii. p. 32. Lond. 1775.

² In the Medicean library at Florence, and the Ambrosian at Milan, there is a long MSS. Italian poem, in 3 books, divided into 100 chapters, written by Matteo Palmeri, a learned Florentine, about the year 1450. It is in imitation of Dante, in the *terza rima*, and entitled CITTA DI VITA, or *The City of Life*. The subject is, the peregrination of the soul, freed from the shackles of the body, through various ideal places and situations, till at length it arrives in the city of heaven. This poem was publicly burnt at Cortona, because the author adopted Origen's heresy concerning a third class of angels, who for their sins were destined to animate human bodies. Trithem. c. 797. Julius Niger, SCRIPTOR. FLORENT. p. 404.

³ In a MSS. at Lambeth (332.) this poem is said to have been begun Jun. 11, 1556. This is a great mistake. It was printed Hasn. 1552. 4to.

⁴ SIGNAT. i. B. A park is a favorite scene of action in our old poets. Chaucer's COMPL. BL. KN. v. 39.

Toward a park enclosid with a wall, &c.

And in other places. Parks were anciently the constant appendage of almost every considerable manorial house. The old patent-rolls are full of licences for imparcations, which do not now exist.

— — — hir tapistry
 Wrocht by dame NATURE queynt and curiouslye,
 Depaynt with many hundreth hevenlie hewis.

Meanwhile, Eolus and Neptune restrain their fury, that no rude sounds might mar the melody of the birds which echoed among the rocks¹.

In the park our poet, under the character of a courtier, meets EXPERIENCE, reposing under the shade of a holly. This pourtrait is touched with uncommon elegance and expression.

Into that park I saw appeir
 One agit man, quihilk drew me neir ;
 Quhose berd was weil thre quarters lang,
 His hair doun oer his schulders hung,
 The qhylike as ony snawe was whyte,
 Quhome to beholde I thocht delyte.

His habit angellyke of hew Of colour lyke the sapheir blew :
 Under an holyne he reposit.— To sit down he requestit me
 Under the schaddow of that tre,
 To saif me from the sonnis heit,
 Amanges the flouris soft and sweit. [SIGNAT. B. i.]

In the midst of edifying conversation concerning the fall of man and the origin of human misery, our author, before he proceeds to his main subject, thinks it necessary to deliver a formal apology for writting in the vulgar tongue. He declares that his intention is to instruct and to be understood, and that he writes to the people². Moses, he says, did not give the Judiack law on mount Sinai in Greek or Latin. Aristotle and Plato did not communicate their philosophy in Dutch or Italian. Virgil and Cicero did not write in Chaldee or Hebrew. St. Jerom, it is true, translated the bible into Latin, his own natural language ; but had St. Jerom been born in Argyleshire, he would have translated into Erse. King David wrote the psalter in Hebrew, because he was a Jew. Hence he very sensibly takes occasion to recommend the propriety and necessity of publishing the scriptures and the missal, and of composing all books intended

¹ Instead of Parnassus he chuses mount Calvary, and his Helicon is the stream which flowed from our Saviour's side on the cross, when he was wounded by Longinus, that is LONGIAS. This is a fictitious personage in Nicodemus's Gospel. I have mentioned him before. Being blind, he was restored to sight by wiping his eyes with his hands which were bloody. Chaucer's LAMENTAT. MARY MAGD. v. 176. In the Gothic pictures of the Crucifixion, he is represented on horseback, piercing our Saviour's side : and in Xavier's Persic History of Christ, he is called a horseman. This notion arose from his using a spear, or lance : and that weapon, λονγχιον, undoubtedly gave rise to his ideal name of Longias, or Longinus. He is afterwards supposed to have been a bishop of Cesarea, and to have suffered martyrdom. Tillemont. MEMOR. HIST. ECCLESIAST. tom. i. pp. 81. 251. And Fabric. APOCR. NOV. TESTAM. tom. i. p. 261. In the old Greek tragedy of CHRIST SUFFERING, the CONVERTED CENTURION is expressly mentioned, but not by this name. Almost all that relates to this person, who could not escape the fictions of the monks, has been collected by J. Ch. Wolfius, CUR. PHILOL. ET CRIT. IN S. EVANGEL. tom. i. p. 414. ii. 984. edit. Basil. 1741, 4to. Hoffman. LEXIC. UNIVERSAL. CONTINUAT. in Voc. tom. i. p. 1036. col. 2. Basil. 1683. fol.

² Quharefore to colyearis, carteris, and to cukis,
 To *Jok* and Thome, my ryme sall be drectit.—SIGNAT. C. i.

for common use, in the respective vernacular language of every country. This objection being answered, which shews the ideas of the times, our author thus describes the creation of the world and of Adam.

Quhen god had made the hevinnis bricht,
 The sone, and mone, for to gyf licht,
 The starry hevin, and cristalline ; And, by his sapience divine,
 The planeits, in their circles round
 Quhirlyng about with merie sound :—
 He clad the erth with herbs and treis ;
 All kynd of fischis in the seis,
 All kynd of best he did prepair, With foulis fleting in the air.—
 When hevin, and erth, and thare contents,
 Were endit, with thare ornaments.
 Than, last of all, the lord began
 Of most vile erth to make the man :
 Not of the lillie or the rose, No cyper-tre, as I suppose,
 Nether of gold, nor precious stonis,
 Of earth he made flesche, blude, and bonis ;
 To that intent he made him thus,
 That man shuld nocht be glorious,
 And in himself no thinge shulde se
 But matter of humilite¹.

Some of these nervous, terse, and polished lines, need only to be reduced to modern and English orthography, to please a reader accustomed solely to relish the tone of our present versification.

To these may be added the destruction of Jerusalem and Solomon's temple.

Prince Titus with his chivalrie
 With sound of trumpe triumphantlie,
 He enterit in that greit citie, &c.
 Thare was nocht ells but tak and slay,
 For thence might no man win his way².
 The stramis of blude ran thruch the streit,
 Of deid folk tramplit under feit ;
 Auld wydowis in the preis were smorit³,
 Young virgins schamefullie deflorit.
 The tempill greit of Solamone,
 With mony a curious carvit stone,
 With perfytt pinnakles on hicht,
 Quhilks wer richt bewtifull and wicht⁴.
 Quharein riche jowells did abound,
 Thay ruscheit⁵ rudely to the ground :
 And set, in tyll their furious ire⁶, Sanctum Sanctorum into fire⁷.

The appearance of Christ coming to judgement is poetically painted,

¹ SIGNAT. C. iii.

⁵ f. Rased.

² Escape

⁶ In their rage.

³ Smothered.

⁷ SIGNAT. L. iii.

⁴ White.

and in a style of correctness and harmony, of which few specimens were then seen.

As fire flaucht hastily glansing¹,
Discend shall the most hevinly king;

As Phebus in the orient Lichinis² in haist to occident,
So plesandlie he shall appeir Among the hevinlie cloudis cleir.—
The angellis of the ordours nyne Inviron shall his throne divyne.—

In his presence thare salbe borne
The signis³ of cros, and croun of thorne,
Pillar, nailis, scurgis, and speir,
With everilk thing that did hym deir⁴,

The tyme of his grym passioun: And, for our consolatioun,
Appeir sall, in his hands and feit,
And in his syde the print compleit

Of his fyve woundis precious Schyning lyke rubies radious.

When Christ is seated at the tribunal of judging the world, he adds,

Thare sall ane angell blawe a blast
Quhilk sall make all the world agast⁵.

Among the monarchies, our author describes the papal see: whose innovations, impostures, and errors, he attacks with much good sense, solid argument, and satirical humour; and whose imperceptible increase, from simple and humble beginnings to an enormity of spiritual tyranny, he traces through a gradation of various corruptions and abuses, with great penetration, and knowledge of history⁶.

Among ancient peculiar customs now lost, he mentions a superstitious idol annually carried about the streets of Edinburgh.

Of Edinburgh the great idolatrie,
And manifest abominatioun!
On thare feist day, all creature may see,
Thay beir ane ald stok-image⁷ throw the toun,
With talbrone⁸, trumpet, shalme, and clarioun,
Quhilk has bene usit mony one yeir bigone,
With priestis, and freris, into processioun,
Siclyke⁹ as Bal was borne through Babilon¹⁰.

He also speaks of the people flocking to be cured of various infirmities, to the *auld rude*, or cross, of Kerrail¹¹.

¹ A meteor quickly glancing along.

² Lightens.

³ Representations

⁴ Dismay. Torment.

⁵ SIGNAT. P. iii. ⁶ SIGNAT. M. iii

⁷ An old image made of a stock of wood.

⁸ Tabor. ⁹ So as.

¹⁰ SIGNAT. H. iii.

¹¹ SIGNAT. H. i. For allusions of this kind the following stanza may be cited, which I do not entirely understand. SIGNAT. H. iii.

This was the practick of sum pilgrimage,
With Jok and Thome than tuke thai their voyage
Than Kittock thare als cadye as ane Con,
Gave Lowrie leif at laser to loup on,
I will here take occasion to explain two lines, SIGNAT. I. iii.

Quhen fillokis into Fyfe began to fen
In Angus to the field chapel of Dron:
Without regard other to syn or schame,
Far better had bene till have bidden at hame.

Nor yit the fair madin of France

Danter of English ordinance.

That is Joan of Arc, who so often *daunted* or defeated the English army. To this heroine and to Penthésilée, he compares Semiramis.

Our poet's principal vouchers and authorities in the MONARCHIE, are Livy, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, Diodorus Siculus, Avicen the Arabic physician, Orosius, St. Jerom, Polydore Virgil, Cairo's chronicle, the FASCICULUS TEMPORUM, and the CHRONICA CHRONICARUM. The FASCICULUS TEMPORUM is a Latin chronicle, written at the close of the fifteenth century by Wernerus Rolewinck, a Westphalian, and a Carthusian monk of Cologne ; a most venerable volume, closed with this colophon. 'FASCICULUS TEMPORUM, a Carthusiense compilatum 'in formam cronicis figuratum usque in annum 1478, a me Nicolao 'Gatz de Seltztat impressum¹.' The CHRONICA CRONICARUM or CHRONICON MUNDI, written by Hartmannus Schedelius, a physician at Nuremburgh, and from which our author evidently took his philosophy in his DREME, was printed at Nuremburgh, in 1493². This was a most popular compilation, and is at present a great curiosity to those who are fond of history in the Gothic style, consisting of wonders conveyed in the black letter and wooden cuts. Cairo's chronicle is a much more rational and elegant work : it was originally composed, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Ludovicus Cairo, an eminent mathematican, and improved or written anew by Melancthon. Of Orosius, a wretched but admired christian historian, who compiled in Latin a series of universal annals from the creation to the fifth century, he cites a translation.

The translatour of Orosius In his cronicle wryttis thus³.

I know of no English translation of Orosius, unless the Anglo-Saxon version by king Alfred, and which would perhaps have been much more difficult to Lyndesay than the Latin original, may be called such: yet Orosius was early translated into French⁴ and Italian⁵. For the story of Alexander the Great, our author seems to refer to Adam Davie's poem on that subject, written in the reign of Edward II.: a work, which I never remember to have seen cited before, and of which, although deserving to be printed, only two public MSS. now remain, the one in the library of Lincoln's inn, and the other in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

Alexander the conqueror,
Geve thou at length wald reid his ring⁶,
And of his cruell conquessing,
In INGLIS TUNGE IN HIS GREAT BUKE,
At lenth his LYFE thare thow may luke⁷.

¹ SCRIPTOR. GERMAN. per. J. Pistorium, tom. i. p. 580.

² Again, *ibid.* by Joh. Schensperger. 1497. fol.

³ SIGNAT. F. ii.

⁴ By Philip Le Noir, Paris. 1526. fol.

⁵ By Benaccivoli, Ven. 1528. 4to.

⁶ If thou at length would read his reign.

⁷ SIGNAT. K. iii. He also cites Lucan for Alexander, SIGNAT. L. i. For an account of the riches of pope John, he quotes Palmerius. SIGNAT. N. i. This must have been Mattheus Palmerius abovementioned, author of the CITTA DI VITA, who wrote a general chronicle from the fifth century to his own times, entitled DE TEMPORIBUS, and, I believe, first printed at Milan, 1475. fol. Afterwards reprinted with improvements and continuations. Particularly at Venice, 1483. 4to. And by Grynæus at the end of Eusebius, fol. 1570.

He acquaints us, yet not from his own knowledge, but on the testimony of other writers, that Homer and Hesiod were the inventors in Greece, of poetry, medicine, music, and astronomy¹.

EXPERIENCE departs from the poet, and the dialogue is ended, at the approach of the evening; which is described with these circumstances.

Behald, quhow Phebus downwart dois discend,
Toward his palice in the occident !—
The dew now donkis² the rosis redolent :
The mariguldis, that all day wer rejoysit
Of Phebus heit, now craftily ar closit³.—
The cornecraick in the croft, I heir hir cry ;
The bat, the howlatt⁴, feebill of thare eis,
For thare pastyme, now in the evinning flies.
The nichtingail with myrthfull melody
Her naturall notis, peirsit through the sky⁵.

Many other passages in Lyndesay's poems deserve attention. Magdalene of France, married to James V. of Scotland⁶, did not live to see the magnificent preparations made for her public entry into Edinburgh. In a poem, called the DEITH OF QUENE MAGDALENE, our author, by a most striking and lively prosopopeia, an expostulation with DEATH, describes the whole order of the procession. I will give a few of the stanzas.

THEIEF, saw thou not the greit preparativis
Of Edinburgh, the nobill famous toun?
Thow sawe the peple labouring for thare livis,
To make tryumph with trumpe and clarioun !—
* * * * *

Thow sawe makand⁷ rycht costly scaffolding,
Depayntyt weill with golde and asure fyne,
Reddie preparit for the upsetting,
With fountanis flowing water cleir and wyne :
Disagysit⁸ folkis lyke creaturis divyne,
On ilk scaffold to play ane sundrie storie⁹:
Bot all in greitting¹⁰ turnit thow that glorie.

Thow saw mony ane lustie fresche galland
Weill ordourit for resaving of thair quene,
Ilk craftisman with bent bowe in his hand,
Ful galzeartlie in schort clothing of grene, &c.—
* * * * *

Syne next in ordour passing throw the toun,
Thou suld have herd the din of instrumentis,

¹ SIGNAT. K. iii.

² Moistens.

³ Are closed.

⁴ Owlet. Owl.

⁵ SIGNAT. R.

⁶ Not inelegantly, he compares James making frequent and dangerous voyages into France to address the princess, to Leander swimming through the Hellespont to Hero.

⁷ Making.

⁸ Men, actors disguised.

⁹ Plays and pageants acted on moveable scaffolds.

¹⁰ To grief.

Of tabrone, trumpet, schalme, and clarioun,
With reird¹ reboundand throw the elementis ;
The heraulds with thare awfull vestimentis,
With maseris² upon ather of thare handis,
To rewle the prois, with burneist silver wandis.
Thow shuld have hard³ the ornate oratouris,
Makand hir heines salutatioun,
Boith of the clergy toun and counsalouris,
With mony notable narratioun.
Thow suld have sene her coronation,
In the fair abbay of the holie rude,
In presence of ane myrthfull multitude.
Sic banketting, sic awfull tournamentis
On hors and fute, that tyme quihilk suld have bene,
Sic chapell royall with sic instrumentis,
And craftie musick. &c⁴. ———

I know not whether it be worth observing, that playing at cards is mentioned in this poem, among the diversions, or games, of the court.

Thar was no play but CARTIS and dice¹.

And it is mentioned as an accomplishment in the character of a bishop.

Bot geve they can play at the CAIRTIS².

Thus, in the year 1503, James IV. of Scotland, at an interview with the princess Margaret in the castle of Newbattle, finds her playing at cards. 'The kynge came prively to the said castell, and entred within the chammer [chamber] with a small cumpany, whare he founde the queene *playing at the CARDES*³.'

Prophecies of apparent impossibilities were common in Scotland :

Thus Robert of Brunne, in his chronicle, speaking of King Arthur keeping Christmas at York.

On ȝole day mad he fest

With many barons of his geste.

Hearne's ROB. GLOUC. vol. ii. p. 678. And Leland's ITIN. vol. ii. p. 116. In the north of England, Christmas to this day is called *ule yule*, or *youle*. Blount says, 'in the northern parts they have an old custom, after sermon or service on Christmas-day: the people will, even in the churches, cry *ule, ule*, as a token of rejoicing, and the common sort run about the streets singing,

'ULE, ULE, ULE,

Three puddings in a pule,

'Crack nuts, and cry ULE.'

DICTION. VOC. ULE. In Saxon the word is ȝehul, ȝehol, or ȝeol. In the Welch rubric every saint's day is the *Wyl*, or *Gwl*, of that saint: either from a British word signifying *watching*, or from the Latin *Vigilia*, Vigil, taken in a more extended sense. In Wales *wyliau* or *gwylliau* hadolig, signifies the *Christmas* holidays, where *wyla* or *gwylliau* is the plural of *wyl* or *gwyll*.

I also take this opportunity of observing, that the court of the Roman pontiff was exhilarated by a fool. The pope's fool was in England in 1230, and received forty shillings of Henry III. *de dono regis*. MSS. James, xxviii. p. 190.

¹ SIGNAT. F. iii.

² SIGNAT. G. i.

³ Leland. COLL. APPEND. iii. p. 284. ut supr. In our author's TRAGEDIE of CARDINAL BETOUN, a soliloquy spoken by the cardinal, he is made to declare, that he played with the king for 3000 crowns of gold in one night, at *cartis* and dice. SIGNAT. I. ii. They are also mentioned in an anonymous Scotch poem, *Of COVETICE*. ANC. SC. P. ut supr. p. 168. st. iii.

Halking, hunting, and swift horse rynnng, Are changit all in wrangus wyynning;
Thar is no play bot *cartis* and dyce.

Where, by the way, horse-racing is considered among the liberal sports, such as hawking, and hunting; and not as a species of gaming. *IBID.* p. 146. st. v.

Cards are mentioned in a statute of Henry VII. xi. Hen. vii. cap. ii. That is, in 1496. Du Cange cites two Greek writers, who mention card-playing as one of the games of modern Greece, at least before the year 1498. GLOSS. GR. tom. ii. V. XAPTIA. p. 1734. It seems highly probable, that the Arabians, so famous for their ingenuity, more especially in whatever related to numbers and calculation, were the inventors of cards, which they communicated to the Constantinopolitan Greeks. Carpentier says, that cards, or *folia lusoria*, are prohibited in the STATUTA CRIMIN. Saonæ. cap. xxx. p. 61. But the age of these statutes has not occurred to me. SUPPLEM. LAT. GLOSS. Du Cange, V. CARTÆ. tom. i. p. 842.

Benedictus Abbas has preserved a very curious edict, which shews the state of gaming in the christian army, commanded by Richard I. of England, and Philip of France, during the crusade in the year 1190. No person in the army is permitted to play at any sort of game for money, except Knights and clergymen; who in one whole day and night shall not, each, lose more than 20 shillings: on pain of forfeiting 100 shillings, to the archbishops of the army. The two kings may play for what they please: but their attendants, not for more than 20 shillings. Otherwise, they are to be whipped naked through the army for three days, &c. *VIT. RIC. i.* p. 610. edit. Hearn. tom. ii. King Richard is described playing at chess in this expedition. MSS. Harl. 4690.

And kyng Rychard stode and playe

Att the chesse in his galleye.

such as the removal of one place to another. Under this popular prophetic formulary, may be ranked the prediction in Shakespeare's *MACBETH*, where the *APPARITION* says, that Birnam-wood shall go to Dunsinane. And in the same strain, peculiar to his country, says our author,

Quhen the Bas and the isle of May
Beis set upon the mount Sinay,
Quhen the Lowmound besyde Falkland
Beis liftit to Northumberland.

But he happily avails himself of the form, to introduce a stroke of satire.

Quhen Kirkman zairnis¹ no dignite,
Nor wyffis no soveranite².

The minority of James V. was dissipated in pleasures, and his education most industriously neglected. He was flattered, not instructed, by his preceptors. His unguarded youth was artfully exposed to the most alluring temptations³. It was in this reign, that the nobility of Scotland began to frequent the court; which soon became the theatre of all those idle amusements which were calculated to solicit the attention of a young king. All these abuses are painted in this poem with an honest unreserved indignation. It must not in the mean time be forgotten, that James possessed eminent abilities, and a love of literature: nor is it beside our present purpose to observe, that he was the author of the celebrated ballad called *CHRIST'S KIRK ON THE GREEN*⁴.

The *COMPLAYNT OF THE PAPINGO* is a piece of the like tendency. In the Prologue, there is a curious and critical catalogue of the Scotch poets who flourished about the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. As the names and works of many of them seem to be totally forgotten, and as it may contribute to throw some new lights on the neglected history of the Scotch poetry, I shall not scruple to give the passage at large, with a few illustrations. Our author declares, that the poets of his own age dare not aspire to the praise of the three English poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. He then, under the

¹ Earn. Gain.

² Ibid. *SIGNAT. H. i.*

³ Even his governors and preceptors threw these temptations in his way: a circumstance touched with some humour by our author. Ibid. *SIGNAT. G.*

Thare was few of that garnison
Quod one, The devill stik me with ane knyfe,
Bot, Schir, I knaw ane maid in Fyfe,
Hald thy tunge brother, quod ane uther,
Schir, whan ye pleis to Linlithquow pas.
Now *tritill tritill trow low*,
Quhen his grace cummisto faire Stirling
Schir quod the fourth, tak my counsell,
Thare may we loup at liberte

That lernit hym ane gude lessoun.—

Ane of the lustiest wantoun lassie!
I knaw ane fairer be fystene futher.
Thare sall ye se ane lustie las.
Quod the third man, thow dois bot mow.
Thare sal he se ane dayis darling.
And go all to the hie bordell,
Withoutin any gravite, &c.

Buchanan, *HIST. lib. xiv. ad fin.*

⁴ Printed at Oxford, by Edm. Gibson, 1691. 4to: with Notes. He died in 1452.

same idea, makes a transition to the most distinguished poets, who formerly flourished in Scotland.

Or quho can now the workis contrefait¹
Of KENNEDIE², with termis aureait ?
Or of DUNBAR, quha language had at large,
As may be sene intyll his GOLDIN TARGE³?

QUINTYN⁴, MERSE⁵, ROWL⁶, HENDERSON⁷, HAY⁸, and HOLLAND⁹
Thocht thay be deid, thair libellis bene livand¹⁰,
Quhilk to reheirs makis redaris to rejoice,
Allace for one quhilk lamp was of this land,
Of eloquence the flowand balmy strand¹¹,
And in our Inglis rhetorick the rose,
As of rubeis the carbuncle bene chose,
And as Phebus dois Cynthie precell ;
So GAWIN DOWGLAS, bischop of Dunkell.

Had, quhen he was into this land on lyve,
Above vulgar poetis prorogatyve,
Both in practick and speculatioun.
I say no more : gude redaris may discryve
His worthy workis, in noumer mo than fyve.
And speciallie the trew translatioun
Of Virgill, quhilk bene consolatioun
To cunnyng men to knawe his greit ingyne,
As weill in science naturall as devyne.

And in the court bene present in their dayis,
That ballatis brevis¹² lustally and layis,

¹ Imitate.

² I suppose Walter Kennedie, who wrote a poem in Scottish meter, whether printed I know not, on the Passion of Christ. MSS. Coll. Gresham, 286. Some of Kennedie's poems are in MSS. Hyndford. The *Flyting* between Dunbar and Kennedy is in the EVERGREEN. Dunbar. ut. supr. p. 77. And ibid. p. 274. And Kennedy's PARIS OF AGE, ibid. p. 189. He exceeds his cotemporary Dunbar in smoothness of versification.

³ The poem examined above, p. 496.

⁴ He flourished about the year 1320. He was driven from Scotland under the devastations of Edward I., and took refuge at Paris. He wrote a poem, called the *Complaint of the Miseries of his country*, printed at Paris, 1511. Dempst. xv. 1034.

⁵ Merse is celebrated by Dunbar, LAMENT FOR THE DEATH OF THE MAKKARIS OR POETS. See ANC. SCOTTISH POEMS, ut supr. p. 77.

That did in luve so lyfly wryte,

So schort, so quick, of sentens hie.

Collection, his PERRELL IN PARAMOURS. p. 159.

⁶ Dunbar mentions Rowll of Aberdeen, and Rowll of Corstorphine, 'twa bettir fallowis 'did no man sie.' Ibid. p. 77. In Lord Hyndford's MSS. [p. 104. 2.] a poem is mentioned, called ROWLL'S CURSING. ibid. p. 272. There is an allusion in this piece to pope Alexander VI., who presided from 1492 to 1503.

⁷ Perhaps Robert Henryson. Dunbar, ubi supr. p. 77. And ibid. p. 98. seq. In MSS. Harl. are, 'The morall fabillis of Esope compylit be Maister Robert Henrysount schol-' 'maister of Dumferling, 1571,' 3865. 1. He was most probably a teacher of the youth in the Benedictine convent at Dunfermline. See many of his poems, which are of a grave moral turn, in the elegant Scottish Miscellany just cited.

⁸ I know not if he means Archibald Hay, who wrote a panegyric on Cardinal Beaton, printed at Paris, 1540, 4to. He also translated the HECUBA of Euripides from Greek into Latin. MSS. HATTON. But I have seen none of his Scotch poetry.

⁹ Dunbar, ut supr. p. 77. His poem, called the HOWLATT, is in the MSS. of Lord Hyndford and Lord Auchinleck. In this are described, the 'Kyndis of instrumentis, the spor-' 'taris, [jugglers] the Irish bard, and the fule.' It was written before the year 1455.

¹⁰ Living.

¹¹ Stream.

¹² Write.

Quhilkis to our princis daylie thay do present.
 Qho can say more than schir JAMES INGLIS says
 In ballatis, farsis, and in plesand playis¹?
 Bot CULTROSE has his pen maid impotent,
 Kid in cunnyng² and practick richt prudent.
 And STEWART quhilck desireth one statlie style
 Full ornate workis daylis dois compyle.

STEWART of Lorne will carp richt curiouslie³,
 GALBRAITH, KYNLOICH⁴, quhen thay tham lyst applie
 Into that art, ar craftie of ingyne.
 Bot now of late is start up haistelie,
 One cunnyng clarke, quhilck wrytith craftelie:
 One plant of poets callit BALLENDYNE⁵;
 Quhose ornate workis my wit can nocht defyne:
 Get he into the court auctorite,
 He will precell Quintyn and Kennedie⁶.

The Scotch, from that philosophical and speculative cast which characterises their national genius, were more zealous and early friend to a reformation of religion than their neighbours in England. The pomp and elegance of the Catholic worship made no impression on a people, whose devotion sought only for solid edification; and who had no notion that the interposition of the senses could with any propriety be admitted to co-operate in an exercise of such a nature, which appealed to reason alone, and seemed to exclude all aids of the imagination. It was natural that such a people, in their system of spiritual refinement, should warmly prefer the severe and rigid plan of Calvin: and it is from this principle, that we find most of their writers, at the

¹ I know nothing of Sir James Inglis, or of his ballads, farces, and pleasant plays. But one John English was master of a company of players, as we have before seen, at the marriage of James IV. Here is a proof, however, that theatrical representations were now in high repute in the court of Scotland.

² Yet in knowing.

³ See some of his satirical poetry, *ANC. SC. P. p. 151*.

⁴ These two poets are converted into one, under the name of GABRIELL KINLYCK, in an edition of some of Lyndesay's works *first turned and made perfect Englishe*, printed at London by Thomas Purfoote, A.D. 1581. p. 105. This edition often omits whole stanzas; and has the most arbitrary and licentious misrepresentations of the text, always for the worse. The editor, or translator, did not understand the Scottish language; and is, besides, a wretched writer of English. But the attempt sufficiently exposes itself.

⁵ I presume this is John Balantyn, or Ballenden, archdeacon of Moray, canon of Rosse, and clerk of the register in the minority of James V., and his successor. He was a doctor of the Sorbonne at Paris. G. Con, *De duplici statu religionis apud Scotos*, lib. ii. p. 167. At the command of James V., he translated the 17 books of Hector Boethius's HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. Edinb. by T. Davidson, 1536. fol. The preface is in verse, 'Thow marcyal buke pas to the nobyll prince.' Prefixed is the COSMOGRAPHY of Boethius's History, which Mackenzie calls, *A description of Albany*, ii. 596. Before it is a Prologue a vision in verse, in which VIRTUE and PLEASURE address the king, after the manner of a dialogue. He wrote an addition of one hundred years to Boethius's history: but this does not appear in the Edinburgh edition: also *Epistles to James V.*, and *On the Life of Pythagoras*. Many of his poems are extant. The author of the article BALLENDEN. in the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, written more than thirty years ago, says, that 'in the large collection of Scottish poems, made by Mr. Carmichael, there were some of our author's on various subjects; and Mr. Laurence Dundas had several, whether in MSS. or printed, I cannot say,' vol. i. p. 461. His style has many gallicisms. He seems to have been a young man, when this compliment was paid him by Lyndesay. He died at Rome, 1550. Dempst. ii. 197. Bale, xiv. 65. Mackenz. ii. 595. seq.

⁶ SIGNAT. K.

restoration of learning, taking all occasions of censuring the absurdities of popery with an unusual degree of abhorrence and asperity.

In the course of the poem before us, an allegory on the corruptions of the church is introduced, not destitute of invention, humour, and elegance: but founded on one of the weak theories of Wickliffe, who not considering religion as reduced to a civil establishment, and because Christ and his apostles were poor, imagined that secular possessions were inconsistent with the simplicity of the gospel.

In the primitive and pure ages of christianity, the poet supposes, that the Church married Poverty, whose children were Chastity and Devotion. The emperour Constantine soon afterwards divorced this sober and decent couple; and without obtaining or asking a dispensation, married the Church with great solemnity to Property. Pope Silvester ratified the marriage: and Devotion retired to a hermitage. They had two daughters, Riches and Sensuality; who were very beautiful, and soon attracted such great and universal regard, that they acquired the chief ascendancy in all spiritual affairs. Such was the influence of Sensuality in particular, that Chastity, the daughter of the Church by Poverty, was exiled: she tried, but in vain, to gain protection in Italy and France. Her success was equally bad in England. She strove to take refuge in the court of Scotland: but they drove her from the court to the clergy. The bishops were alarmed at her appearance, and protested they would harbour no rebel to the See of Rome. They sent her to the nuns, who received her in form, with processions and other honours. But news being immediately dispatched to Sensuality and Riches, of her friendly reception among the nuns, she was again compelled to turn fugitive. She next fled to the mendicant friers, who declared they could not take charge of ladies. At last she was found secreted in the nunnery of the Burrowmoor near Edinburgh, where she had met her mother Poverty and her sister Devotion. Sensuality attempts to besiege this religious house, but without effect. The pious sisters were armed at all points, and kept an irresistible piece of artillery, called *Domine custodi nos*.

Within quhose schot, thare dar no enemies
 Approche their places for dread of dyntis dour¹;
 Boith nicht and day they work lyke besie bees²,
 For thar defence reddie to stand in stour:
 And keip sic watchis on their utter tour,
 That dame Sensuall with seige dar not assaile,
 Nor cum within the schot of thare artaile³.

I know not whether this chaste sisterhood had the delicacy to observe strictly the injunctions prescribed to a society of nuns in England; who, to preserve a cool habit, were ordered to be regularly blooded three times every year, but not by a secular person, and

¹ Hard dints.

² Busy bees.

³ Artillery. SIGNAT. C. ii.

the priests who performed the operation were never suffered to be strangers¹.

I must not dismiss this poem, without pointing out a beautiful valediction to the royal palace of Snawdoun²; which is not only highly sentimental and expressive of poetical feelings, but strongly impresses on the mind an image of the romantic magnificence of ancient times, so remote from the state of modern manners.

Adew fair Snawdoun, with thy touris hie,
Thy chapell royall, park, and tabill rounde³!
May, June, and July, wald I dwell in the,
War I one man, to heir the birdis found
Quhilk doth againe thy royal roche rebound⁴!

Our author's poem, to the *Kingis grace in contemptioun of syde taillis*, that is, a censure on the affectation of long trains worn by the ladies, has more humour than decency⁵. He allows a tail to the queen, but thinks it an affront to the royal dignity and prerogative that,

Every lady of the land
Should have hir taill so syde trailland⁶.—
Quhare ever thay go it may be sene
How kirk and calsay they suepe clene⁷.—
Kittok that clekkit was yestrene⁸,
The morne wyll counterfute the quene.
Ane mureland⁹ Mag that milkid the zowis
Claggit¹⁰ with clay above the howis,
In barn, nor byir, scho woll nocht byde
Without her kyrtill taill besyde.—
They waist more claith [cloth] within few yeiris
Than wald claith fyftie score of freris¹¹.

In a statute of James II. of Scotland¹², about the year 1460, it was ordered, that no woman should come to church or to market with her face *mussaled*, that is muzzled, or covered. Notwithstanding this seasonable interposition of the legislature, the ladies of Scotland continued *muzzled* during three reigns¹³. The enormous excrescence of

¹ MSS. JAMES, xxvi. p. 32. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

² Snawdoun; or Stirling

³ Round table. Tournaments.

⁴ SIGNAT. B. iii.

⁵ Compare a MSS. poem of Occleve, *Of Pride and wast clothing of Lordis men which azens her astate*. MSS. LAUD. K. 78. f. 67. b. Bibl. Bodl. His chief complaint is against pendent sleeves, sweeping the ground, which with their fur amount to more than twenty pounds.

⁶ SIGNAT. L. ii.

⁷ Causey. Street. Path.

⁸ Kitty that was born yesterday.

⁹ Moor-land.

¹⁰ Clogged.

¹¹ SIGNAT. L. iii. He commends the ladies of Italy for their decency in this article.

¹² ACT. 70.

¹³ As appears from a passage in the poem before us.

Bot in the kirk and market placis

I think thay suld nocht hide thair facis.—

He therefore advises the king to issue a proclamation,

Both throw the land, and Borrowstonis,

To schaw thare face, and cut thare gownis.

He adds, that this is quite contrary to the mode of the French ladies.

Hails ane France lady quhen ye pleis,

Scho wyll discover mouth and neis.

female tails was prohibited in the same statute, 'That na woman wear 'tails unfit in length.' The legitimate length of these tails is not, however, determined in this statute; a circumstance which we may collect from a mandate issued by a papal legate in Germany, in the fourteenth century. 'It is decreed, that the apparel of women, which ought to be 'consistent with modesty, but now, through their foolishness, is degenerated into wantonness and extravagance, more particularly the 'immoderate length of their petticoats, with which they sweep the 'ground, be restrained to a moderate fashion, agreeably to the decency 'of the sex, under pain of the sentence of excommunication¹.' The orthodoxy of petticoats is not precisely ascertained in this salutary edict: but as it excommunicates those female tails, which, in our author's phrase, *keep the kirk and causey clean*, and allows such a moderate standard to the petticoat, as is compatible with female delicacy, it may be concluded, that, the ladies who covered their feet were looked upon as very laudable conformists: an inch or two less would have been avowed immodesty; an inch or two more an affectation bordering upon heresy. What good effects followed from this ecclesiastical censure, I do not find: it is, however, evident, that the Scottish act of parliament against *long tails* was as little observed, as that against *muzzling*. Probably the force of the poet's satire effected a more speedy reformation of such abuses, than the menaces of the church, or the laws of the land. But these capricious vanities were not confined to Scotland alone. In England, as we are informed by several antiquaries, the women of quality first wore trains in the reign of Richard II.: a novelty which induced a well meaning divine, of those times, to write a tract *Contra caudas dominarum*, against the Tails of the Ladies². Whether or no this remonstrance operated so far, as to occasion the contrary extreme, and even to have been the distant cause of producing the short petticoats of the present age, I cannot say. As an apology, however, for the English ladies, in adopting this fashion, we should in justice remember, as was the case of the Scotch, that it was countenanced by Anne, Richard's queen: a lady not less enterprising than successful in her attacks on established forms; and whose authority and example were so powerful, as to abolish, even in defiance of France, the safe, the commodious, and the natural mode of riding on horseback, hitherto practised by the women of England, and to introduce side-saddles.

¹ 'Velamina etiam mulierum, quæ ad *verecundiam designandam* eis sunt concessa, sed nunc, per insipientiam earum, in lasciviam et luxuriam excreverunt, et *immoderata longitudo superpelliceorum, quibus pulverem trahunt*, ad moderatum usum, sicut decet *verecundiam* 'sexus per excommunicationis sententiam cohibeantur.' Ludewig, RELIQUE DIPLOMATIC tom. ii. p. 44r.

² Collectanea Historica, ex DICTION. MSS. Thomæ Gascoign. Apud Hearne's W. HEMINGFORD, p. 512.

³ Chaucer represents his WIFE OF BATH as riding with a pair of spurs. PROL. v. 475. p. 5. Urr.

And on her feete a paire of spurris sharpe.

An anonymous Scottish poem has lately been communicated to me, belonging to this period : of which, as it was never printed, and as it contains capital touches of satirical humour, not inferior to those of Dunbar and Lyndesay, I am tempted to transcribe a few stanzas¹. It appears to have been written soon after the death of James V². The poet mentions the death of James IV., who was killed in the battle of Flodden-field, fought in the year 1513³. It is entitled DUNCANE LAIDER, or MAKGREGOR'S TESTAMENT⁴. The Scotch poets were fond of conveying invective, under the form of an assumed character writing a will⁵. In the poem before us, the writer exposes the ruinous policy, and the general corruption of public manners, prevailing in Scotland, under the personage of the STRONG MAN⁶, that is, tyranny or oppression. Yet there are some circumstances which seem to point out a particular feudal lord, famous for his exactions and insolence, and who at length was outlawed. Our testator introduces himself to the reader's acquaintance, by describing his own character and way of life, in the following expressive allegories.

My maister houshold was heich⁷ Oppressioun,
Reif⁸ my stewart, that cairit of na wrang⁹;
Murthure, Slauchtir¹⁰, aye of ane professioun,
My cubicularis¹¹ has bene thir yearis lang:
Recept, that oft tuik in mony ane fang¹²,
Was porter to the yettis¹³, to oppin wyde;
And Covatice was chamberlane at all tyde¹⁴.

Conspiracie, Invy, and False Report,
Were my prime counsalouris, leve¹⁵ and deare;
Then Robberie, the peepill to extort,
And common Thift¹⁶ tuke on tham sa the steir¹⁷,
That Treuth in my presence durst not appeir,
For Falsheid had him ay at mortal feid¹⁸,
And Thift brocht Lautie finallie to deid¹⁹.

Oppressioun clikit Gude Reule²⁰ be the hair,
And suddainlie in ane preesoun²¹ him flang;
And Crueltie cast Pitie our the stair²²,
Qhuill Innocence was murthurit in that thrang²³.

¹ For the use of this MSS. I am obliged to Mr. Pennant; whose valuable publications are familiar to every reader of taste and science:

² V. 162.

³ V. 78.

⁴ 'Copied, says my MSS. at Taymouth, in September 1769. From a MSS. in the library there, ending Aug. 20. 1490.' The latter date certainly cannot refer to the time when this poem was written.

⁵ *The Testament of Mr. Andro Kennedy.* ANC. SC. POEMS.

⁶ Viz. LAIDER.

⁷ Named. *Hight.*

⁸ Robbery.

⁹ Took many a booty.

¹⁰ Murder, Slaughter.

¹¹ The pages of my bed-chamber, Called, in Scotland, *Chamber-lads.*

¹² That scrupled to do no wrong.

¹³ Gates. *Yates, Yattis.*

¹⁴ All times.

¹⁵ Beloved.

¹⁶ Theft.

¹⁷ Steer. Steerage. The management.

¹⁸ Enmity. Hatred.

¹⁹ Brought Loyalty to death,

²⁰ Caught Good Rule. Read *clikit*, clected.

²¹ CLEIK is crooked iron, *Uncus.*

²² Threw him into prison.

²³ Over the stairs

²³ Murdered in the croud.

Than Falsheid said, he maid my house richt strang,
And furnist weill with meikill wrangus geir¹,
And bad me neither god nor man to feir².

At length, in consequence of repeated enormities and violations of justice, Duncane supposes himself to be imprisoned, and about to suffer the extreme sentence of the law. He therefore very providently makes his last will, which contains the following witty bequests.

To my CURAT Negligence I resigne,
Thairwith his parochinaris³ to teche ;
Ane ather gift I leif him als condigne⁴,
Slouth and Ignorance sendill⁵ for to preche :
The saullis he committis for to bleiche⁶
In purgatorie, quhill⁷ thaie be waschin clene,
Pure religion thairbie to sustene.

To the VICAR I leif Diligence and Care
To tak the upmost claith and the kirk kow⁸,
Mair nor⁹ to put the corps in sepulture:
Have pour wad six gryis and ane sow¹⁰,
He will have ane to fill his bellie fowe¹¹.
His thocht is mair upon the pasche fynis,
Nor the saullis in purgatorie that pynis¹².

Oppressioun the PERSONE I leif untill¹³,
Pour mens corne to hald upon the rig¹⁴,
Quhill he get the teynd alhail at his will¹⁵:
Suppois the barins thair bread suld go thig¹⁶,
His purpois is na kirkis for to big¹⁷,
Sa fair an barne-tyme¹⁸ god has him sendin,
This seven years the queir will ly unmendin¹⁹.

I leif unto the DEAN Dignite, bot fail²⁰,
With Greit Attendance quilk he sall not miss,

¹ Furnished it well with much ill-gotten wealth.

² V. 15. seq.

³ Parishioners.

⁴ As good.

⁵ Seldom.

⁶ To be bleached. Whiten'd, or purified.

⁷ Till they be washed clean.

⁸ Part of the pall, taken as a fee at funerals. The *Kirk-kow*, or *cow*, is an ecclesiastical perquisite which I do not understand.

⁹ More than.

¹⁰ If the poor have six pigs and one sow.

¹¹ His belly full. BELLY was not yet proscribed as a coarse indelicate word. It often occurs in our Translation of the Bible: and is used, somewhat singularly, in a chapter-act of Westminster-abbey, so late as the year 1628. The prebendaries vindicate themselves from the imputation of having reported, that their dean, bishop Williams, repaired the abbey, 'out of the diet, and BELLIES of the prebendaries, and revenues of our said church, and not out of his own revenues, &c.' WIDMORE'S WESTMINSTER ABBEY, p. 213. Append. NUM. xii. Lond. 1751. Here, as we now think, a periphrasis, at least another term, was obvious. How shocking, or rather ridiculous, would this expression appear in a modern instrument, signed by a body of the clergy!

¹² He thinks more of his Easter-offerings, than of the souls in purgatory. Pasche is *paschal*. PAIS, Easter.

¹³ I leave Oppression to the PARSON, the proprietor of the great, or rectorial, tythes.

¹⁴ To keep the corn of the poor, in the *rig*, or rick. [*Furrow*.—A. M.]

¹⁵ Until he get the tythe all at his will.

¹⁶ Suppose the children should beg their bread. *Barins*, or *Bairns*.

¹⁷ To build no churches.

¹⁸ So fair a harvest.

¹⁹ The choir, or chancel, which, as the rector, he is obliged to keep in repair. The more tythe he receives, the less willing he is to return a due proportion of it to the church.

²⁰ Without doubt.

Fra adulteraris [to] tack the buttock-maill¹;
 Gif ane man to ane madin gif ane kiss²,
 Get he not geir, thai sall not come to bliss³:
 His winnyng⁴ is maist throw fornicatioun,
 Spending it shur with siclike⁵ occupatioun.

I leif unto the PRIoure, for his part,
 Gluttony, him and his monkis to feid,
 With far better will to drink ane quart⁶,
 Nor an the bible ane chaptoure⁷ to reid
 Yit ar thai wyis and subtile into deid⁸,
 Fenzeis thame pour⁹, and has gret sufficence,
 And takith wolth away with gret patience.

I leif the ABBOT Pride and Arrogance,
 With trappit mules in the court to ryde¹⁰;
 Not in the closter to make residence;
 It is na honoure thair for him to byde¹¹,
 But ever for ane bischoprik provyde¹²:
 For weill ye wat ane pour benefice,
 Of ten thousand markis¹³ may not him suffice.

To the BISCHOP his Free will I allege¹⁴,
 Becaus thair [is] na man him [dares] to blame,
 Fra secular men he will him replege¹⁵,
 And weill ye wat the pape is fur fra hame¹⁶:
 To preich the gospel he thinkis schame
 (Supposis sum tym it was his professioun.),
 Rather nor for to sit upon the sessioun¹⁷.

¹ A fine for adultery. MAILIS is duties, rents. MAILE-MEN, MAILLERIS, persons who pay rent. Male is Saxon for tribute or tax. Whence Maalman, Saxon, for one paying tribute. Spelman and Dufresne, in VV.

² If a man give a maid one kiss. Chaucer says of his SOMPNOUR, or Apparitor, PROL. Urr. p. 6. v. 651.

He would suffer for a quart of wine

A good fellow to have his concubine

See the FREERES TALE, where these abuses are exposed with much humour. Urr. edition p. 87.

³ If he does not get his fine, they will not be saved. GEAR is properly goods, chattels.

⁴ His profits, in the spiritual court.

⁵ Surely in the same manner.

⁶ An English gallon.

⁷ To read one chapter.

⁸ Unto death.

⁹ Feign themselves poor.

¹⁰ To ride on a mule with rich trappings. Cavendish says, that when cardinal Wolsey went ambassador to France, he rode through London with more than twenty sumptermules. He 'adds, that Wolsey 'rode very sumptuously like a cardinal, on a mule; with his spare-mule, and his spare-horse, covered with crimson velvett, and gilt furred, &c.' MEM. OF CARD. WOLSEY. edit. Lond. 1708. 8vo. p. 57. When he meets the king of France near Amiens, he mounts another mule, more superbly caparisoned. Ibid. p. 69. See also p. 192. [See MSS. of this life. MSS. LAUD. i. 66. MSS. ARCH. B. 44. Bibl. Bodl.] The same writer, one of the cardinal's domestics, says that he constantly rode to Westminster-hall, 'on a mule trapped in 'crimson velvett with a saddle of the same.' Ibid. p. 29. 30. In the Computus of Maxtoke priory, in Warwickshire, for the year 1446, this article of expenditure occurs, 'Pro pabulo duarum mularum cum harnesiis domini PRIORIS hoc anno.' Again in the same year, Pro 'freno deaurato, cum sella et panno blodii coloris, mulæ PRIORIS.' MSS. penes me supr. citat. Wickliffe describes a WORDLY PRIEST, 'with fair hors and jolly, and gay saddles and 'bridles ringing by the way, and himself in costly clothes and pelure.' Lewis's WICCL. p. 121.

¹¹ Continue.

¹² Look out for a bishoprick.

¹³ Marcs.

¹⁴ Give, Assign.

¹⁵ He will order tryal in his own court. It is therefore unsafe to attack him.

¹⁶ You well know the pope is at a great distance.

¹⁷ He had rather sit in parliament.

I leif my Flatterie, and Fals Dissembling,
 Unto the FRERIS, thai sa weill can fleitche¹,
 With mair profit throwe ane marriage-making
 Nor all the lentrane² in the kirk to preiche³.
 Thai gloiss⁴ the scripture, ever quhen thai teache,
 Moer in intent the auditouris to pleiss,
 Nor the trew worde of god for to appeis⁵.

Thir⁶ gifts that dame Nature has me lent
 I have disponit⁷ heir, as ye may see :
 It nevir was, nor yit is, my intent,
 That trew kirkmen get acht belongis to me⁸:
 But that haulis⁹ Huredome and Harlottrie,
 Gluttony, Invy, Covatice, and Pryde,
 My executouris I mak tham at this tyde.

Adew all friends, quhill¹⁰ after that we meit,
 I cannot tell yow quhair, nor in quhat place ;
 But as the lord dispousis for my spreit,
 Quher is the well of mercie and of grace,
 That I may [stand] befoirr his godlie face :
 Unto the devill I leif my synnis¹¹ all,
 Fra him thai came, to him agane thei fall¹².

Some readers may perhaps be of opinion, that Macgregor was one of those Scottish lairds, who lived professedly by rapine and pillage : a practice greatly facilitated, and even supported, by the feudal system. Of this sort was Adom o'Gordon, whose attack on the castle of Dunse is recorded by the Scottish minstrels, in a pathetic ballad, which begins thus.

It fell about the Martinmas,
 Qhen the wind blew schril and cauld,
 Said Adom o'Gordon to his men,
 We maun draw to a hauld :

And quhat a hauld sall we draw to,
 My mirry men and me ?
 We wul gae to the house o' the Rhodes,
 To see that fair ladiel¹³.

Other parts of Europe, from the same situations in life, afford in-

¹ Fawn.

² Or, Lentrone. Lent.

³ Who get more by making one match, than by preaching a whole Lent. The mendicants gained an establishment in families, and were consulted and gave their advice in all cases.

Chaucer's FREERE

Had mad full manie a marriage

Of yong women, &c. PROL. v. 212.

⁴ Expound.

⁵ Explain. The mendicants not only perverted the plainest texts of scripture to cover their own fraudulent purposes, but often amused their hearers with legends and religious romances. Wicliffe, the grand antagonist of these orders, says that, 'Capped [graduated] friers that been cleped [called] masters of divinitie, have their chamber and service as lords and kings, and senden out idiots full of covetise to preche, not the gospel, but chronicles, fables, and lesinges, to plesse the peple, and to robbe them.' Lewis's LIFE OF WICCL. p. 21. xiii.

⁶ These.

⁷ Disposed. Bequeathed.

⁸ A true churchman, a christian on the reformed plan, shall never get any thing belonging to me.

⁹ Whole.

¹⁰ Till.

¹¹ Sins.

¹² V. 309. seq.

¹³ Percy's BALL. i. 100.

stances of the same practice. Froissart has left a long narrative of an eminent robber, one Amergot Marcell; who became at length so formidable and powerful, as to claim a place in the history of France. About the year 1380, he had occupied a strong castle for the space of ten years, in the province of Auvergne, in which he lived with the splendor and dominion of a petty sovereign; having amassed, by pillaging the neighbouring country, 100,000 francs. His depredations brought in an annual revenue of 20,000 florins. Afterwards he is tempted imprudently to sell his castle to one of the generals of the king for a considerable sum. Froissart introduces Marcell, after having sold his fortress, uttering the following lamentation, which strongly paints his system of depredation, the feudal anarchy, and the trade and travelling of those days. 'What a joy was it when we rode forth at adventure, and somtyme found by the way a ryche priour, or marchaunt, or a route of mulettes, of Montpellyer, of Narbone, of Lyons, of Fongans, of Tholous, or of Carcassone, laden with clothe of Brussesles, or peltre ware comynge from the fayres, or laden with spycery from Bruges, from Damas, or from Alysaunder! Whatsoever we met, all was ours, or els raunsomed at our pleasures. Dayly we gate newe money; and the vyllaynes of Auvergne and of Lymosyn daily provyded, and brought to our castell, whete mele, breed [bread] ready baken, otes for our horses and lytter, good wyne, beffes, and fatte mottons, pullayne, and wylde foule. We were ever furnyshed, as though we had been kings. Whan we rode forth, all the country trembled for feare. All was oures, goynge or comynge. Howe toke we Carlaste, I and the Bourge of Companye! and I and Perot of Bernoys toke Caluset. How dyd we scale with lytell ayde the stronge castell of Marquell pertayning to the erle Dolphyn! I kept it not past fyve dayes, but I receyved for it, on a fayre table, fyve thousand frankes; and forgave one thousand, for the love of the erle Dolphyn's chyl dren. By my faith, this was a fayre and goodlie life! &c!'

But on the whole I am inclined to think, that our testator Macgregor, although a robber, was a personage of high rank, whose power and authority were such, as to require this indirect and artificial mode of abuse. For the same reason, I believe the name to be fictitious.

I take this opportunity of observing, that the old Scottish poet Blind Harry belongs to this period; and, at the same time, of correcting the mistake, which, in conformity to the common opinion, and on the evidence of Dempster and Mackenzie, I have committed, in placing him towards the close of the fourteenth century². John Major the Scottish historian, who was born about the year 1470, remembered Blind Harry to have been living, and to have published a poem on the achievements of Sir William Wallace, when he was a boy. He

¹ Tom. ii. c. 170. f. 115. a. And tom. i. c. 149. f. 73. Also, ib. c. 440. f. 313. b. Berners's Transl.

² Dempster says he lived in 1361.

adds, that he cannot vouch for the credibility of those tales which the bards were accustomed to sing for hire in the castles of the nobility¹. I will give his own words: 'Integrum librum Gulielmi Wallacei 'Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, meæ infantia tempore cudit: 'et quæ vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit. Ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior; quippe qui HISTORIARUM RECITATIONE CORAM PRINCIPIBUS victum 'et vestitum, quo dignus erat, nactus est².' And that, in this poem, Blind Harry has intermixed much fable with true history, will appear from some proofs collected by sir David Dalrymple, in his judicious and accurate annals of Scotland, lately published³.

I cannot return to the English poets without a hint, that a well-executed history of the Scottish poetry from the thirteenth century, would be a valuable accession to the general literary history of Britain. The subject is pregnant with much curious and instructive information. is highly deserving of a minute and regular research, has never yet been uniformly examined in its full extent, and the materials are both accessible and ample. Even the bare lives of the vernacular poets of Scotland have never yet been written with tolerable care; and at present are only known from the meagre outlines of Dempster and Mackenzie. The Scotch appear to have had an early propensity to theatrical representations; and it is probable, that in the prosecution of such a design, among several other interesting and unexpected discoveries, many anecdotes, conducting to illustrate the rise and progress of our ancient drama, might be drawn from obscurity.

SECTION XXXIII.

MOST of the poems of John Skelton were written in the reign of Henry VIII. But as he was laureated at Oxford about the year 1489. I consider him as belonging to the fifteenth century.

Skelton, having studied in both our universities, was promoted to the rectory of Diss in Norfolk⁴. But for his buffooneries in the pulpit,

¹ The poem as now extant has probably been reformed and modernised.

² HIST. MAGN. BRITAN. L. iv. c. xv. f. 74. a. edit. Ascens. 1521. 4to. Compare Hollinsh. Scot. ii. p. 414. And Mack. tom. i. 423. Dempst. lib. viii. p. 349.

³ p. 245. edit. 1776. 4to.

⁴ At least before the year 1507. For at the end of his TRENTALE for old John Clarke, there is this colophon. 'Auctore Skelton rectore de Dis. Finis, &c. Apud Trumpinton, 'script. per Curatum ejusdem quinto die Jan. A.D. 1507.' See the PITHY PLEASANT AND PROFITABLE WORKES OF MAISTER SKELTON, reprinted at London, 1736, 12mo. pag. 272. He was ordained both deacon and priest in the year 1498. On the title of the monastery de Graciis near the tower of London; REGISTR. Savage. Episc. Lond. There is a poem by

and his satirical ballads against the mendicants¹, he was severely censured, and perhaps suspended by Nykke his diocesan, a rigid bishop of Norwich, from exercising the duties of the sacerdotal function. Wood says, he was also punished by the bishop for 'having been guilty *'of certain crimes, AS MOST POETS ARE?'* But these persecutions only served to quicken his ludicrous disposition, and to exasperate the acrimony of his satire, As his sermons could be no longer a vehicle for his abuse, he vented his ridicule in rhyming libels. At length,

Skelton on the death of king Edward IV., who died A.D., 1483. WORKES, ut supr. p. 100. This is taken into the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*.

Skelton's poems were first printed at London, 1512. 8vo. A more complete edition by Thomas Marshe appeared in 1568. 12mo. From which the modern edition, in 1736, was copied. Many pieces of this collection have appeared separately. We have also, *CERTAIN BOOKS OF SKELTON*. For W. Bonham, 1547. 12mo. Again, viz. Five of his poems, for John Day, 1583. 12mo. Another collection for A. Scollocker, 1582. 12mo. Another of two pieces, without date, for A. Kytson. Another, viz. *MERIE TALES*, for T. Colwell, 1575. 12mo. *MAGNIFICENCE, a goodly Interlude and a mery deuyssed and made by mayster Skelton, poet laureate, late deceased*, was printed by Rastell, in 1533, 4to. This is not in any collection of his poems. He mentions it in his *CROWNE OF LAWRELL*, p. 47. 'And of MAGNIFICENCE, a notable mater, &c.' Pinson also printed a piece of Skelton, not in any collection, 'How yong scholars now a days emboldened in the fly blowne blast of the moche *'vayne glorious, &c.'* Without date, 4to. There are also, not in his Works, *Epitaph of Jasper duke of Bedford*, Lond. 4to. And, *Miseries of England under Henry VII.*, Lond. 4to. See two of his Epitaphs in Camden's *EPITAPHIA REGUM, &c.* Lond. 1600. 4to. See a distich in Hollinsh. iii. 87b. And Stanzas presented to Henry VII., in 1488, at Windsor, in Ashmole's ORD. GART. chap. xxi. SECT. vii. p. 594. A great number of Skelton's pieces remain unprinted. MSS. Harl. 367. 36. fol. 101. seq.—2252. 51. fol. 134. seq. MSS. Reg. 18 D. 4 5. MSS. C. C. C. Cambr. G. ix. MSS. Cotton. VITELL. E. x. 28. And MSS. Cathedr. Linc. In the *CROWNE OF LAWRELL*, Skelton recites many of his own pieces, p. 47. seq. *The soverayne Interlude of Virtue. The Rosiar. Prince Arthur's creacion. Of Perfidia. Dialogues of Ymaginacion. The comedy of Achademios. Tullis familiars*, that is, a translation of Tully's Familiar Epistles. *Of good Advisement. The Recule against Gaguine*. See p. 47. 162. *The Popyngay. A noble pamphcelet of soveraintie. The Play of Magnificence*, above mentioned. *Maters of Myrth to maistres Margery. The Peregrinacion of Mannes Lyfe*, from the French, perhaps of Guillaume, prior of Chalis. But it should be observed, that Pynson printed *Peregrinatio humani generis*, 1508. 4to. *The triumphes of redde rose*, containing many stories long unremembered. *Speculum principis*, a manual written while he was *creauncer*, or tutor, to Henry VIII., when a boy. *The Tunyng of Elinour Rummyng*. See p. 123. *Colin Clout*. See p. 179. *John Yve. Joforth Jacke*. Verses to maistress Anne. Epitaph of one Adam a knave. See p. 271. *The balade of the mustarde tarte*. The fate of Philip Sparrowe. See p. 215. *The grounting of the swyne*. The mourning of the mapely rote. *A prayer to Moyses's hornes*. *The paiaunts* [pageaunts] *played in joyous garde*, that is, in king Arthur's castle, so called in the romance of MORTE ARTHUR. *The fenestrall* [window] *of castell Angel*. *The recule of Rosamundes bowre*. *How dame Minerva first found the olive-tre*. *The myller and his joly mate*, or wife. *Marione clarion*. Of the *Bonhoms of Ashrige* near Berkhamstead, where is the *sange royall of Christ's blode*, that is, the *real blood of Christ*. He professes to have received many favours from this monastery. *The nacion of foles*. *The boke of three foolcs* is printed in his works, p. 260. *Apollo that whirled up his chare*. *The mayden of Kent*. *Of lovers testaments*. *Of Jollas and Phillis*. *The boke of honorouse astate*: *Of royall demenaunce: How to fle synne: How to speke well. How to dye where ye will*. A translation of *Diodorus Siculus, oute of freshe Latin*, that is, of Poggius Florentinus, containing six books. MSS. C. C. C. Camb. viii. 5. Poggius's version was first printed at Venice, 1476. Caxton in his Preface to Virgil's *ENEIDOS*, says that Skelton 'translated diverse other workes out of Latyn into Englysh,' beside Tully's Epistles, and Diodorus Siculus. Bale mentions his *Invectiva* on William Lily the grammarian. I know nothing more of this, than that it was answered by Lily in *Apologia ad Joh. Scheltonum*. Pr. 'Siccine vipereo pergis me, &c.' The piece of Skelton most frequently printed was, I believe, his *ELINOUR RUMMYNG*, or Rumpkin. The last of the old editions is, in 1624 4to. In the title page, is the picture of our genial hostess, a deformed old woman, holding a pot of ale, with this inscription.

When Skelton wore the lawrel crown

My ale put all the alewives down.

Davies's CRITICAL HISTORY OF PAMPHLETS, p. 28. 86.

¹ WORKS, p. 200, 202, &c.

² ATH. OXON. i. 22. seq.

daring to attack the dignity of cardinal Wolsey, he was closely pursued by the officers of that powerful minister; and, taking shelter in the sanctuary of Westminster abbey, was kindly entertained and protected by abbot Islip¹, to the day of his death. He died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of St. Margaret, in the year 1529.

Skelton was patronised by Henry Algenoon Percy, the fifth earl of Northumberland, who deserves particular notice here; as he loved literature at a time when many of the nobility of England could hardly read or write their names, and was the general patron of such genius as his age produced. He encouraged Skelton, almost the only professed poet of the reign of Henry VII., to write an elegy on the death of his father, which is yet extant. But still stronger proofs of his literary turn, especially of his singular passion for poetry, may be collected from a very splendid MSS., which formerly belonged to this very distinguished peer, and is at present preserved in the British Museum². It contains a large collection of English poems, elegantly engrossed on vellum, and superbly illuminated, which had been thus sumptuously transcribed for his use. The pieces are chiefly those of Lydgate, after which follow the aforesaid Elegy of Skelton, and some smaller compositions. Among the latter are a metrical history of the family of Percy, presented to him by one of his own chaplains; and a prolix series of poetical inscriptions, which he caused to be written on the walls and ceilings of the principal apartments of his castles of Lekinfield and Wressil³. His cultivation of the arts of

¹ His Latin epitaph or elegy on the Death of Henry the Seventh, is addressed to Islip. A.D. 1512, p. 285.

² MSS. Reg. 18 D. 11.

³ MSS. C. C. C. Cant. 168. Three of the apartments in Waresill Castle, now destroyed, were adorned with POETICAL INSCRIPTIONS. These are called in the MSS. abovementioned, 'PROVERBS in the LODGINGS in WRESSILL.'

1.—'The proverbes in the sydis of the innere chamber at Wressill.' This is a poem of 24 stanzas, each containing 7 lines, beginning thus,

'When it is tyme of coste and greate expens,
'Beware of waste and spende by measure:
'Who that outrageously makithe his dispens,
'Causythe his goodes not long to endure, &c.

2.—'The counsell of Aristotill, whiche he gayfe to Alexander, kynge of Massydony; whiche are wrytyn in the syde of the Utter Chamber above the house in the Garden at Wressill.' This is in distichs of 38 lines: beginning thus,

'Punyshe moderately and discretly correcte,
'As well to mercy as to justice havynge a respecte, &c.

3.—'The proverbis in the syde of th' Utter Chamber above of the hous in the gardying at Wressill.' A poem of 30 stanzas, chiefly of four lines, viz.

'Remorde thyne ey inwardly,
'Fyx not thy mynde on Fortune, that delythe dyversly, &c.

The following apartments in Lekinfield had poetical inscriptions: as mentioned in the said MSS. 'PROVERBS in the LODGINGS at LEKINGFIELD.'

1.—'The proverbis of the garrett over the Bayne at Lekyngfelde.' This is a dialogue in 32 stanzas, of four lines, between 'the Parte Sensatyve,' and 'the Part Intellectyve:' containing a poetical comparison between sensual and intellectual pleasures.

2.—'The proverbis in the garet at the new lodge in he parke of Lekyngfelde.' This is a poem of 32 stanzas, of four lines, being a discant on Harmony, as also on the manner of Singing, and playing on most of the instruments then used: i.e. the Harps, Claricordes, Lute,

external elegance appears, from the stately sepulchral monuments which he erected in the minster, or collegiate church, of Beverley in Yorkshire, to the memory of his father and mother; which are executed in the richest style of the florid Gothic architecture, and remain to this day, the conspicuous and striking evidences of his state and magnificence. In the year 1520, he founded an annual stipend of ten marcs for three years, for a preceptor, or professor, to teach grammar and philosophy in the monastery of Alnewick, contiguous to another of his magnificent castles¹. A further instance of his attention to letters and

Virgynall, Glarisymballis, Clarion, Shawme, Crgayne, Recorder. The following stanza relates to the SHAWME, and shews it to have been used for the Bass, as the RECORDER was for the Meane or Tenor.

'A SHAWME makithe a sweete sounde for he tunithe BASSE,
'It mountithe not to hy, but kepithe rule and space.
'Yet yf it be blowne with a too vehement wynde,
'It makithe it to misgoverne out of his kynde.

3.—'The proverbis in the rooffe of the hiest chawmbre in the gardinge at Lekingfelde.' If we suppose this to be the room mentioned by Leland, where the Genealogy was kept: the following jingling reflections on the family motto (in 30 distichs) will not appear quite so misplaced;

' <i>Esperauunce en Dyen.</i>	Truste in him he is most trewe.
' <i>En Dieu esperance,</i>	In hym put thynne affiance.
' <i>Esperauunce in the worlde? nay;</i>	The worlde varieth every day.
' <i>Esperauunce in exaltacion of honoure?</i>	Nay, it widderithe . . . lyke a floure.
' <i>Esperauunce in bloode and high lynage?</i>	At moste nede, bot esy avauntage.

The concluding distich is

'*Esperauunce en Dieu*, in hym is all;
'Be thou contente and thou are above Fortune's fall.'

4.—'The proverbis in the roufe of my Lorde Percy closett at Lekyngfelde.' A poetical dialogue, containing instructions for youth, in 142 lines.

5.—'The proverbis in the roufe of my Lordis library at Lekyngfelde.' Twenty-three stanzas of four lines, from which take the following specimen:

'To every tale geve thou no credens,	Prove the cause, or thou give sentens.
'Agayn the right make no dyssens,	So hast thou a clene consciens.'

6.—'The counsell of Aristotell, whiche he gave to Alexander kinge of Macedony; in the 'syde of the garet of the gardynge in Lekynfelde.' This consists of 9 stanzas, of 8 lines: Take the last stanza but one:

'Punishe moderatly, and discretly correct,
'As well to mercy, as to justice havynge a respect;
'So shall ye have meryte for the punyshment,
'And cause the offender to be sory and penitent.
'If ye be movede with anger or hastynes,
'Pause in youre mynde and your yre repress:
'Defer vengeance unto your anger asswagede be;
'So shyll ye mynster justice, and do dewe equitye.'

This castle is also demolished. One of the ornaments of the apartments of the old castles in France, was to write the walls all over with amorous SONNETS.

¹ From the Receiver's accounpts of the earl's estates in Com. Northumb. A. xv. Henr. viii. A.D. 1527. 'SOLUCIONES DENARIORUM per WARRANTUM DOMINI. Et in denariis per 'dominum receptorem doctori Makerell Abbati monasterii de Alnewyk solutis, de exitibus 'huius anni, pro solucione vadii unius PEDAGOGI, sive Magistri, existentis infra Abbatiam pre- 'dictam, et docentis ac legentis GRAMMATICAM et PHILOSOPHIAM canonicis et fratribus mo- 'nasterii predicti, ad x marcas per annum pro termino iij annorum, virtute unius warranti, 'cujus data est apud Wressill xxmo die Septembris anno xij Regis predicti, signo manuali 'ipsius Comitiss signati, et penes ipsum Abbatem remanentes, ultra vj lib. xiiij s. iv d. sibi allo- 'catas anno xiiij Henr. viijvi, et vj lib. xiijs. iiij d. similiter sibi allocatas in anno xiiij ejusdem 'Regis ut per ii acquitancias inde confectas, et penes Allocatorem remanentes.' From EVIDENCES of the PERCY FAMILY, at Zion-house. C. iii. Num. 5. 6. Communicated to me by doctor Percy.

studious employments, occurs in his *HOUSEHOLD-BOOK*, dated 1512, yet remaining ; in which the *LIBRARIES* of this earl and of his lady are specified¹: and in the same curious monument of ancient manners it is ordered, that one of his chaplains should be a *MAKER OF INTERLUDES*². With so much boldness did this liberal nobleman abandon the example of his brother peers, whose principal occupations were hawking and tilting ; and who despised learning, as an ignoble and petty accomplishment, fit only for the purposes of laborious and indigent ecclesiastics. Nor was he totally given up to the pursuits of leisure and peace: he was, in the year 1497, one of the leaders who commanded at the battle of Blackheath against lord Audley and his partisans ; and was often engaged, from his early years, in other public services of trust and honour. But Skelton did hardly deserve such a noble patronage³.

It is in vain to apologise for the coarseness, obscenity, and scurrility of Skelton, by saying that his poetry is tinctured with the manners of his age. Skelton would have been a writer without decorum at any period. The manners of Chaucer's age were undoubtedly more rough and unpolished than those of the reign of Henry VII. Yet Chaucer, a poet abounding in humour, and often employed in describing the vices and follies of the world, writes with a degree of delicacy, when compared with Skelton. That Skelton's manner is gross and illiberal, was the opinion of his cotemporaries ; at least of those critics who lived but a few years afterwards, and while his poems yet continued in vogue. Puttenham, the author of the *ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE*, published in the year 1589, speaking of the species of short metre used in the minstrel-romances, for the convenience of being sung to the harp at feasts, and in *CAROLS* and *ROUNDS*, 'and such other light or 'lascivious poems which are commonly more commodiously uttered by 'those buffoons or Vices in playes than by any other person,' and in which the sudden return of the rhyme fatigues the ear, immediately subjoins: 'Such were the rimes of Skelton, being indeed but a rude 'rayling rimer, and all his doings ridiculous ; he used both short 'distances and short measures, pleasing only the popular care⁴.' And

¹ Pag. 44. P. Cop.

² Pag. 378. I am indebted to Dr. Percy for all the notices relating to this earl. See his Preface to the *HOUSEHOLD BOOK*, pag. xxi. seq.

³ Lib. ii. ch. ix. p. 69.

⁴ I am informed by a MSS. note in one of Mr. Oldys's books, that Skelton also wrote a poem called *TITUS AND GESIPPUS*. This I believe to be a mistake: for I suppose he attributes to Skelton, William Walter's poem on this subject, mentioned above. At the same time I take occasion to correct a mistake of my own, concerning that piece ; which I have inadvertently called, 'a translation from a Latin romance concerning the siege of Jerusalem.' *ibid.* Titus and Gesippus were famous for their friendship ; and their history forms an interesting novel in Boccacio, the substance of which is this. Gesippus, falling into poverty, thought himself despised by Titus : and thence growing weary of life, gave out that he was guilty of a murder just committed. But Titus knowing the true state of the case, and desiring to save the life of his friend by losing his own, charged himself with the murder : at which the real murtherer, who stood among the crowd at the trial, was so struck, that he confessed the fact. All three are saved ; and Titus, to repair the broken fortunes of Gesippus, gives him his sister

Meres, in his *PALLADIS TAMIA*, or *WIT'S TREASURY*, published in 1598. 'Skelton applied his wit to skurilities and ridiculous matters: 'such among the Greekes were called *pantomimi*, with us buffoons!'

Skelton's characteristic vein of humour is capricious and grotesque. If his whimsical extravagancies ever move our laughter, at the same time they shock our sensibility. His festive levities are not only vulgar and indelicate, but frequently want truth and propriety. His subjects are often as ridiculous as his metre: but he sometimes debases his matter by his versification. On the whole, his genius seems better suited to low burlesque, than to liberal and manly satire. It is supposed by Caxton, that he improved our language; but he sometimes affects obscurity, and sometimes adopts the most familiar phraseology of the common people.

He thus describes, in the *BOKE OF COLIN CLOUTE*, the pompous houses of the clergy.

Building royally
With turrets and with toures,
Strechinge to the starres;
Hangyng about the walles
Arras of ryche arraye,

Their mancyons, curiously
With halles, and with boures,
With glass windowes and barres:
Clothes of golde and palles;
Freshe as floures in Maye:

in marriage, with an ample dower. *BOCC. DECAM. NOV. viii. GIORN. x.* This is a frequent example of consummate friendship in our old poets. In the *FAERIE QUEENE*, they are placed in the temple of Venus among the celebrated Platonic friends of antiquity, *B. iv. c. x. st. 27.*

Myld Titus and Gesippus without pryde.

SONGES and SONNETTS written by E. G. At the end of lord Surrey's Works, fol. 114.

O friendship flour of flours, O lively sprite of life,
O sacred bond of blisful peace, the stalworth staunch of life!
Scipio with Lelius didst thou conjoin in care:—
GESIPPUS eke with TITE, Damon with Pythias;
And with Menethus sonne Achill by thee combynd was;

Euryalus and Nisus, &c. Boccacio borrowed the story of Titus and Gesippus from the *GESTA ROMANORUM*, or from Alphonsus, *FAB. ii.* There is another Latin history of these two friends, probably a translation from Boccacio by *FR. M. Bandello*, and printed at Milan in 1599. An exceedingly scarce book. 'Titi Romani et Hagesippi Atheniensis Historia in 'Latinum versa der Fr. Mattheum Bandellum Castronovensem. *MEDIOLANI, Apud Gotard 'de Ponte, 1509. 4to.'*

I take this opportunity of pointing out another source of Boccacio's *TALES*. Friar Philip's story of the GOOSE, or of the Young Man who had never seen a Woman, in the Prologue to the fourth day of the *DECAMERON*, is taken from a spiritual romance, called the *HISTORY OF BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT*. This fabulous narrative, in which Barlaam is a hermit and Josaphat a king of India, is supposed to have been originally written in Greek by Johannes Damascenus. The Greek is no uncommon MSS. See *MSS. LAUD. C. 72.* It was from the old Latin translation, which is mentioned by Vincent of Beavais, that it became a favorite in the dark ages. The Latin, which is also a common MSS. was printed so early as the year 1470. It has often appeared in French. A modern Latin version was published at Paris in 1577. The legendary historians, who believed every thing, and even Baronius, have placed Barlaam and Josaphat in their catalogues of confessours. Saint Barlaam and saint Josaphat occur in the *METRICAM. LIVES OF THE SAINTS. MSS. BODL. 72. fol. 288. b.* This history seems to have been composed by an oriental Christian: and, in some MSS., is said to have been brought by a monk of St. Saba into the holy city from Ethiopia. Among the Baracian MSS. there is an OFFICE in Greek for these two supposed saints. *Cod. xxi.*

There is a MSS. of some of Skelton's poems in the Cotton library: but the volume is so much damaged by fire, that they are almost illegible. (*Brit. Mus.] VITELL. E. x. 28.*

¹ Being the second part of *WIT'S COMMONWELTH*. By Francis Meres, maister of artes of both universities, London, printed by P. Short, &c. 1598.¹ 12mo. fol. 279. b. The first part is, '*POLITEUPHNEIA, Wit's Commonwealth*, for Nicholas Ling, 1698.¹ 12mo.

With dame Dyana naked ;
 And howe Cupide shaked
 For to shote a crowe
 And how Paris of Troye
 Made lustye sporte and toye
 With suche storyes by deen¹,
 With triumphes of Cesar, &c.—
 How they ryde in goodly chares
 With lauriat garlantes ;
 With their semely hornes ;
 Naked boyes striding,
 For prelates of estate
 From worldly wantonnes,
 With such parfyttness,
 How beit they lett down fall

How lystye Venus quaked
 His darte, and bente his bowe,
 At her tyrly tyrlowe :
 Dauned a *lege de moy*,
 With dame Helyn the queene :
 Their chambres wel be seene.
 Now² all the world stares
 Conveyed by olyphantes
 And by unycornes
 Upon these beastes riding
 With wanton wenches winkyng,—
 Their courage to abate ;
 Their chambers thus lo dres
 And all such holynes,
 Their churches cathedrall³.

These lines are in the best manner of his petty measure : which is made still more disgusting by the repetition of the rhymes. We should observe, that the satire is here pointed at the subject of these tapestries. The graver ecclesiastics, who did not follow the levities of the world, were contented with religious subjects, or such as were merely historical. Ross of Warwick, who wrote about the year 1460, relates, that he saw in the abbot's hall at St. Alban's abbey a suite of arras, containing a long train of incidents belonging to most romantic and pathetic story in the life of the Saxon king Offa, which that historian recites at large⁴.

¹ By the dozen.

² This is still a description of tapestry.

³ *The Boke of Colin Cloute*, p. 205. seq.

⁴ J. ROSS. WARWIC. HIST. REG. ANGL. edit. Hearne, p. 64. Hugh de Foliot, a canon regular of Picardy, so early as the year 1140, censures the magnificent houses of the bishops, with the sumptuous paintings, or tapestry, of their chambers, chiefly on the Trojan story. 'Episcopi domos non impares ecclesiis magnitudine construunt. Pictos delectantur habere thalamos : vestiuntur ibi imagines pretiosis colorum indumentis.—Trojanorum gestis paries, purpura atque auro vestitur.—Græcorum exercitui dantur arma. Hecori clypeus datur auro splendens, &c.' Bibl. Bodl. MSS. JAMES. ii. p. 203. But I believe the tract is published in the Works of a contemporary writer, Hugo de Sancto-Victore. Among the MSS. EPISTLES of Gilbert de Stone, a canon of Wells, and who flourished about the year 1360, there is a curious passage concerning the spirit for fox-hunting which anciently prevailed among our bishops. Reginald Bryan, bishop of Worcester, in 1352, thus writes to the bishop of St. David's. 'Reverende in Christo pater et domine, premissa recommendatione debita tanto patri. Illos optimos canes venaticos, duodecim ad minus, quibus non vidimus meliores, quos nuper, scitis, vestra REVERENDA PATERNITAS repromisit, quotidie expectamus. Languet namque cor nostrum, donec realiter ad manus nostras venerit repromissum.' He then owns his eagerness of expectation on this occasion to be sinful ; but observes, that it is the fatal consequence of that deplorable frailty which we all inherit from our mother Eve. He adds, that the foxes, in his manor of Alnechurch, and elsewhere, had killed most of his rabbits, many of his capons, and had destroyed six of his swans in one night. 'Veniant ergo, PATER REVERENDE, illæ sex Caniculorum copulæ, et non tardent, &c.' He then describes the very exquisite pleasure he shall receive, in hearing his woods echo with the cry of the hounds, and the music of the horns : and in seeing the trophies of the chase affixed to the walls of his palace. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. SUPER. D. I. ART. 123.—MSS. Cotton. VITELL. E. x. 17. [MSS. JAMES, xix. p. 139.]

From a want of the notions of common propriety and decorum, it is amazing to see the strange absurdities committed by the clergy of the middle ages, in adopting the laical character. Du Cange says, that the deans of many cathedrals in France entered on the dignities habited in a surplice, girt with a sword, in boots and gilt spurs, and a hawk on the fist. LATIN. GLOSS. V. DECANUS, tom. i. p. 1326. Ibid. p. 79. And tom. ii. p. 179. seq. Carpentier adds, that the treasures of some churches, particularly that of Nivernois, claimed the

In the poem, WHY COME YE NOT TO THE COURT, he thus satirises cardinal Wolsey, not without some tincture of humour.

He is set so hye	In his ierarchie ¹
Of frantike frenesy,	And folish fantasy,
That in chambre of stars ² ,	Al maters ther he mars,
Clapping his rod on the borde,	No man dare speake a worde :
For he hath al the saying	Without any renaying
He rolleth in his Recordes :	He saith, "how say ye my lordes ?

'Is not my reason good ?

'Good !—even good—*Robin-Hood !*—

Borne up on every syde	With pompe and with pryde,
With trump up alleluya ³	For dame Philargyria ⁴
Hath so his hart in hold, &c.—	Adew Philosophia !
Adew Theologia !	Welcome dame Simonia ⁵ ,
With dame Castimergia ⁶ ,	To drynke and for to eate
Swete ipocras, and swete meate ⁷	To keep his fleshe chaste,
In Lente, for his repaste	He eateth capons stewed,

privilege of assisting at mass, on whatever festival they pleased, without the canonical vestments, and carrying a hawk. And the lord of Sassay held some of his lands, by placing a hawk on the high altar of the church of Evreux, while his parish priest celebrated the service, booted and spurred, to the beat of drum, instead of the organ. SUPPL. tom. i. p. 32. Although their ideas of the dignity of the church were so high, yet we find them sometimes conferring the rank and title of secular nobility even on the saints. St. James was actually created a BARON at Paris. Thus Froissart, tom. iii. c. 30. 'Or eurent ils affection et devotion d'aller 'en pelcrinage au BARON St. Jaques.' And in Fabl. (tom. ii. p. 182.) cited by Carpentier, ubi. supr. p. 469.

Dame, dist il, et je me veu,	A dieu, et au BARON St. Leu,
Et s' irai BARON St. Jaques.	

Among the many contradictions of this kind, which entered into the system of these ages the institution of the Knights templars is not the least extraordinary. It was an establishment of armed monks ; who made a vow of living at the same time both as anchorets and soldiers.

¹ Hierarchy.

² The star-chamber.

In the *ster-chamber* he nods and becks.

³ The pomp in which he celebrates divine service.

⁴ Love of money.

⁵ Simony.

⁶ The true reading is CASTRIMARGIA, or *Gula concupiscentia*, Gluttony. From the Greek, Γαστριμαργία, Ingluvies, helluatio. Not an uncommon word in the monkish latinity. Du Cange cites an old Litany of the tenth century, 'A Spiritu CASTRIMARGIÆ *Libera nos domine !*' LAT. GLOSS. i. p. 398. Carpentier adds, among other examples, from the statutes of the Cistercian order, 1375, 'Item, cum propter detestabile CASTRIMARGIÆ vitium in labyrinthum vitiourum descendatur, &c.' SUPPL. tom. i. p. 862.

⁷ I have before spoken of Hypocras, or spiced wine. I add here, that the spice, for this mixture, was served, often separately, in what they called a spice-plate. So Froissart, describing a dinner in the castle of Thoulouse, at which the king of France was present. 'After dyner, they toke other pastymes in a great chambre, and hereyng of instruments, wherein the erle of Foiz greatly delyted. Than WINE and SPYCES was brought. The erle of Her-court served the kyng of his SPICE-PLATE. And sir Gerard de la Pyen served the duke of 'Burbone. And sir Monaunt of Noailles served the erle of Foiz, &c.' This was about the year 1360. CHRON. tom. ii. cap. 164. f. 184. a. Again, ibid. cap. 100. f. 114. a. 'The kynge 'alyghted at his palis [of Westminster] whiche was redie apparelled for him. There the 'kynge DRANKE and TOKE SPYCES, and his uncles also : and other prelates, lordes, and 'knyghtes.' Lord Berners's TRANSL. In the Computus of Maxtoke priory an. 1447, we have this entry, 'Item pro vino cretico cum speciebus et confectis catis diversis generosis in die sancti Dionysii quando *Le fole* domini Monfordes erat hic, et faceret jocositates suas in 'camera orioli.' Here, I believe, *vinum creticum* is raisin-wine, or wine made of dried grapes ; and the meaning of the whole seems to be this. 'Paid for raisin wine with comfits and spices, 'when sir S. Montford's FOOL was here, and exhibited his merriments in the oriel-chamber.' With regard to one part of the entry, we have again, 'Item, extra cameram vocatam *le gestis 'chamber*, erat una lintheamina furata in die sancti Georgii Martiris quando *le fole* de Mon-FORDES erat hic.'

Fesaunt and partriche mewed :—

Spareth neyther mayd ne wife, This is a postel's life¹ !

The poem called the *BOUGE OF COURT*, or the *Rewards of a court*, is in the manner of a pageant, consisting of seven personifications. Here our author in adopting the more grave and stately movement of the seven lined stanza², has shewn himself not always incapable of exhibiting allegorical imagery with spirit and dignity. But his comic vein predominates

RYOTTE is thus forcibly and humourously pictured.

With that came RYOTTE rushing al at ones,
A-rustie galande³, to ragged and to rente⁴ ;
And on the borde he whirled a paire of bones⁵,
Quater treye dewes he clattered as he went :
Nowe have at all by St. Thomas of Kente⁶,
And ever he threwe, and kyst⁷ I wote nere what :
His here was growen thorowe out of his hat.

Than I behylde how he dysgyssed was ;
His hedd was heavy for watchinge over night,
His eyen blered, his face shone like a glas ;
His gowne so shorte, that it ne cover myght
His rompe, he went so all for somer light ;
His hose was gardyd with a lyste of grene⁸,
Yet at the knee they broken were I ween.

His cote was checkerd with patches rede and blewe,
Of Kyrkbye Kendall⁹ was his short demye¹⁰ ;

¹ An apostle's, p. 147. He afterwards insinuates, that the Cardinal had lost an eye by the French disease : and that *Balthasar*, who had cured of the same disorder *Domingo Lowelyn*, one who had won much money of the king at cards and *hasarding*, was employed to recover the cardinal's eye, p. 175. In the *Boke of Colin Clout*, he mentions the cardinal's mule. 'Wyth golde all be trapped,' p. 188.

² But in this stanzas he sometimes relapses into the absurdities of his favourite style of composition. For instance, in *SPEAKE PARROT*, p. 97.

Albertus de modo significandi,	And Donatus, be dryven out of schole ;
Prisians hed broken now handy dandy,	And <i>Interdidascalos</i> is returned for a fole :
Alexander a gander of Menander's pole,	
With <i>da Cansales</i> is cast out of the gate,	And <i>da Racionales</i> dare not show his pate.

Here, by *da Cansales*, he perhaps means *Concilia*, or the canon law. By *da Racionales* he seems to intend *Logic*. Albertus is the author of the *MARGARITA POETICA*, a collection of Flores from the classics and other writers, printed at Nuremberg, 1472. fol. Ingulphus says, in Croyland abbey library, there were many *Caton*es and *DONATI*, in the year 1091. *HIST. CROYL. Ingulph.* Script. Vet. i. p. 104. And that no person was admitted into the college of Boissy at Paris, founded in 1358, 'nisi *DONATUM* aut *Catonem* didicerit.' *Bul. HIST. UNIV. PARIS.* tom. iv. p. 355. *INTERDIDASCALOS* is the name of an old grammar. Alexander was a schoolmaster at Paris about the year 1290, author of the *DOCTRINALE PUERORUM*, which for some centuries continued to be the most favorite manual of grammar used in schools, and was first printed at Venice in the year 1473. It is compiled from *Priscian* and in *Leonine* verse. *Henr. Gandav. SCRIPTOR. ECCLES.* cap. lix. This admired system has been loaded with glosses and lucubrations : but, on the authority of an ecclesiastical synod, it was superseded by the *COMMENTARIJ GRAMMATICI* of *Despauterius*, in 1512. It was printed in England as early as the year 1503, by *W. de Worde*. *Barklay*, in the *SHIP OF FOOL*es, mentions Alexander's book, which he calls 'The *olde DOCTRINALL*' with his diffuse and unperfitte brevitee.

³ Galant. ⁴ All over tatters and rags.

⁵ Dice.

⁶ Thomas Becket.

⁷ Cast. He threw I know not what.

⁸ There was an affectation of smartness in the training of his hose.

Yet, &c.

⁹ *KENDALL-GREEN*, in the Glossary to Shakespeare, edit. 1771.

¹⁰ Doublet. Jacket.

And aye he sange *gayth decon thou crewe* :
 His elbowe bare, he ware his gere so nye¹ :
 His nose droppinge, his lippes were full drye :
 And by his syde his whynarde, and his pouche,
 The devyll myght dance therin for any crouche².

There is also merit in the delineation of DISSIMULATION, in the same poem : and is not unlike Ariosto's manner in imagining these allegorical personages.

Than in his hode I sawe there faces tweyne ;
 That one was lene and lyke a pyned ghost,
 That other loked as he wolde me have slayne :
 And to me ward as he gan for to coost,
 Whan that he was even at me almoost,
 I sawe a knyfe hid in his one sleve,
 Whereon was wryten this worde MISCHEVE.

And in his other sleve methought I sawe
 A spone of golde, full of hony swete,
 To feed a fole, and for to prey a daw³, &c.

The same may be observed of the figure of DISDAYNE.

He looked hawtie, he sette eche man at nought ;
 His gawdy garment with scornes was al wrought,
 With indignacyon lyned was his hode ;
 He frowned as he wolde swere by cockes blode⁴.

He bote⁵ the lyppe, he loked passynge coye ;
 His face was belymmed, as bees had hym stounge :
 It was no tyme with hym to jape nor toye,
 Envye hath wasted his lyver and his lounge ;
 Hatred by the herte so had hym wrounge,
 That he loked pale as ashes to my syghte :
 DISDAYNE, I wene, this comberous crab is hyghte.—

Forthwith he made on me a proude assawte,
 With scornfull loke movyd all in mode⁶ ;
 He wente about to take me in a fawte,

¹ His coat-sleeve was so short.

² Page 70. The devil might dance in his purse without meeting with a single sixpence. CROUCHE is *Cross*, a piece of money so called, from being marked with the cross. Hence the old phrase, *to cross the hand*, for, *to give money*. In Chaucer's *MARCHAUNT'S TALE*, when January and May are married, it is said the priest '*Crouchid* them, and bad god should 'them bless,' v. 1223, Urr. That is, '*He crossed* the new-married couple, etc.' In the poem before us, RYOTTE says, '*I have no coyne nor crosse*,' p. 72. Carpentier mentions a coin, called in Latin *CROSATUS*, and in old French *CROSAT*, from being marked with the Cross. Hence *CROISAGE*, Fr. for *TRIBUTE*. V. *CROSATUS*. SUPPL. Du Cange, LAT. GLOSS. tom. i. p. 1208. In Shakespeare's *TIMON OF ATHENS*, Flavius says,

More jewels yet ! There is no CROSSING him in's humour,
 Else I should tell him—well—if aith I should,
 When all's spent he'd be CROSS'D then if he could.—

Act i. Sc. iv. That is, not *thwarting* him in his humour, but giving him money. Yet a jingle is intended. So in *AS YOU LIKE IT*, ii. iv. 'Yet I should bear no CROSS if I did bear 'you ; for I think you have no *money* in your purse.' A *CRUZADOE*, a Portuguese coin, occurs in Seakespeare.

³ To catch a silly bird.

⁴ The Host's oath in *Lydgate*.

⁵ Bitt.

⁶ In anger.

He fround, he stared, he stamped where he stoode :
 I loke on hym, I wende¹ he had be woode² :
 He set the arme proudly under the syde,
 And in this wyse he gan with me chyde³.

In the CROWNE OF LAWRELL our author attempts the higher poetry : but he cannot long support the tone of solemn description. These are some of the most ornamented and poetical stanzas. He is describing a garden belonging to the superb palace of FAME.

In an herber I sawe brought where I was ;
 The byrdes on the brere sange on every syde,
 With aleys ensandyd about in compas,
 The bankes enturfed with singular solas⁴,
 Enrailed with rosers⁵, and vines engraped ;
 It, was a new comfort of sorrowes escaped.

In the middes a cundite, that curiously was cast
 With pypes of golde, engushing out streames
 Of cristall, the clerenes these waters far past,
 Enswimminge with roches, barbilles, and breames,
 Whose skales ensilvered again the son beames,
 Englisterd

.

Where I sawe growyng a goodly laurell tre,
 Enverdured with leave, continually grene ;
 Above in the top a byrde of Araby,
 Men call a phenix : hes winges bytwene
 She bet up a fyre with the sparkes full kene,
 With braunches and bowes of the swete olyve,
 Whose fragraunt flower was chefe preservative

Ageynst all infections with rancour enflamed :
 * * * * *

It passed all baumes that ever were named,
 Or gummies of Saby, so derely that be solde :
 There blewe in that garden a soft piplynge colde,
 Enbrething of Zephirus, with his pleasaunt wynde ;
 Al frutes and flowers grew there in their kynde.

Dryades there daused upon that goodly soile,
 With the nyne Muses, Pierides by name ;
 Phillis and Testelis, there tresses with oyle
 Were newly enbibed : And, round about the same
 Grene tre of laurell, moche solacious game
 They made, with chaplettes and garlandes grene ;
 And formost of al dame Flora the quene ;

Of somer so formally she foted the daunces ;
 There Cinthius sat, twinklyng upon his harpestrings :

¹ Weened. Thought.

² Mad.

³ P. 69.

⁴ It was surrounded with sand-walks.

⁵ Rose-trees. Chaucer's ROM. R. v. 1651. seq.

The ruddy *rosary*,

The pretty *rosemary*, etc.

And Jopas his instrument dyd avaunce,
The poemes and stories auntyent in bringes
Of Atlas astrology, &c.— —

Our author supposes, that in the wall surrounding the palace of FAME were a thousand gates, new and old, for the entrance and egress of all nations. One of the gates is called ANGLIA, on which stood a leopard. There is some boldness and animation in the figure and attitude of this ferocious animal.

The buyldyng thereof was passing commendable ;
Whereon stode a lybbard crowned with gold and stones,
Terrible of continuaunce and passing formidable,
As quickly¹ touched as it were fleshe and bones,
As ghastly that glaris². as grimly that grones.
As fiersely frownyng as he had ben fyghtyng,
And with firme fote he shoke forthe his whytynge.

Skelton, in the course of his allegory, supposes that the *poets laureate*, or learned men, of all nations, were assembled before Pallas. This groupe shews the authors, both ancient and modern, then in vogue. Some of them are quaintly characterised. They are, first,—*Olde Quintilian*, not with his Institutes of eloquence, but with his Declamations : *Theocritus*, with his *bucolicall relations* : *Hesiod*, the *Icononucar*³ : *Homer*, the *freshe historiar* : *The prince of eloquence*, *Cicero* : *Sallust*, who wrote both the *history* of *Catiline* and *Jugurth* : *Ovid*, *enshrined with the Musys nyne* : *Lucan*⁴ : *Statius*, writer of *Achilleidos* : *Persius*, with *problems diffuse* : *Virgil*, *Juvenac*, *Livy* : *Ennius*, *who wrote of marciall warre* : *Aulus Gellius*, that *noble historiar* : *Horace*, with his *New Poetry*⁵ : *Maister Terence*, the *famous comicar*, with *Plautus* : *Seneca*, the *tragedian* : *Boethius* : *Maximian*, *with his madde dities how dotyng age wolde jape with young foly*⁶ : *Boccacio*, *with his volumes grete* : *Quintus Curtius* : *Macrobius*, who treated of *Scipion's dreame* : *Poggius Florentinus*,

¹ With as much life.

² Glares.

³ I cannot decypher this appellation.

⁴ The following passage occurs in *Lydgate's PROLOGUE to the LYFF AND PASSIOUN of the blessed Martyr seynt Alboon* [Alban] *and seynt Amphibalus*, written in 1439. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon, Num. xxxviii. fol. 1. a. [Never printed.]

I not acquyented with Muses of Mars,
Nor with sugred dityes of Cicero,

Nor with metris of LUCAN nor Virgile,
Nor of Omere to folowe the fressh style.

And again, speaking of *Julius Cæsar*, *Lydgate* refers to *Lucan's PHARSALIA*, which he calls the 'Records of *Lucan*,' *ibid.* fol. 2. b. *Peter de Blois*, in writing to a professor at Paris, about the year 1170, says, '*Priscianus, et Tullius, Lucanus, et Persius, isti sunt dii vestri.*' *EPISTOL.* iv. fol. 3, edit. 1517, fol. *Eberhardus Bethuniensis*, called *GRÆCISTA*, a philologist who wrote about the year 1130, in a poem on *VERSIFICATION*, says of *Philip Gualtier*, author of a popular epic poem called *ALEXANDREIS*, that he *shines with the light of LUCAN*. '*Lucet Alexander Lucani luce.*' And of *Lucan* he observes, '*Metro lucidior canit.*' It is easy to conceive why *Lucan* should have been a favorite in the dark ages.

⁵ That is, *HORACE'S ART OF POETRY*. *Vinesauf* wrote *DE NOVA POETRIA*. *HORACE'S ART* is frequently mentioned under this title.

⁶ His six *Elegies De incommodis senectutis*. See *supr.* p. 168. *Reinesius* thinks that *Maximian* was the bishop of *Syracuse*, in the seventh century : a most intimate friend, and the secretary, of pope *Gregory the Great*. *EPIST.* ad *Daum.* p. 207. These *Elegies* contain many things superior to the taste of that period.

with many a *mad tale*¹: a friar of France *syr* Gaguine, who frowned on me *full angrily*²: Plutarch and Petrarch, two *famous clarkes*: Lucilius, Valerius Maximus, Propertius, Pisander³, and Vincentius Bellovacensis, who wrote the SPECULUM HISTORIALE. The catalogue is closed by Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, who first adorned the English language⁴: in allusion to which part of their characters, their apparel is said to shine beyond the power of description, and their tabards to be studded with diamonds and rubies. That only these three English poets are here mentioned, may be considered as a proof, that only these three were yet thought to deserve the name.

No writer is more unequal than Skelton. In the midst of a page of the most wretched ribaldry, we sometimes are surprized with three or four nervous and manly lines, like these.

Ryott and Revell be in your court roubles,
Mayntenaunce and Mischeffe these be men of myght,
Extorcyon is counted with you for a knyght.

Skelton's modulation in the octave stanzas is rough and inharmonious. The following are the smoothest lines in the poem before us; which yet do not equal the liquid melody of Lydgate, whom he here manifestly attempts to imitate.

Lyke as the larke upon the somers daye,
When Titan radiant burnisheth his bemes bright,
Mounteth on hye, with her melodious laye,
Of the son shyne engladed with the light.

The following little ode deserves notice; at least as a specimen of the structure and phraseology of a love-sonnet about the close of the fifteenth century.

¹ Poggius flourished about the year 1450. By his *mad tales*, Skelton means his FACETIÆ, a set of comic stories, very licentious and very popular. Poggius's WORKS by Thomas Aucuparius, fol. Argentorat, 1513, f. 157.—184. The obscenity contained in these compositions gave great offence, and fell under the particular censure of the Learned Laurentius Valla. The objections of Valla, Poggius attempts to obviate; by saying, that Valla was a clown, a cynic, and a pedant, without any ideas of wit or elegance: and that the FACETIÆ were universally esteemed in Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, and all countries that cultivate pure Latinity. Poggius's INVECTIVA. Invectiva in Laurent. Vallam, f. 82, b. edit. ut supr.

² Robert, or Rupert, Gaguin, a German, minister general of the Maturines, who died at Paris 1502. His most famous work is COMPENDIUM SUPER FRANCORUM GESTIS, from Pharamond to the author's age. He has written, among many other pieces, Latin orations and poems, printed at Paris in 1498. The history of Skelton's quarrel with him is not known. But he was in England, as ambassador from the king of France, in 1490. He was a particular friend of dean Colet.

³ Our author got the name of Pisander, a Greek poet, from Macrobius, who cites a few of his verses.

⁴ In the *boke of Philip Sparow*, he says, *Gower's Englyshe is old*, but that Chaucer's *Englyshe is wel allowed*: he adds, that Lydgate writes *after an hyer rate*, and that he has been censured for his elevation of phrase; but acknowledges, 'No man can amend those matters that he hath pend.' p. 237. In Rastall's TERENS, in ENGLISH, printed in the reign of Henry VIII., these three are mentioned in the Prologue, which is in stanzas, as the only English poets. Without date, 4to.

TO MAISTRESS MARGARY WENTWORTH,

With margerain¹ gentill
Enbrawdred the mantill
Plainly I can not glose³;
The praty primerose,

The flower of goodly hede²
Is of your mayenhede.
Yet be, as I devine⁴,
With goodly columbyne.

With margerain gentill, &c.

Benyne, courteis, and meke,
In you, who lyst to seke,
With margerain gentill,
Embrawdred the mantill

With wordes well devised;
Be⁵ vertues well comprysed⁶.
The flowre of goodly hede,
Is of your maydenhede.

For the same reason this stanza in a sonnet to *Maistress Margaret Hussey* deserves notice.

Mirry Margaret
Gentyll as faucon,

As Midsomer flowre,
Or hawke of the towre⁷.

As do the following flowery lyrics, in a sonnet addressed to *Maistress Isabell Pennel*.

— — Your colowre
After the April showre,
The blossome on the spraye,
Madenly demure,

Is lyke the daisy flowre,
Sterre of the morowe graye!
The freshest flowre of Maye!
Of womanhede the lure! &c.

But Skelton most commonly appears to have mistaken his genius, and to write in a forced character, except when he is indulging his native vein of satire and jocularly, in the short minstrel-metre above-mentioned: which he mars by a multiplied repetition of rhymes, arbitrary abbreviations of the verse, cant expressions, hard and sounding words newly-coined, and patches of Latin and French. This anomalous and motley mode of versification is, I believe, supposed to be peculiar to our author⁸. I am not, however, quite certain that it originated with Skelton.

About the year 1512, Martin Coccaie of Mantua, whose true name was Theophilo Folengio, a Benedictine monk of Casino in Italy, wrote a poem entitled PHANTASIE MACARONICÆ, divided into twenty-five parts. This is a burlesque Latin poem, in heroic metre, chequered with Italian and Tuscan words, and those of the plebian character, yet

¹ *Margerain*, the herb Marjoram. Chaucer, ASS. LAD. 56.

And upon that a potte of MARGELAIN.

² Goodlihed. Goodness.

³ I truth, I cannot flatter or deceive. Or, *glose* may be, simply to *write*.

⁴ As I imagine. So Chaucer, NON. PR. T. 1381.

I can noon harme of no woman *divine*.

⁵ Are.

⁶ F. 39.

⁷ F. 41. In the king's mews in the tower.

⁸ I have given specimens. But the following passage in the *Boke of Colin Clout* affords an apposite example at one view, p. 186.

Of suche vagabundus
How some syng let abundus, &c.
Qui manent in villis,
Welcome Jacke and Gilla,
And you will be stilla
Of such pater noster pekes

Speaketh *totus mundus*.
Cum ipsis et illis
Est uxor vel ancilla,
My pretty Petronilla,
You shall have your willa:
All the worlde spekes.

not destitute of prosodical harmony. It is totally satirical, and has some degree of drollery ; but the ridicule is too frequently founded on obscene or vulgar ideas. Prefixed is a similar burlesque poem called ZANITONELLA, or the Amours of Tonellus and Zanina¹ : and a piece is subjoined, with the title of MOSCHEA, or the War with the Flies and the Ants. The author died in 1544², but these poems, with the addition of some epistles and epigrams, in the same style, did not, I believe, appear in print before the year 1554³. Coccaie is often cited by Rabelais, a writer of a cogenial cast⁴. The three last books, containing a description of hell, are a parody on part of Dante's INFERNO. In the preface of APOLOGETICA, our author gives an account of this new species of poetry, since called the MACARONIC, which I must give in his own words. 'Ars ista poetica nuncupatur Ars MACARONICA, a *Macaronibus* derivata ; qui *Macarones* sunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, caseo, butyro compaginatum, grossum, rude, et rusticatum. Ideo MACARONICA, nil nisi grossedinem, ruditatem et VOCABULAZZOS, debet in se continere⁵.' Vavassor observes, that Coccaie in Italy, and Antonius de Arena in France, were the two first, at least the chief, authors of the semi-latin burlesque poetry⁶. As to Antonius de Arena, he was a civilian of Avignon ; and wrote, in the year 1519, a Latin poem in elegiac verses, ridiculously interlarded with French words and phrases. It is addressed to his fellow-students, or, in his own words, *Ad suos compaignones studentes, qui sunt de persona friantes, bassas, dansas, in galanti stilo bisognatas, cum guerra Romana, totum ad longum sine require, et cum guerra Neapolitana, et cum revoluta Genuensi, et guerra Avenionensi, et epistola ad folotissimam garsam pro passando lo tempos⁷.* I have gone out of my way, to mention these two obscure writers⁸ with so much particularity, in order to observe, that Skelton, their cotemporary, probably copied their manner : at least to shew, that this singular mode of versification was at this

¹ Perhaps formed from Zanni, or Giovanni, a foolish character on the Italian stage. Riccoboni, THEATR. ITAL. ch. ii. p. 14. seq.

² Life, Jac. Phil. Ehomasin's Elog. Patav. 1644. 4to. p. 71.

³ At Venice, 8vo. Again, 1564. And, 1613. 8vo. These are the only editions I have seen of Coccaie's work. De Bure says, the first edition was in 1517. See his curious catalogue of *Poetes Latins modernes faciet eux, vulgairement appellees MACARONIQUES*. BIBL. INSTRUCT. Bel. Lett. tom. i. §. 6. p. 445. seq.

⁴ Liv. iv. c. 13. ii. i. xl. 3.

⁵ Manag. DICTION. ETYMOLOG. ORIG. Lang. Franc. edit. 1694. p. 462. V. MACARONS. And Oct. Ferrarius, ORIG. ITALIC.

⁶ DICT. LUDR. p. 453.

⁷ I believe one of the most popular of Arena's Macaronic poems, is his MEIGRA *Enterprisa Catilogni Imperatoris*, printed at Avignon in 1537. It is an ingenious pasquinade on Charles the fifth's expedition into France. The date of the Macaronic Miscellany, in various languages, entitled, *MACHARONEA VARIA*, and printed in the Gothic character, without place, is not known. The authors are anonymous ; and some of the pieces are little comedies intended for representation. There is a Macaronic poem in hexameters, called *POLEMO-MIDDINIA* by Drummond of Hawthornden, printed with Notes, and a preface on this species of poetry, by Gibson at Oxford, 1691. 4to.

⁸ Erythraeus mentions Bernardinus Stephonius as writing in this way. PINACOTH. i. p. 160. See also some poems in Baudius, which have a mixture of the Greek and Latin languages : and which others have imitated, in German and Latin.

time fashionable, not only in England, but also in France and Italy. Nor did it cease to be remembered in England, and as a species of poetry thought to be founded by Skelton, till even so late as the close of queen Elizabeth's reign. As appears from the following poem on the SPANISH ARMADA, which is filled with Latin words.

A SKELTONICALL salutation,	Or condigne gratulation,
And just vexation,	Of the Spanish nation ;
That in a bravado	Spent many a crusado,
In setting forth the armado	England to envado, &c ¹ .

But I must not here forget, that Dunbar, a Scotch poet of Skelton's own age, already mentioned, wrote in this way. His TESTAMENT OF MAISTER ANDRO KENNEDY, which represents the character of an idle dissolute scholar, and ridicules the funeral ceremonies of the Romish communion, has almost every alternate line composed of the formularies of a Latin Will, and shreds of the breviary, mixed with what the French call *Latin de cuisine*². There is some humour, arising from these burlesque applications, in the following stanzas³.

In die meæ scpultura,
 I will have nane but our awin gang⁴,
Et duos rusticos de rure,
 Berand ane barrell on a stang⁵;
 Drinkand and playand cap out, even
Sicut egomet solebam;
 Singand and greitand with the stevin⁶,
Potum meum cum fletu miscebam.

I will no priestis for me sing,	<i>Dies ille, dies iræ⁷;</i>
Nar yet no bellis for me ring	<i>Sicut semper solet fieri;</i>
But a bag-pyp to play a spring,	<i>Et unum ale-wisp ante me,</i>
Instead of torchis, for to bring,	<i>Quatour lagenas cervisiæ</i>

¹ Printed at Oxford by Joseph Barnes, 1589. 4to. See also a doggrel piece of this kind, in imitation of Skelton, introduced into Browne's SHEPHERD'S PIPE, Lond. 1614. 8vo. Perhaps this way of writing is ridiculed by Shakespeare, MERRY W. OF WINDS. A. ii. Sc. i. Where Falstaffe says, 'I will not say, Pity me, 'tis not a soldier's phrase, but I say love me: by me

'Thine own true knight, by day or night, Or any kind of light, with all his might
 With thee to fight.—'

See also the Interlude of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, In the MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. Often printed separately in qto, as a droll for Bartholomew fair, under the title of BOTTOM THE WEAVER. Skelton, however, seems to have retained his popularity till late. For the first part of T. Heywood's twofold play on the earlof Huntingdon, entitled, 'Robert earl of Huntingdon's downfall, afterwards called Robin Hood of merry Sherwoode, with his love to 'chaste Matilda the lorde Fitzwater's daughter, afterwards his fair maid Marian,' acted by lord Nottingham's players, add printed in qto. at London, in 1601, is introduced by JOHN SKELTON, *poet laureat to king Henry VIII.* The second part, printed with the former, is introduced by FRYAR TUCK, with whom I am less acquainted. Friar Tuck is, however, mentioned in Skelton's play of MAGNIFICENCE. f. 5. b.

Another bade shave halfe my berde,	And boyes to the pylery gan me plucke,
And wolde have made me FREER TUCKE	To perche oute of the pylery hole.

² ANT. SCOTTISH POEMS, Edinb. 1770. p. 35. And the Notes of the learned and ingenious editor; who says, that Dunbar's DERGE is a most profane parody on the popish litanies. p. 243.

³ Str. xiii. xiv.

⁴ My own merry companions.

⁵ A stake.

⁶ With that verse, or stanza, in the Psalms, 'I have mingled my drink with weeping.'

⁷ A hymn on the resurrection in the missal, sung at funerals.

Within the graif to sett, fit thing, *In modum crucis juxta me,*
 To fle the feyndis¹, then hardly sing
*De terra plasmasti me*².

We must, however, acknowledge, that Skelton, notwithstanding his scurrility, was a classical scholar; and in that capacity, he was tutor to prince Henry, afterwards king Henry VIII.: at whose accession to the throne, he was appointed the royal orator. He is styled by Erasmus, 'Britannicarum literatum decus et lumen'³. His Latin elegiacs are pure, and often unmixed with the monastic phraseology; and they prove, that if his natural propensity to the ridiculous had not more frequently seduced him to follow the whimsies of Walter Mapes and Goliass⁴, than to copy the elegancies of Ovid, he would have appeared among the first writers of Latin poetry in England at the general restoration of literature. Skelton could not avoid acting as a buffoon in any language, or any character.

I cannot quit Skelton, of whom I yet fear too much has been already said, without restoring to the public notice a play, or MORALITY, written by him, not recited in any catalogue of his works, or annals of English typography; and, I believe, at present totally unknown to the antiquarians in this sort of literature. It is, *The NIGRAMANSIR, a morall ENTERLUDE and a pithie written by Maister SKELTON laureate and plaid before the king and other estatys at Woodstoke on Palme Sunday*. It was printed by Wynkin de Worde in a thin quarto, in the year 1504⁵. It must have been presented before king Henry VII., at

¹ Instead of a cross on my grave to keep off the devil.

² A verse in the Psalms. See other instances in Dunbar, *ibid.* p. 73. In George Bannatyne's MSS. collection of old Scotch poetry are many examples of this mixture: the impropriety of which was not perhaps perceived by our ancestors. *Ibid.* p. 268. See a very ludicrous specimen in Harsenet's DETECTION. p. 156. Where he mentions a witch who has learned of 'an old wife in a chimnies end *Pax, max, fax*, for a spell; or can say sir John of Grantam's 'curse for the miller's eeles that were stolne.

'All you that stolen the miller's eeles,

'Laudate dominum de cælis,

'And all they that have consented thereto,

'Benedicamus domino.'

See a poem on Becket's martyrdom, in Wasse's BIBL. LITER. Num. i. p. 39. Lond. 1722. 4to. Hither we must refer the old Caroll on the BOAR'S HEAD, Hearne's SPICILEG. ad Gul. Neubrig. HIST. vol. iii. p. 740. Some of the metrical hymns in the French FETE DE ANE are in Latin and French. MERCURE DE FRANCE, Avril. 1725. p. 724. *suiv.*

³ OP. p. 1019. 1021.

⁴ These two writers are often confounded. James says, that Goliass was not a name adopted by Mapes: but that there was a real writer of that name, a collection of whose works he had seen. See MSS. [Bibl. Bodl.] JAMES, i. p. 320. Goliass and Mapes appear to have been contemporaries, and of a similar genius. The curious reader will find many extracts from their poetry, which has very great merit in its way, among James's MSS. collections. The facility of these old Latin rhymers is amazing: and they have a degree of humour and elegance far exceeding their age.

⁵ My lamented friend Mr. William Collins, whose ODES will be remembered while any taste for true poetry remains, shewed me this piece at Chichester, not many months before his death: and pointed it out as a very rare and valuable curiosity. He intended to write the HISTORY OF THE RESTORATION OF LEARNING UNDER LEO THE TENTH, and with a view to that design, had collected many scarce books. Some few of these fell into my hands at his death. The rest, among which, I suppose, was this ENTERLUDE, were dispersed.

In the Mystery of MARIE MAGDALENE, written in 1512, a *Heathen* is introduced celebrating

the royal manor or palace, at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, now destroyed. The characters are a Necromancer, or conjurer, the devil, a notary public, Simonie¹, and Philargyria², or Avarice. It is partly a satire on some abuses in the church; yet not without a due regard to decency, and an apparent respect for the dignity of the audience. The story, or plot, is the tryal of SIMONY and AVARICE: the devil is the judge, and the notary public acts as an assessor or scribe. The prisoners, as we may suppose, are found guilty, and ordered into hell immediately. There is no sort of propriety in calling this play the Necromancer: for the only business and use of this character, is to open the subject in a long prologue, to evoke the devil, and summon the court. The devil, kicks the necromancer, for waking him so soon in the morning: a proof, that this drama was performed in the morning, perhaps in the chapel of the palace. A variety of measures, with shreds of Latin and French, is used: but the devil speaks in the octave stanza. One of the stage-directions is, *Enter Balscub with a Berde*. To make him both frightful and ridiculous, the devil was most commonly introduced on the stage, wearing a visard with an immense beard³. Philargyria

the service of *Mahound*, who is called *Saracenorum fortissimus*; in the midst of which, he reads a Lesson from the Alcoran, consisting of gibberish, much in the metre and manner of Skelton. MSS. Digb. 133.

¹ Simonie is introduced as a person in SIR PENNY, an old Scottish poem, written in 1527, by Stewart of Lorne. ANTIEN SCOTTISH POEMS. Edinb. 1770. 8vo. p. 154.

So wily cansyr Peter wink, And als sir SYMONY has servand,
That now is gydar of the kyrk

And again, in an ancient anonymous Scottish poem, *ibid.* p. 253. At a feast, to which many disorderly persons are invited, among the rest are,

And twa lerit men thairby, Schir Ochir and schir SIMONY.

That is, sir Usury and sir Simonie. SIMONY is also a character in Pierce Plowman's VISIONS. Pass. sec. fol. viii. b. edit. 1550. Wickliffe, who flourished about the year 1350, thus describes the state of Simonie in his time. 'Some lords, to colouren their Symony, wole not take for themselves but keverchiefs for the lady, or a palfray, or a tun of wine. And when some lords wolden present a good man and able, for love of god and cristen souls, than some ladies been means to have a dancer, a tripper on tapits, or hunter or hawker, or a wild player of summers gamenes, &c.' MSS. C. C. C. Cant. O. 161. 148. There is an old poem on this subject, MSS. Bodl. 48.

² Robert Crowley, a great reformer, of whom more hereafter, wrote 'The Fable of PHILARGYRIA the great giant of Great Britain, what houses were builded, and lands appointed, for his provision, &c.' 1551. 4to.

³ Thus in Turpin's HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE, the Saracens appear, 'Habentes LARGAS BARBATAS, cornutas, DEMONIBUS consimiles.' c. xviii. And in LEWIS THE EIGHTH, an old French romance of Philip Mouskes.

J ot apries lui une barboire, Com diable cornu et noire.

There was a species of masquerade celebrated by the ecclesiastics in France, called the SHEW OF BEARDS, entirely consisting of an exhibition of the most formidable beards. Gregory of Tours says, that the abbess of Poictou was accused for suffering one of these shews, called a BARBATORIA, to be performed in her monastery. HIST. lib. x. c. vi. In the EPISTLES of Peter de Blois we have the following passage. 'Regis curiam sequuntur assidue histriones, candidatrices, aleatores, dulcorarii, caupones, nebulatores, mimi, BARBATOIRES, balatrones, et hoc genus omne.' EPIST. xiv. Where, by *Barbatoires*, we are not to understand *Barbers*, but mimics, or buffoons, disguised in huge bearded masks. In Don Quixote, the barber who personates the squire of the princess Micomicona, wears one of these masks, 'una gran barba, &c.' Part. prim. c. xxvi. l. 3. And the countess of Trifaldi's squire has 'la mas larga, la mas horrida, &c.' Part. seq. c. xxxvi. l. 8. OBSERVAT. ON SPENSER, vol. i. p. 24. SECT. ii.

About the eleventh century, and long before, beards were looked upon by the clergy as a secular vanity; and accordingly were worn by the laity only. Yet in England this distinction

quotes Seneca and St. Austin : and Simony offers the devil a bribe. The devil rejects her offer with much indignation : and swears by the *foule Eumenides*, and the hoary beard of Charon, that she shall be well fried and roasted in the unfathomable sulphur of Cocytus, together with Mahomet, Pontius Pilate, the traitor Judas, and king Herod. The last scene is closed with a view of hell, and a dance between the devil and the necromancer. The dance ended, the devil trips up the necromancer's heels, and disappears in fire and smoke¹. Great must have been the edification and entertainment which Henry VII. and his court derived from the exhibition of so elegant and rational a drama ! The royal taste for dramatic representation seems to have suffered a very rapid transition : for in the year 1520, *a goodlie comedie of Plautus* was played before Henry VIII. at Greenwich². I have before mentioned Skelton's play of *MAGNIFICENCE*³.

'The only copy of Skelton's moral comedy of *MAGNIFICENCE*

seems to have been more rigidly observed than in France. Malmesbury says, that king Harold, at the Norman invasion, sent spies into Duke William's camp : who reported, that most of the French army were priests, because their faces were shaved. *HIST. lib. iii. p. 56. b. edit. Savil. 1596.* The regulation remained among the English clergy at least till the reign of Henry VIII. : for Longland bishop of Lincoln, at a Visitation of Oriel college, Oxford, in 1531. orders one of the fellows, a priest, to abstain, under pain of expulsion, from wearing a beard, and pinked shoes, like a laic : and not to take the liberty, for the future, of insulting and ridiculing the governor and fellows of the society. *ORDINAT. Coll. Oriel. Oxon. APPEND. ad. Joh. TROKELOWE. p. 339. Edicts of king John, in Prynne, LIBERTAT. ECCLES. ANGL. tom. iii. p. 23.* But among the religious, the Templars were permitted to wear long beards. In the year 1311, Edward II. granted letters for safe conduct to his valet Peter Auger, who had made a vow not to shave his beard : and who having resolved to visit some of the holy places abroad as a pilgrim, feared, on account of the length of his beard, that he might be mistaken for a knight-templar, and insulted. *Pat. iv. Edw. ii. In Dugdale's WARWICKSHIRE, p. 704.* Many orders about Beards occur in the registers of Lincoln's-inn, cited by Dugdale. In the year 1542, it was ordered, that no member, *wearing a BEARD*, should presume to dine in the hall. In 1553, says Dugdale, 'such as had beards should pay 'twelve-pence for every meal they continued them ; and every man to be shaven, upon pain 'of being put out of commons.' *ORIG. JURID. cap. 64. p. 244.* In 1550, no member is permitted to wear *any* beard above a fortnight's growth : under pain of expulsion for the third transgression. But the fashion of wearing beards beginning to spread, in 1560 it was agreed at a council, that 'all orders before that time made, *touching* BEARDS, should be void and repealed.' *Dugd. ibid. p. 245.*

¹ In the Mystery of *MARY MAGDALENE*, just mentioned, one of the stage-directions is, 'Here enters the prynde of the devylls in a stage, with hell underneth the stage.' *MSS. DIGB. 133.*

² *Hollinshed iii. 850.*

³ It is in Mr. Garrick's valuable collection. No date. 4to. Hawkins, in the *HISTORY OF MUSIC*, has first printed a Song written by Skelton, alluded to in the *CROWNE OF LAWRELL*, and set to music by William Cornishe, a musician of the chapel royal under Henry VII. *B. i. ch. i. vol. iii. p. 3. Lond. 1776.* It begins,

Ah, beshrew you, by my fay,

These wanton clarkes are nice alway. &c.

The same diligent and ingenious inquirer has happily illustrated a passage in Skelton's description of *Riot*. *Ibid. B. iii. ch. ix. vol. ii. p. 254.*

Counter he coulede O Lux upon a pottle.

That is, this drunken disorderly fellow could play the beginning of the hymn, *O Lux beata Trinitas*, a very popular melody, and on which many fugues and canons were anciently composed, on a quartpot at the tavern. *Ibid. B. i. ch. vii. p. 90. ii. 1. p. 130.*

By the way, the abovementioned William Cornish has a poem printed at the end of Skelton's Works, called *a Treatise between Trouthe and Information*, containing some anecdotes of the state of ancient music, written while the author was in the Fleet, in the year 1504. *MSS. REG. 18 D. ii. 4. Thoresby's LEEDES, for Old musical compositions by several masters, among them by WILLIAM CORNISH, p. 517.* Morley has assigned Cornysh a place in his Catalogue of English musicians.

now remaining, printed by Rastal, without date in a thin folio, has been most obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Garrick; whose valuable collection of old Plays is alone a complete history of our stage. The first leaf and the title are wanting. It contains sixty folio pages in the black letter, and must have taken up a very considerable time in the representation. The substance of the allegory is briefly this. MAGNIFICENCE becomes a dupe to his servants and favorites, *Fansy*, *Counterfet Countenance*, *Crafty Conveyance*, *Clokyd Colusion*, *Courtly Abusion*, and *Foly*. At length he is seized and robbed by *Adversyte*, by whom he is given up as a prisoner to *Poverté*. He is next delivered to *Despáre* and *Mischeffe*, who offer him a knife and a halter. He snatches the knife, to end his miseries by stabbing himself; when *Good Hope* and *Redresse* appear, and persuade him to take the *rubarbe of repentance* with some *gostly gummes*, and a few *drammes of devocyon*. He becomes acquainted with *Circumspeccyon*, and *Perseverance*, follows their directions, and seeks for happiness in a state of penitence and contrition. There is some humour here and there in the dialogue, but the allusions are commonly low. The poet hardly ever aims at allegorical painting, but the figure of POVERTY is thus drawn, fol. xxiii. a.

A, my bonys ake, my lymmys be sore,
 A lasse I haue the cyatyca full euyl in my hyppe,
 A lasse where is youth that was wont for to skyppe !
 I am lowsy, and vnlykyng, and full of scurffe,
 My coloure is tawny-coloured as a turffe :
 I am POVERTIE that all men doth hate,
 I am baytyd with doggys at euery mannys gate :
 I am raggyd and rent, as ye may se,
 Full few but they have envy at me.
 Nowe must I this carcase lyft up,
 He dynd with DELYTE, with POVERTE he must sup.

The stage-direction then is, 'Hic accedat at levandum MAGNIFICENCE,' 'It is not impossible, that DESPARE offering the knife and the halter, might give a distant hint to Spenser. The whole piece is strongly marked with Skelton's manner, and contains every species of his capricious versification'. I have been prolix in describing these two dramas, because they place Skelton in a class in which he never has yet been viewed, that of a Dramatic poet. And although many MORALITIES were now written, yet these are the first that bear the name of their author. There is often much real comedy in these ethic interludes, and their exemplifications of Virtue and Vice in the abstract, convey strokes of character and pictures of life and manners. I take

¹ *Counterfet Countenance* says, f. vi. a.

But nowe wyll I _____
 In *bastarde* ryme of *doggrell* gyse
 Tell you where of my name doth ryse.

this opportunity of remarking, that a MORALITY-MAKER was a professed occupation at Paris. Pierre Gringoire is called, according to the style of his age, *Compositeur, Historien et Facteur de Mysteres, ou Comedies*, in which he was also a performer. His principal piece, written at the command of Louis XII., in consequence of a quarrel with the pope and the states of Venice, is entitled, *Le JEU du Prince de Sots et Merc Sotte, joue aux Halles de Paris*. It was printed at Paris in 1511. See Mons. l'Abbe Goujet, BIBL. FRANC. tom. xi. p. 212.

MORALITIES seem to have arrived at their height about the close of Henry VII's reign. This sort of spectacle was now so fashionable, that John Rastall, a learned typographer, brother in law to sir Thomas More, extended its province, which had hitherto been confined, either to moral allegory, or to religion blended with buffoonery, and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published, *A new INTERLUDE and a mery, of the nature of the iiij Elements, declarynge many proper points of philosophy naturall and dyvers straunge landys, &c.*¹ In the cosmographical part of the play, in which the poet professes to treat of *dyvers straunge regyons, and of the new founde landys*, the tracts of America recently discovered, and the manners of the natives, are described. The characters are, a Messenger who speaks the prologue, Nature, Humanity, Studious Desire, Sensual Appetite, a Taverner, Experience, and Ignorance².

¹ Among Mr. Garrick's OLD PLAYS. [Imperf.] i. vol. 3. It was written about 1510, or rather later. One of the characters is NATURE *naturate*: under which title Bale inaccurately mentions this piece. viii. 75. Percy, ESS. ENG. STAGE, p. 8. edit. 1767. Who supposes this play to have been written about 1510, from the following lines,

— — Within this xx yere Westwarde be founde new landes,
That we never harde tell of before this.

The West-Indies were discovered by Columbus in 1492.

² For the sake of connection I will here mention some more of Rastall's pieces. He was a great writer of INTERLUDES. He has written, 'Of GENTYLNESS AND NOBYLYTE. A dialoge between the marchaunt, the knyght, and the plowman, disputyng who is a veray gentyl-man, and how men shuld come to auctoryte, compiled in maner of an INTERLUDE. With dyvers TOYES and GESTIS addyd therto, to make mery pastyme and disport. T. Rastall me fieri fecit.' Printed by himself in qto. without date. PR. 'O what a gret welth and.' Also, 'A new Commodity in Englysh in maner of an ENTERLUDE ryght elygant and full of craft of rhetoryck: wherein is shewed and descrybyd, as well the beute of good propertes of women as theyr vyces and evyll condicions, with a morall conclusion and exhortation to vertew.' T. Rastall me imprini fecit.' In folio, without date. This is in English verse, and contains twelve leaves. PR. 'Melebea, &c.' He reduced a dialogue of Lucian into English verse, much after the manner of an interlude, viz. 'NECROMANTIA. A Dialogue of Lucyan for his fantasy fayned for a mery pastyme, &c.—T. Rastall me fieri fecit.' It is translated from the Latin, and has Latin notes in the margin. It may be doubted, whether Rastall was not the printer only of these pieces. If the printer only, they might come from the festive genius of his brother sir Thomas More. But Rastall appears to have been a scholar. He was educated at Oxford; and took up the employment of printing as a profession at that time esteemed liberal, and not unsuitable to the character of a learned and ingenious man. An English translation of Terence, called TERENS in ENGLISH, with a prologue in stanzas, beginning 'The famous renown through the worlde is spronge,' is believed, at least from similarity of type, to be by Rastall. In qto., without date. He published, in 1525, THE MERY GESTYS of one callyd EDRYTH the lyeng wyrdow. This is a description, in English rhymes, of the frauds practised by a female sharper in the neighbourhood of London: the scene of one of her impostures is laid in sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea. The author, one of her dupes, is Walter Smyth. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the Meremayde at Pollis gate next to

I have before observed, that the frequent and public exhibition of personifications in the PAGEAUNTS, which anciently accompanied every high festivity, greatly contributed to cherish the spirit of allegorical poetry, and even to enrich the imagination of Spenser¹. The MORALITIES, which now began to acquire new celebrity, and in which the same groupes of the impersonated vices and virtues appeared, must have concurred in producing this effect. And hence, at the same time, we are led to account for the national relish for allegorical poetry, which so long prevailed among our ancestors. By means of these spectacles, ideal beings became common and popular objects: and emblematic imagery, which at present is only contemplated by a few retired readers in the obsolete pages of our elder poets, grew familiar to the general eye.

SECTION XXXIV.

IN a work of this general and comprehensive nature, in which the fluctuations of genius are surveyed, and the dawnings or declensions of taste must alike be noticed, it is impossible that every part of the subject can prove equally splendid and interesting. We have, I fear, been toiling for some time through materials, not perhaps of the most agreeable and edifying nature. But as the mention of that very rude species of our drama, called the MORALITY, has incidentally diverted our attention to the early state of the English stage, I cannot omit so fortunate and seasonable an opportunity of endeavouring to relieve the weariness of my reader, by introducing an obvious digression on the probable causes of the rise of the MYSTERIES, which, as I have before remarked, preceded, and at length produced, these allegorical fables. In this respect I shall imitate those map-makers mentioned by Swift, who

— — O'er inhospitable downs, Place elephants for want of towns.
Nor shall I perhaps fail of being pardoned by my reader, if, on the

Chepesyde by T. Rastall. fol. It will be sufficient to have given this short incidental notice of a piece which hardly deserves to be named. Rastall wrote and printed many other pieces, which I do not mention, as unconnected with the history of our poetry. I shall only observe further, in general, that he was eminently skilled in mathematics, cosmography, history, our municipal law, and theology. He died 1526.

¹ And of Shakespeare. There is a passage in *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA*, where the metaphor is exceedingly beautiful; but where the beauty both of the expression and the allusion is lost, unless we recollect the frequency and the nature of these shows in Shakespeare's age. ACT iv. Sc. xi. I must cite the whole of the context, for the sake of the last hemistich.

Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish, A vapour sometime, like a bear or lion;
A towred citadel, a pendant rock, A forked mountain, or blue promontory
With trees upon't, that nod unto the world
And mock our eyes with air. Thou'st seen these signs,
They are BLACK VESPER'S PAGEANTS.—

same principle, I should attempt to throw new light on the history of our theatre, by pursuing this enquiry through those deductions which it will naturally and more immediately suggest.

About the eighth century, trade was principally carried on by means of fairs, which lasted several days. Charlemagne established many great marts of this sort in France; as did William the conqueror, and his Norman successors, in England. The merchants who frequented these fairs in numerous caravans or companies, employed every art to draw the people together. They were therefore accompanied by jugglers, minstrels, and buffoons; who were no less interested in giving their attendance, and exerting all their skill, on these occasions. As now but few large towns existed, no public spectacles or popular amusements were established; and as the sedentary pleasures of domestic life and private society were yet unknown, the fair-time was the season for diversion. In proportion as these shews were attended and encouraged, they began to be set off with new decorations and improvements: and the arts of buffoonery being rendered still more attractive by extending their circle of exhibition, acquired an importance in the eyes of the people. By degrees the clergy, observing that the entertainments of dancing, music, and mimicry, exhibited at these protracted annual celebrities, made the people less religious, by promoting idleness and a love of festivity, proscribed these sports, and excommunicated the performers. But finding that no regard was paid to their censures, they changed their plan, and determined to take these recreations into their own hands. They turned actors; and instead of profane mummeries, presented stories taken from legends or the Bible. This was the origin of sacred comedy. The death of St. Catharine, acted by the monks of St. Dennis, rivalled the popularity of the professed players. Music was admitted into the churches, which served as theatres for the representation of holy farces. The festivals among the French, called *LA FETE DE FOUX, DE L'ANE,*¹ and *DES INNOCENS*, at length became greater favorites, as they certainly were more capricious and absurd, than the interludes of the buffoons at the fairs. These are the ideas of a judicious French writer, now living, who has

¹ For a most full and comprehensive account of these feasts. See 'Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de la FETE DE FOUX, qui se faisoit autrefois dans plusieurs eglises. Par M. du TILLIOT, gentilhomme ordinaire de son Altesse royale Monseigneur le duc de BERRY. A LAUSANNE et a GENEVE, 1741,' 4to. Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln in the eleventh century, orders his dean and chapter to abolish the *FESTUM ASINORUM, cum sit vanitate plenum, et voluptatibus spurcum*, which used to be annually celebrated in Lincoln cathedral on the feast of the Circumcision. Grossetesti *EPISTOL.* xxvii. apud Browne's *FASCICUL.* p. 331. edit. Lond. 1690. tom. ii. Append. And p. 412. Also he forbids the archdeacons of his diocese to permit *SCOT-ALES* in their chapters and synods (*Spelm.* Gl. p. 506.) and other *LUDI* on holidays. *Ibid.* *Epistol.* xxiii. p. 314. See in the *MERCURE FRANCOIS* for Sept., 1742, an account of a mummary celebrated in the city of Besancon in France, by the canons of the cathedral, consisting of dancing, singing, eating and drinking, in the cloisters and church, on Easter-day, called *BERGERETTA*, or the *SONG OF THE SHEPHERDS*; which remained unabolished till the year 1738. From the *RITUAL* of the church, p. 1930, ad ann. 1582. Carpentier, *SUPPL. Du Cang. LAT. GLOSS.* tom. i. p. 523. in V. And *ibid.* V. *BOCLARE*, p. 570.

investigated the history of human manners with great comprehension and sagacity.

Voltaire's theory on this subject is also very ingenious, and quite new. Religious plays, he supposes, came originally from Constantinople; where the old Grecian stage continued to flourish in some degree, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were represented, till the fourth century. About that period, Gregory Nazianzen, an archbishop, a poet, and one of the fathers of the church, banished pagan plays from the stage at Constantinople, and introduced select stories from the old and new Testament. As the ancient Greek tragedy was a religious spectacle, a transition was made on the same plan; and the chorusses were turned into Christian hymns. Gregory wrote many sacred dramas for this purpose, which have not survived those inimitable compositions over which they triumphed for a time: one, however, his tragedy called *Χριστος πασχων*, or CHRIST'S PASSION, is still extant¹. In the prologue it is said to be an imitation of Euripides, and that this is the first time the Virgin Mary has been produced on the stage. The fashion of acting spiritual dramas, in which at first a due degree of method and decorum was preserved, was at length adopted from Constantinople by the Italians; who framed, in the depth of the dark ages, on this foundation, that barbarous species of theatrical representation called MYSTERIES, or sacred comedies, and which were soon afterwards received in France.² This opinion will acquire probability, if we consider the early commercial intercourse between Italy and Constantinople: and although the Italians, at the time when they may be supposed to have imported plays of this nature, did not understand the Greek language, yet they could understand, and consequently could imitate, what they saw.

In defence of Voltaire's hypothesis it may be further observed, that the FEAST OF FOOLS and of the Ass, with other religious farces of that sort, so common in Europe, originated at Constantinople. They were instituted, although perhaps under other names, in the Greek church, about the year 990, by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, probably with a better design than is imagined by the ecclesiastical annalists; that of weaning the minds of the people from the pagan ceremonies, particularly the Bacchanalian and calendary solemnities, by the substitution of christian spectacles, partaking of the same spirit of licentiousness. The fact is, however, recorded by Cedrenus, one of the Byzantine historians, who flourished about the year 1050, in the following words. *Ἔργον ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ νῦν κρατοῦν ἔθος, ἐν ταῖς λαμπραῖς καὶ δημοτελεσιν εορταῖς ὑβρίζεσθαι τὸν θεόν, καὶ τὰς*

¹ Op. Greg. Nazianz. tom. ii. p. 253. In a MSS. cited by Lambecius, it is called *Δρᾶμα κατ' Ἑυριπίδην*, iv. 22. It seems to have been falsely attributed to Apollinaris, an Alexandrian, bishop of Laodicea. It is, however, written with less elegance and judgment than most of Gregory's poetical pieces. Apollinaris lived about the year 370.

² Hist. Gen. Addit. p. 138.

‘*τον ἀγιων μνημας, δια λογισματων απρεπων και γελωτων, και παραφορων
 ‘κραυγων, τελουμενων των θειων ὑμνων οὗς εδει, μετα καταλυξεως και
 ‘συντριμμου καρδιας, ὑπερ της ἡμων σωτηριας, προσφερειν τῷ θεῷ. Πληθος
 ‘γαρ συστησαμενος επιρρήτων ανδρων, και εξαρχον αυτοις επιστησας Ευθυμιον
 ‘τινα Καστην λεγουμενον, ὃν αὐτος Δομεστικον της εκκλησιας προυβαλλετο.
 ‘και τας σατανικας ορχησεις, και τας ασημους κραυγας, και τα εκ τριοδων και
 ‘χαμαιτυπειων ηρανισμενα ἄσματα τελεισθαι ἐδίδαξεν.’ That is, ‘Theo-
 ‘phylact introduced the practice, which prevails even to this day, of
 ‘scandalising god and the memory of his saints, on the most splendid
 ‘and popular festivals, by indecent and ridiculous songs, and enormous
 ‘shoutings, even in the midst of those sacred hymns, which we ought
 ‘to offer to the divine grace with compunction of heart, for the salva-
 ‘tion of our souls. But he, having collected a company of base fellows,
 ‘and placing over them one Euthymius, surnamed Casnes, whom he
 ‘also appointed the superintendant of his church, admitted into the
 ‘sacred service, diabolical dances, exclamations of ribaldry, and ballads
 ‘borrowed from the streets and brothels¹.’ This practice was subsisting
 in the Greek church 200 years afterwards : for Balsamon, patriarch of
 Antioch, complains of the gross abominations committed by the priests
 at Christmas and other festivals, even in the great church at Constan-
 tinople ; and that the clergy, on certain holidays, personated a variety
 of feigned characters, and even entered the choir in a military habit,
 and other enormous disguises.²*

I must however observe here, what perhaps did not immediately occur to our lively philosopher on this occasion, that in the fourth century it was customary to make christian parodies and imitations in Greek, of the best Greek classics, for the use of the christian schools. This practice prevailed much under the emperor Julian, who forbade the pagan poets, orators, and philosophers, to be taught in the christian seminaries. Apollinaris bishop of Laodicea, abovementioned, wrote Greek tragedies, adapted to the stage, on most of the grand events recorded in the old Testament, after the manner of Euripides. On some of the familiar and domestic stories of scripture, he composed comedies in imitation of Menander. He wrote christian odes on the plan of Pindar. In imitation of Homer, he wrote an heroic poem on the history of the Bible, as far as the reign of Saul, in twenty-four

¹ Cedren. COMPEND. HIST. p. 639. B. edit. Paris. 1647. Compare Baron. ANNAL, sub ann. 956. tom. x. p. 752. C. edit. Plantin. Antw. 1603, fol.

² COMMENT. ad CANON. lxi. SYNOD. vi. in Trullo. Apud Beverigii SYNODIC. tom. i. Oxon. fol. 1672. p. 230. 231. In return, he forbids the professed players to appear on the stage in the habit of monks. St. Austin, who lived in the sixth century, reproves the paganising christians of his age, for their indecent sports on holidays ; but it does not appear, that these sports were celebrated within the churches. ‘In sanctis festivitibus choros ducendo, ‘cantica luxuriosa et turpia, &c. Isti enim infelices ac miseri homines, qui balationes ac ‘saltationes ANTE IPSAS BASILICAS sanctorum exercere nec metuunt nec erubescunt.’ SERM. cxcv. tom. x. opp. S. Augustin. edit. Froben. 1529. fol. 763. B. See also SERM. cxcvii. cxcviii. opp. edit. Benedictin. tom. v. Paris. 1683. p. 904. et seq.

books.¹ Sozomen says, that these compositions, now lost, rivalled their great originals in genius, expression, and conduct. His son, a bishop also of Laodicea, reduced the four gospels and all the apostolical books into Greek dialogues, resembling those of Plato².

But I must not omit a much earlier and more singular specimen of a theatrical representation of sacred history, than this mentioned by Voltaire. Some fragments of an ancient Jewish play on the EXODUS, or the Departure of the Israelites from Egypt under their leader and prophet Moses, are yet preserved in Greek iambics³. The principal characters of this drama are Moses, Sapphira, and God from the Bush, or God speaking from the burning bush. Moses delivers the prologue, or introduction, in a speech of sixty lines, and his rod is turned into a serpent on the stage. The author of this piece is Ezekiel, a Jew, who is called 'Ο των Ιουδαϊκων τραγωδιων ποιητης, or the tragic poet of the Jews⁴. The learned Huetius endeavours to prove, that Ezekiel wrote at least before the christian era⁵. Some suppose that he was one of the seventy, or septuagint, interpreters of the bible under the reign of Ptolomy Philadelphus. I am of opinion, that Ezekiel composed this play after the destruction of Jerusalem, and even in the time of Barocas, as a political spectacle, with a view to animate his dejected countrymen with the hopes of a future deliverance from their captivity under the conduct of a new Moses, like that from the Egyptian servitude⁶. Whether a theatre subsisted among the Jews, who by their peculiar situation and circumstances were prevented from keeping pace with their neighbours in the culture of the social and elegant arts, is a curious speculation : It seems most probable, on the whole, that this drama was composed in imitation of the Grecian stage, at the close of the second century, after the Jews had been dispersed, and intermixed with other nations.

Boileau seems to think, that the ancient PILGRIMAGES introduced these sacred exhibitions into France.

Chez nos devots ayeux le theatre abhorre
Fut long-tems dans la France une plaisir ignore.
De PELERINS, dit on, une troupe grossiere
En public a Paris y monta la premiere ;

¹ Sozomen (ubi infra) says, that he compiled a system of grammar, *Χριστιανικὴ τυπὴ*, on the Christian model.

² Socrates, iii. 16. ii. 46. Sozomen, v. 18. vi. 26. Niceph. x. 25.

³ In Clemens Alexandrin. lib. i. Strom. p. 344. seq. Eusebius, PRÆPARAT. EVANG. c. xxviii. xxix. Eustathius ad HEX. p. 25. They are collected, and translated into Latin, with emendations, by Fr. Morellus, Paris. 1580. See also CORPUS POETAR. GR. TRAGICOR, et COMICOR. Genev. 1614. fol. And PODTÆ CHRISTIAN. GRÆCI, Paris. 1609. 8vo.

⁴ Scaliger, ad EUSEB. p. 401.

⁵ DEMONSTRAT. EVANGELIC. p. 99.

⁶ Le Moine, OBS. ad VAR. SACR. tom. i. p. 336. The author of this Jewish tragedy seems to have belonged to that class of Hellenistico-Judaic writers of Alexandria, of which was the author of the apocryphal BOOK OF WISDOM : a work originally written in Greek, perhaps in metre, full of allusions to the Greek poets and customs, and containing many lessons of instruction and consolation peculiarly applicable to the distresses and situation of the Jews after their dispersion.

Et sotement zelee en sa simplicité,
 Joua les SAINTS, la VIERGE, et DIEU, par pieté.
 Le Savoir, a la fin, disssipant l'Ignorance,
 Fit voir de ce projet la devote imprudence :
 On chassa ces docteurs prechant sans mission,
 On vit renaître Hector, Andromaque, Ilion¹.

The authority to which Boileau alludes in these nervous and elegant verses is Menestrier, an intelligent French antiquary². The pilgrims who returned from Jerusalem, St. James of Compostella, St. Baume of Provence, St. Reine, Mount St. Michael, Notre dame du Puy, and other places esteemed holy, composed songs on their adventures ; intermixing recitals of passages in the life of Christ, descriptions of his crucifixion, of the day of judgment, of miracles, and martyrdoms. To these tales, which were recommended by a pathetic chant and a variety of gesticulations, the credulity of the multitude gave the name of Visions. These pious itinerants travelled in companies ; and taking their stations in the most public streets, and singing with their staves in their hands, and their hats and mantles fantastically adorned with shells and emblems painted in various colours, formed a sort of theatrical spectacle. At length their performances excited the charity and compassion of some citizens of Paris ; who erected a theatre, in which they might exhibit their religious stories in a more commodious and advantageous manner, with the addition of scenery and other decorations, At length professed practitioners in the histrionic art were hired to perform these solemn mockeries of religion, which soon became the principal public amusement of a devout but undiscerning people.

To those who are accustomed to contemplate the great picture of human follies, which the unpolished ages of Europe hold up to our view, it will not appear surprising, that the people, who were forbidden to read the events of the sacred history in the Bible, in which they were faithfully and beautifully related, should at the same be permitted to see them represented on the stage, disgraced with the grossest improprieties, corrupted with inventions and additions of the most ridiculous kind, sullied with impurities, and expressed in the language and gesticulations of the lowest farce.

On the whole, the MYSTERIES appear to have originated among the ecclesiastics ; and were most probably first acted, at least with any degree of form, by the monks. This was certainly the case in the English monasteries³. I have already mentioned the play of St.

¹ ART. POET. cant. iii. 8r.

² Des Represent. en MUSIQUE. p. 153. seq.

³ In some regulations given by cardinal Wolsey, to the monasteries of the canons regular of St. Austin, in the year 1519, the brothers are forbidden to be *LUSORES aut MIMICI*, players or mimics. Dugd. Monast. ii. 568. But the prohibition means, that the monks should not go abroad to exercise these arts in a secular and mercenary capacity. ANNAL. BURTONENSES, p. 437. supra citat. p. 250. By the way, *MIMICUS* might also literally be construed a player, according to Jonson, EPIG. 195,

— But the *Vice*

Acts old *iniquity*, and in the fit

Of *MIMICRY* gets th' opinion of a wit.

Catherine, performed at Dunstable abbey by the novices in the eleventh century, under the superintendence of Geoffry a Parisian ecclesiastic : and the exhibition of the PASSION, by the mendicant friers of Coventry and other places. Instances have been given of the like practice among the French. The only persons who could read were in the religious societies : and various other circumstances, peculiarly arising from their situation, profession, and institution, enabled the monks to be the sole performers of these representations.

As learning increased, and was more widely disseminated from the monasteries, by a natural and easy transition, the practice migrated to schools and universities, which were formed on the monastic plan, and in many respects resembled the ecclesiastical bodies. Hence a passage in Shakespeare's HAMLET is to be explained ; where Hamlet says to Polonius, 'My lord, you played once in the UNIVERSITY, you 'say.' Polonius answers, that I did, my Lord, and was accounted a 'good actor.—I did enact Julius Cesar, I was killed i' th' capitol!' Boulay observes, that it was a custom, not only still subsisting, but of very high antiquity, *vetustissima consuetudo*, to act tragedies and comedies in the university of Paris². He cites a statute of the college of Navarre at Paris, dated in the year 1315, prohibiting the scholars to perform any immodest play on the festivals of St. Nicholas and St. Catherine. '*In festis sancti Nicolai et beatæ Catherinæ nullum ludum inhonestum faciant*'³. The tragedy called JULIUS CESAR, and two comedies, of Jacques Grevin, a learned physician, and an elegant poet, of France, were first acted in the college of Beauvais at Paris, in the years 1558 and 1560. BIBL. VERDIER, ut supr. tom. ii. p. 284. La Croix du Maine, i. p. 415. seq. Reuchlin, one of the German classics at the restoration of ancient literature, was the first writer and actor of Latin plays in the academies of Germany. He is said to have opened a theatre at Heidelberg ; in which he brought ingenuous youths or boys on the stage, in the year 1498⁴. In the prologue to one of his comedies, written in trimeter iambics, and printed in 1516, are the following lines.

Optans poeta placere paucis versibus,
Sat esse adeptum gloriæ arbitratus est,
Si autore se Germaniæ SCHOLA luserit
Græcanicis et Romuleis LUSIBUS.

¹ ACT. iii. sc. 5.

² HIST. UNIV. PARIS. tom. ii. p. 226. See also his History *De Patronis quatuor Nationum*, edit. 1662.

³ HIST. UNIV. PARIS. tom. iv. p. 93. St. Nicholas was the patron of scholars. Hence at Eton college St. Nicholas has a double feast. The celebrity of the Boy-bishop began on St. Nicholas's day. In a fragment of the cellarer's COMPUTUS of Hyde abbey near Winchester, A.D. 1397. 'Pro epulis PUERI CELEBRANTIS in festo S. Nicolai.' That is the Chorister celebrating mass. MSS. Wolves. Winton. Carpentier mentions an indecent sport, called le VIRELI, celebrated in the streets on the feast of St. Nicholas, by the vicar and other choral officers of a collegiate church. SUPPL. Du Cang. LAT. GLOSS. in V. tom. iii. p. 1178.

⁴ 'Nunquam ante ipsius ætatem Comœdia in Germanorum scholis acta suit, &c.' G. Lizellii HISTOR. POETAR. GERMAN, Francos. et Leips. 1730. 12mo. p. 11.

The first of Reuchlin's Latin plays, seems to be one entitled, SERGIUS, SEU CAPITIS CAPUT, COMOEDIA, a satire on bad kings or bad ministers, and printed in 1508¹. He calls it his *primiciæ*. It consists of three acts, and is professedly written in imitation of Terence. But the author promises, if this attempt should please, that he will write INTEGRAS COMEDIAS, that is comedies of five acts². I give a few lines from the Prologue³.

Si unquam tulistis ad jocos vestros pedes,
Aut si rei aures præbuisistis ludicræ,
In hac *nova*, obsecro, poetæ fabula,
Dignemini attentiores esse quam antea;
Non hic erit lasciviæ aut libidini
Meretriciæ, aut tristi senumcuræ locus,
Sed *histrionum* exercitus et scommata.

For Reuchlin's other pieces of a like nature, the curious reader is referred to a very rare volume in quarto, PROGYMNASMATA SCENICA, seu LUDRICRA PRÆEXERCITAMENTA *varli generis. Per Joannem Bergman de Olpe*, 1498. An old biographer affirms, that Conradus Celtes was the first who introduced into Germany the fashion of acting tragedies and comedies in public halls, after the manner of the ancients. '*Primus comædias et tragædias in publicis aulis veterum more egit*.' Not to enter into a controversy concerning the priority of these two obscure theatrical authors, which may be sufficiently decided for our present satisfaction by observing, that they were certainly cotemporaries; about the year 1500, Celtes wrote a play, or masque, called the PLAY OF DIANA, presented by a literary society, or seminary of scholars, before the emperor Maximilian and his court. It was printed in 1502, at Nuremberg, with this title, '*Incipit LUDUS DYANÆ, coram Maximiliano rege, per Sodalitatem Litterariam Damulianam in Linzio*'⁴. It consists of the iambic, hexameter, and elegiac measures; and has five acts, but is contained in eight quarto pages. The plot, if any, is entirely a compliment to the emperor; and the personages, twenty-four in number, among which was the poet, are Mercury, Diana, Bacchus, Silenus drunk on his ass, Satyrs, Nymphs, and Bacchanalians. Mercury, sent by Diana, speaks the Prologue. In the middle of the third act, the emperor places a crown of laurel on the poet's head: at the conclusion of which ceremony, the chorus sings a pæ-

¹ Phorcæ 4to. It is published with a gloss by Simlerus his Scholar.

² Fol. x.

³ Fol. iv. There is also a work attributed to Conradus Celtes, containing six Latin plays in imitation of Terence, under this title, '*HROSVITE, illustris virginis et Monialis Germanæ, Opera: nempe, COMOEDIÆ SEX IN ÆMULATIONEM TERENCE, Octo Sacræ Historiæ versibus compositæ, necnon Panegyricus, &c. NORINBERGÆ, sub privilegio Sodalitatis Socraticæ, anno 1501. fol.*'

⁴ VIROR. ILLUSTR. VITÆ, &c. published by Fischardus, Francos. 1536. 4to. p. 8. b. Celtes himself says, in his *Descriptio Urbis Norinbergæ*, written about 1500, that in the city there was an '*Aula prætoria, ubi publica nuptiarum et chorearum spectacula celebrantur hystoriis et ymaginibus imperatorum et regum nostrorum depicta.*' Cap. x.

⁵ Conradi Celtis AMORES, Noringb. 1502. 4to. ad calc. SIGNAT. q.

gyric in verse to the emperor. At the close of the fourth act, in the true spirit of a German show, the imperial butlers refresh the performers with wine out of golden goblets, with a symphony of horns and drums: and at the end of the play, they are invited by his majesty to a sumptuous banquet¹.

It is more generally known, that the practice of acting Latin plays in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, continued to Cromwell's usurpation. The oldest notice I can recover of this sort of spectacle in an English university, is in the fragment of an ancient accompt-roll of the dissolved college of Michael-house in Cambridge: in which, under the year 1386, the following expense is entered. '*Pro ly pallio brusdato et pro sex larvis et barbis in comedia.*' That is, for an embroidered pall, or cloak, and six visors and six beards, for the comedy². In the year 1544, a Latin comedy, called PAMMACHIUS, was acted at Christ's college in Cambridge: which was laid before the privy council by bishop Gardiner, chancellor of the university, as a dangerous libel, containing many offensive reflections on the papistic ceremonies yet unabolished³. The comedy of GAMMAR GURTON'S NEEDLE was acted in the same society about the year 1552. In an original draught of the statutes of Trinity college at Cambridge, founded in 1546, one of the chapters is entitled, *De Prefecto Ludorum qui IMPERATOR dicitur*, under whose direction and authority, Latin comedies and tragedies are to be exhibited in the hall at Christmas; as also *Sex SPECTACULA*, or as many DIALOGUES. Another title to this statute, which seems to be substituted by another and a more modern hand, is, *De Comediis ludisque in natali Christi exhibendis*. With regard to the peculiar business and office of IMPERATOR, it is ordered, that one of the masters of arts shall be placed over the juniors, every Christmas, for the regulation of their games and diversions at that season of festivity. At the same time, he is to govern the whole society in the hall and chapel, as a republic committed to his special charge, by a set of laws, which he is to frame in Latin or Greek verse. His sovereignty is to last during the twelve days of Christmas, and he is to exercise the

¹ In the colleges of the Jesuits in Italy this was a constant practice in modern times. Denina says, that father Granelli's three best tragedies were written, for this purpose, between 1729 and 1751, ch. v. § 9. The tragedies of Petavius, Bernardinus and Stephonius, all Jesuits, seem intended for this use. Morhoff, POLYHIST. LITERAR. lib. vii. cap. iii. tom. i. 15. p. 1069. edit. Fabric. Lubec. 1747. 4to. Riccoboni relates, that he saw, in the Jesuit's college at Prague, a Latin play acted by the students, on the subject of Luther's heresy; and the ridicule consisted in bringing Luther on the stage, with a Bible in his hand, quoting chapter and verse in defence of the reformation.

² Inter MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

³ MSS. Coll. C. C. Cant. CATAL. Nasmith. p. 92. This mode of attack was seldom returned by the opposite party; the catholic worship, founded on sensible representations, afforded a much better hold for ridicule, than the religion of some of the sects of the reformers, which was of a more simple and spiritual nature. But I say this of the infancy of our stage. In the next century, fanaticism was brought upon the English stage with great success, when polished manners had introduced humour into comedy, and character had taken place of spectacle. There are, however, two English interludes, one of the reign of Henry VIII., called EVERY MAN, the other of that of Edward VI., called LUSTY JUVENTUS, written by R. Weever; the former defends, and the latter attacks, the church of Rome.

same power on Candlemas-day. During this period, he is to see that six SPECTACLES or DIALOGUES be presented. His fee is forty shillings¹. Probably the constitution of this officer, in other words, a *Master of the Revels*, gave a latitude to some licentious enormities, incompatible with the decorum of a house of learning and religion; and it was found necessary to restrain these Christmas celebrities to a more rational and sober plan. The SPECTACULA also, and DIALOGUES, originally appointed, were growing obsolete when the substitution was made, and were giving way to more regular representations. I believe these statutes were reformed by queen Elizabeth's visitors of the university of Cambridge, under the conduct of archbishop Parker, in the year 1573. John Dee, the famous occult philosopher, one of the first fellows of this noble society, acquaints us, that by his advice and endeavours, both here, and in other colleges at Cambridge, this master of the Christmas plays was first *named* and *confirmed* an EMPEROR. 'The first was Mr. John Dun, a very goodly man of person, habit, and complexion, and well learned also.'² He also further informs us, little thinking how important his *boyish attempts and exploits scholastical* would appear to future ages, that in the refectory of the college, in the character of Greek lecturer, he exhibited, before the whole university, the Εἰρηνη, or Pax, of Aristophanes, accompanied with a piece of machinery, for which he was taken for a conjuror: 'with the performance of the scarabeus his flying up to Jupiter's palace, with a man, and his basket of victuals, on her back: whereat was great *wondering*, and many *vain reports* spread abroad, of the means how that was effected.' The tragedy of Jephthah, from the eleventh chapter of the book of JUDGES, written both in Latin and Greek, and dedicated to Henry VIII., about the year 1546, by a very grave and learned divine, John Christopherson, another of the first fellows of Trinity college in Cambridge, afterwards master, dean of Norwich, and bishop of Chichester, was most probably composed as a Christmas play for the same society. It is to be noted, that this play is on a religious subject³. Roger Ascham, while on his travels in Flanders, says in one of his Epistles, written about 1550, that the city of Antwerp as much exceeds all other cities, as the refectory of St. John's college in Cambridge exceeds itself, when furnished at Christmas with its theatrical apparatus

¹ This article is struck out from CAP. xxiv. p. 85. MSS. Rawlins. Num. 233. Only that part of the statute is retained, in which *Comedies* and *Tragedies* are ordered to be acted. These are to be written, or rather exhibited, by the nine lecturers. The senior lecturer is to produce one: the eight others are charged with four more. A fine of ten shillings is imposed for the omission of each interlude. Another clause is then struck out, which limits the number of the plays to THREE, if FIVE *commode exponi non queant*.

² COMPENDIOUS REHEARSALL of JOHN DEE, &c. written by himself, A.D. 1592. ch. i. p. 501. 502. APPEND. J. Glastoniensis CHRON. edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1726.

³ Buchanan has a tragedy on this subject, written in 1554. Hamlet seems to be quoting an old play, at least an old song, on Jephthah's story, HAML. ACT ii. SC. 7. There is an Italian tragedy on this subject by Benedict Capuano, a monk of Casino. Florent. 1587. 4to.

for acting plays¹. Or, in his own words, '*Quemadmodum aula Johannis*, theatri more ornata, *seipsam post Natalem superat*?' In an audit-book of Trinity college in Oxford, I think for the year 1559, I find the following disbursements relating to this subject.. '*Pro apparatu in comoedia Andriæ*, vii l. ix. iv d. *Pro prandio Principis* 'NATALICII eodem tempore, xiii s ix d. *Pro refectiōe præfectorum et doctorum magis illustrium cum Bursariis prandentium tempore comoediæ*, iv l. vii d.' That is, For dresses and scenes in acting Terence's ANDRIA, for the dinner of the CHRISTMAS PRINCE, and for the entertainment of the heads of the colleges and the most eminent doctors dining with the bursars or treasurers, at the time of acting the comedy, twelve pounds, three shillings, and eightpence. A CHRISTMAS PRINCE, or LORD OF MISRULE, corresponding to the IMPERATOR at Cambridge just mentioned, was a common temporary magistrate in the colleges at Oxford: but at Cambridge, they were censured in the sermons of the puritans, in the reign of James I., as a relic of the pagan ritual³. The last article of this disbursement shews, that the most respectable company in the university were invited on these occasions. At length our universities adopted the representation of plays, in which the scholars by frequent exercise had undoubtedly attained a con-

¹ There is a latin tragedy, ARCHIPHETHA, *sive Johannes Baptista*, written in 1547, by Nicolas Grimald, one of the first Students of Christ-church, Oxford, which probably was acted in the refectory there. It is dedicated to the dean, doctor Richard Cox, and was printed, Colon. 1548. 8vo. This play coincided with his plan of a rhetoric lecture, which he had set up in the college.

² Aschami EPISTOL. p. 126. b. Lond. 1581.

³ Fuller, CH. HIST. Hist. of Cambridge, p. 159. edit. 1655. OBSERVAT. on Spenser, ii. 211. In the court of Edward VI., George Ferrers, a lawyer, poet, and historian, bore this office at Greenwich, all the twelve days of christmas, in 1552. 'Who so pleasantly and wisely behaved himself, that the king had great delight in his PASTIMES.' Stowe's CHRON. p. 632. Hollingshead says, that 'being of better credit and estimation than commonlie his predecessors had bene before, he received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the MAISTER OF THE KING'S PASTIMES. Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundrie sights and devices of rare inventions, and in act of divers INTERLUDES, and matters of pastime played by persons, as not onlie satisfied the common sort, but also were verie well liked and allowed by the COUNCELL, and others of skill in the like PASTIMES, &c.' CHRON. iii. p. 1067. col. 2. 10. The appointment of so dextrous and respectable an officer to this department, was a stroke of policy; and done with a design to give the court popularity, and to divert the mind of the young king, on the condemnation of Somerset.

In some great families this officer was called the ABBOT OF MISRULE. In Scotland, where the reformation took a more severe and gloomy turn, these and other festive characters were thought worthy to be suppressed by the legislature. See PARL. vi. of queen Mary of Scotland, 1555. 'It is statute and ordained, that in all times cumming, na maner of person be chosen ROBERT HUDE, nor LITTLE JOHN, ABBOT OF UN-REASON, QUEENIS OF MAY, nor utherwise, nother in burgh, nor to landwart, [in the country,] in onie time to cum.' And this under very severe penalties, viz. In burghs, to the chusers of such characters, loss of Freedom, with other punishments at the queen's pleasure; and those who accepted such offices were to be banished the realm. In the country, the chusers forfeited ten pounds, with an arbitrary imprisonment. 'And gif onie women or uther about summer hees [hies, goes,] singand [singing] . . . thorow Burrowes and uthers Landward tounes, the women . . . sal be taken, handled, and put upon the cuck-stules, &c.' Notes to the PERCY HOUSEHOLD-BOOK, p. 441. Voltaire says, that since the Reformation, for 200 years there has not been a fiddle heard in some of the cantons of Switzerland.

In the French towns there was L'ABBE DR LIESSE, who in many towns was elected from the burgesses by the magistrates, and was the director of all their public shews. Among his numerous mock-officers were a herald, and a *Maitre d'Hotel*. In the city of Auxerre he was especially concerned to superintend the play which was annually acted on Quinquagesima Sunday. Carpentier, SUPPL. GLOSS. LAT. Du Cange, tom. i. p. 7. V. ABBAS LÆTITIÆ. Ibid. V. CHARAVARITUM, p. 923.

siderable degree of skill and address, as a part of the entertainment at the reception of princes and other eminent personages. In the year 1566, queen Elizabeth visited the university of Oxford. In the magnificent hall of the college of Christ Church, she was entertained with a Latin comedy called *MARCUS GEMINUS*, the Latin tragedy of *PROGNE*, and an English comedy on the story of Chaucer's *PALAMON* and *ARCITE*, all acted by the students of the university. The queen's observations on the persons of the last mentioned piece, deserve notice: as they are at once a curious picture of the romantic pedantry of the times, and of the characteristical turn and predominant propensities of the queen's mind. When the play was over, she summoned the poet into her presence, whom she loaded with thanks and compliments: and at the same time turning to her levee, remarked, that Palamon was so justly drawn as a lover, that he certainly must have been in love indeed: that Arcite was a *right martial knight, having a swart and manly countenance*, yet with the aspect of a Venus clad in armour: that the lovely Emilia was a virgin of uncorrupted purity and unblemished simplicity, and that although she sung so sweetly, and gathered flowers alone in the garden, she preserved her chastity undeflowered. The part of Emilia, the only female part in the play, was acted by a boy of fourteen years of age, a son of the dean of Christ Church, habited like a young princess: whose performance so captivated her majesty, that she gave him a present of eight guineas¹. During the exhibition, a cry of hounds, belonging to Theseus, was counterfeited without, in the great square of the college: the young students thought it a real chace, and were seized with a sudden transport to join the hunters: at which the queen cried out from her box, 'O excellent! These boys, in very troth, are ready to leap out of the windows to follow the hounds²?' In the year 1564, queen Elizabeth honoured the university of Cambridge with a royal visit³. Here she was present at the exhibition of the *AULULARIA* of Plautus, and the tragedies of *DIDO*, and of *HEZEKIAH*, in English: which were played in the body, or nave, of the chapel of King's college, on a stage extended from side to side, by a select company of scholars, chosen from different colleges at the discretion of five doctors, 'especially appointed to set forth such plays as should be exhibited before her grace.' The chapel, on this occasion, was

¹ This youth had before been introduced to the queen's notice, in her privy chamber at her lodgings at Christ-Church; where he saluted her in a short Latin oration with some Greek verses, with which she was so pleased, that she called in secretary Cecill, and encouraging the boy's modesty with many compliments and kind speeches, begged him to repeat his elegant performance. By Wood he is called, *summae spei puer*. *HIST. ANTIQ. UNIV. OXON.* lib. i. p. 287. col. 2. *ATHEN. OXON.* i. 152. Peck's *DESID. CURIOS.* vol. ii. lib. vii. Num. xviii. p. 46. seq.

² WOOD. *ATHEN. OXON.* ubi. *supr.*

³ For a minute account of which, see Peck's *DESID. CURIOS.* ut *supr.* p. 25. Num. xv. [*MSS.* Baker. vol. x. 7037. p. 109. *Irit. Mus.*] The writer was probably N. Robinson, domestic chaplain to Archbishop Parker, afterwards bishop of Bangor. WOOD, *ATHEN. OXON.* i. col. 696. *MSS.* Baker, ut *supr.* p. 181. Parker's *ANT. BRIT. ECCLES.* p. 14. *MATH. Vir fuit prudens, &c.* edit. 1572-3.

lighted by the royal guards; each of whom bore a staff-torch in his hand¹. Her majesty's patience was so fatigued by the sumptuous parade of shows and speeches, with which every moment was occupied that she could not stay to see the *AJAX* of Sophocles, in Latin, which was prepared. Having been praised both in Latin and Greek, and in prose and verse, for her learning and her chastity, and having received more compliments than are paid to any of the pastoral princesses in Sydney's *ARCADIA*, she was happy to return to the houses of some of her nobility in the neighbourhood. In the year 1583, Albertus de Alasco, a Polish prince Palatine, arrived at Oxford². In the midst of a medley of pithy orations, tedious sermons, degrees, dinners, disputations, philosophy, and fire-works, he was invited to the comedy of the *RIVALES*³, and the tragedy of *DIDO*, which were presented in Christ Church hall by some of the scholars of the society, and of St. John's college. In the latter play, Dido's supper, and the destruction of Troy, were represented in a marchpane, or rich cake: and the tempest which drove Dido and Eneas to the same cave, was counterfeited by a snow of sugar, a hail-storm of comfits, and a shower of rose-water⁴. In the year 1605, king James I. gratified his pedantry by a visit to the same university⁵. He was present at three plays in Christ Church hall: which he seems to have regarded as childish amusements, in comparison of the more solid delights of scholastic argumentation. Indeed, if we consider this monarch's insatiable thirst of profound erudition, we shall not be surprised to find, that he slept at these theatrical performances, and that he sate four hours every morning and afternoon with infinite satisfaction, to hear syllogisms in jurisprudence and theology. The first play, during this solemnity, was a pastoral comedy called *ALBA*: in which five men, almost naked, appearing on the stage as part of the representation, gave great offence to the queen and the maids of honour: while the king, whose delicacy was not easily shocked at other times, concurred with the ladies, and availing himself of this lucky circumstance, peevishly expressed his wishes to depart, before the piece was half finished⁶. The second play

¹ Peck, *ibid.* p. 35.

² Supposed to be the person whom Shakespeare, in the *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, called the *Count Palatine*. ACT I. SC. I.

³ This was in Latin, and written by William Gager, admitted a student of Christ-Church in 1572. By the way, he is styled by Wood, the best *comedian* of his time, that is dramatic poet. But he wrote only Latin plays. His Latin *MELIAGER* was acted at Christ-Church before lord Leicester, sir Philip Sydney, and other distinguished persons, in 1581. *ATH. OXON.* i. p. 366. This Gager had a controversy with doctor John Rainolds, president of Corpus, at Oxford, concerning the lawfulness of plays: which produced from the latter a pamphlet, called *THE OVERTHROW OF STAGE-PLAYS*, &c. Printed 1509. Gager's letter, in defence of his plays, and of the students who acted in them, is in *Bibl. Coll. Univ. MSS. J.* 13. It appears by a pamphlet written by one W. Heale, and printed at Oxford in 1609, that Gager held it lawful, in a public Act of the University, for husbands to beat their wives.

⁴ *HOLLINSHED CHRONICLE* iii. 1355.

⁵ *PREPARATIONS AT OXFORD*, &c. APPEND. LELANDI COLL. vol. ii. p. 626. seq. edit. Lond. 1774. [*MSS. Baker*, ut *supr.* *Brit. Mus.*] They were written by one present.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 637.

was VERTUMNUS, which although *learnedly penned* in Latin, and by a doctor in divinity, could not keep the king awake, who was wearied in consequence of having executed the office of moderator all that day at the disputations in St. Mary's church¹. The third drama was the AJAX of Sophocles, in Latin, at which the stage was varied three times². 'The king was very wearie before he came thither, but much 'more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislike.' But I must not omit, that as the king entered the city from Woodstock, he was saluted at the gate of St. John's college with a short interlude, which probably suggested a hint to Shakespeare to write a tragedy on the subject of Macbeth. Three youths of the college, habited like witches, advancing towards the king, declared they were the same who once met the two chiefs of Scotland, Macbeth and Bancho; prophesying a kingdom to the one, and to the other a generation of monarchs: that they now appeared, a second time, to his majesty, who was descended from the stock of Bancho, to shew the confirmation of that prediction³. Immediately afterwards, 'Three young youths, in habit and attire 'like Nymphs, confronted him, representing England, Scotland, and 'Ireland; and talking dialogue wise, each to the other, of their state, 'and at last concluded, yielding themselves up to his gracious 'government⁴.'

It would be unnecessary to trace this practice in our universities to later periods. The position advanced is best illustrated by proofs most remote in point of time; which, on that account, are also less obvious, and more curious. I could have added other ancient proofs; but I chose to select those which seemed, from concomitant circumstances, most likely to amuse.

Many instances of this practice in schools, or in seminaries of an inferior nature, may be enumerated. I have before mentioned the play of Robin and MARIAN, performed according to an annual custom, by the school-boys of Angiers in France, in the year 1392⁵. But

¹ The queen was not present; but next morning, with her ladies, the young prince, and *gallants attending the court*, she saw an English pastoral, by Daniel, called *ARCADIA REFORMED*. Ibid. p. 642. Although the anecdote is foreign to our purpose, I cannot help mentioning the reason, why the queen, during this visit to Oxford, was more pleased to hear the Oration of the professor of Greek, than the king. 'The king heard him willingly, and 'the Queen *much more*; because, she said, she *never had heard Greek*.' Ibid. 636.

² Towards the end of the hall, was a scene like a wall, 'painted and adorned with stately 'pillars, which pillars would turn about, by reason whereof, with the help of other painted 'clothes, their stage did vary three times in the acting of one tragedy.' LEL APPEND. ut supr. p. 631. The machinery of these plays, and the temporary stages in St. Mary's church, were chiefly conducted by 'one Mr. Jones, a *great traveller*, who undertooke to furnish 'them with rare devices, but performed very little to that which was expected.' Ibid. p. 646. Notwithstanding these slighting expressions, it is highly probable that this was Inigo Jones, afterwards the famous architect. He was now but thirty-three years of age, and just returned into England. He was the principal Contriver for the masques at Whitehall. Gerard, in STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS, describing queen Henrietta's popish chapel, says, 'Such a 'glorious scene built over the altar! Inigo Jones never presented a more curious piece in any 'of the masks at Whitehall. [dat. 1635.] vol. i. p. 505.

³ REX PLATONICUS, sive MUSÆ REGNANTES, Oxon, 1607, 4to, p. 18.

⁴ LEL APPEND. ut supr. p. 636

I do not mean to go abroad for illustrations of this part of our present inquiry. Among the writings of Udal, a celebrated master of Eton, about the year 1540, are recited *Plures Comediæ*, and a tragedy *de Papatu*, on the papacy: written probably to be acted by his scholars. An extract from one of his comedies may be seen in Wilson's LOGIKE¹. In the ancient CONSUETUDINARY, as it is called, of Eton-School, the following passage occurs. 'Circa festum divi Andreæ, ludimagister eligere solet pro suo arbitrio, SCENICAS FABULAS optimas et accommodatissimas, quas Pueri feriis Natalitiis subsequenter non sine LUDORUM ELEGANTIA, populo spectante, publice aliquando peragant.—Interdum etiam exhibet Anglico sermone contextas fabulas, siquæ habeant acumen et leporem².' That is, about the feast of St. Andrew, the 30th Nov., the master is accustomed to chuse, according to his own discretion, such Latin stage-plays as are most excellent and convenient; which the boys are to act in the following Christmas holidays, before a public audience, and with all the elegance of scenery and ornaments usual at the performance of a play. Yet he may sometimes order English plays; such at least, as are smart and witty. In the year 1538, Ralph Radcliffe, a polite scholar, and a lover of graceful elocution, opening a school at Hitchin in Hertfordshire, obtained a grant of the dissolved friery of the Carmelites in that town: and converting the refectory into a theatre, wrote several plays, both in Latin and English, which were exhibited by his pupils. Among his comedies were *Dives and Lazarus*, Boccacio's *Patient Grisilde*, *Titus and Gessipus*, and Chaucer's *Melibeus*: his tragedies were, the *Delivery of Susannah*, the *Burning of John Huss*, *Job's Sufferings*, the *Burning of Sodom*, *Jonas*, and the *Fortitude of Judith*. These pieces were seen by the biographer Bale in the author's library, but are now lost³. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that this very liberal exercise is yet preserved, and in the spirit of true classical purity at the college of Westminster⁴. I believe, the frequency of

¹ Written in 1553, p. 69.

² Supposed to have been drawn up about the year 1560. But containing all the ancient and original customs of the school. MSS. Rawlins. Bibl. Bodl.

³ Bale viii. 98. ATH. OXON. i. 73. I have seen an anonymous comedy, APOLLO SHROVING, composed by the Master of Hadleigh-school, in Suffolk, and acted by his scholars, on Shrove-tuesday, Feb. 7. 1626. printed 1627. 8vo. Published, as it seems, by E. W. Shrove-tuesday, as the day immediately preceding Lent, was always a day of extraordinary sport and feasting. So in the song of Justice Silence in Shakespeare, See P. HENRY IV. A. v. S. 4.

Tis merry in hall when beards wag all, And welcome MERRY SHROVETIDE.

In the Romish church there was anciently a feast immediately preceding Lent, which lasted many days, called CARNISCIPIUM. Carpentier, in V. SUPPL. LAT. GL. Du Cang. tom. i. p. 831. In some cities of France an officer was annually chosen, called LE PRINCE D'AMOUREUX, who presided over the sports of the youth for six days before Ash-wednesday. Ibid. V. AMORATUS. p. 195. and V. CARDINALIS. p. 818. also V. SPINETUM, tom. iii. p. 848. Some traces of these festivities still remain in our universities. In the PERCY HOUSEHOLD-BOOK, 1312, it appears that the clergy and officers of lord Percy's chapel performed a play 'before his lordship upon Shrowtewesday at night,' pag. 345.

⁴ It appears anciently to have been an exercise for youth, not only to act but to write interludes. Erasmus says, that sir Thomas More, 'adolescens COMEDIOLAS et scripsit et egit.

these school-plays suggested to Shakespeare the names of Seneca and Plautus as dramatic authors ; where Hamlet, speaking of a variety of theatrical performances, says, 'Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor 'Plautus too light⁵.' Jonson, in his comedy of *THE STAPLE OF NEWES*, has a satirical allusion to this practice, yet ironically applied : where CENSURE says, 'For my part, I beleeeve it, and there were no wiser 'than I, I would have neer a cunning schoole-master in England : I 'mean a Cunning-man a schoole-master ; that is, a conjurour, or a 'poet, or that had any acquaintance with a poet. They make all their 'schollers Play-boyes ! Is't not a fine sight to see all our children 'made Enterluders ? Doe we pay our money for this ? Wee send 'them to learne their grammar and their Terence, and they learne 'their play-bookes. Well, they talk we shall have no more parliaments, 'god blesse us ! But an wee have, I hope *Zeale of the Land Buzzy*, 'and my gossip Rabby *Trouble-truth*, will start up, and see we have 'painfull good ministers to keepe schoole, catechise our youth ; and 'not teach em to speke Playes, and act fables of false newes, &c.²'

In tracing the history of our stage, this early practice of performing plays in schools and universities has never been considered, as a circumstance instrumental to the growth and improvement of the drama. While the people were amused with Skelton's *TRIAL OF SIMONY*, Bale's *GOD'S PROMISES*, and CHRIST'S *DESCENT INTO HELL*, the scholars of the times were composing and acting plays on historical subjects, and in imitation of Plautus and Terence. Hence ideas of a legitimate fable must have been imperceptibly derived to the popular and vernacular drama. And we may add, while no settled or public theatres were known, and plays were chiefly acted by itinerant minstrels in the halls of the nobility at Christmas, these literary societies supported some idea of a stage : they afforded the best accommodation for theatrical exhibition, and were almost the only, certainly the the most rational, companies of players that existed.

But I mean yet to trespass on my reader's patience, by pursuing this inquiry still further ; which, for the sake of comprehension and connection has already exceeded the limits of a digression.

It is perhaps on this principle, that we are to account for plays being acted by singing-boys : although they perhaps acquired a turn for theatrical representation and the spectacular arts, from their annual exhibition of the ceremonies of the boy-bishop ; which seem to have been common in almost every religious community that was

EPISTOL. 447. But see what I have said of More's PAGEAUNTS, *Observat. on Spens.* ii. 47. And we are told, that More, while he lived a Page with archbishop Moreton, as the plays were going on in the palace during the christmas holidays, would often step upon the stage without previous notice, and exhibit a part of his own, which gave much more satisfaction than the whole performance besides. *Roper's LIFE AND DEATH OF SIR THOMAS MORE*, p. 27. edit. 1731, 8vo.

¹ ACT. ii. Sc. 7.

² ACT. iii. p. 50. edit. fol. 163r. This play was first acted in the year 1625.

capable of supporting a choir¹. I have before given an instance of the singing-boys of Hyde abbey and St. Swithin's priory at Winchester, performing a MORALITY before king Henry VII. at Winchester castle, on a Sunday, in the year 1487. In the accounts of Maxtoke priory near Coventry, in the year 1430, it appears, that eleemosinary boys or choristers, of that monastery, acted a play, perhaps every year, on the feast of the Purification, in the hall of the neighbouring castle belonging to lord Clinton: and it is specified, that the cellarer took no money for their attendance, because his lordship's minstrels had

¹ In a small college, for only one provost, five fellows, and six choristers, founded by archbishop Rotherham in 1481, in the obscure village of Rotherham in Yorkshire, this piece of mummery was not omitted. The founder leaves by will, among other bequests to the college, 'A Myter for the *barne-bishop* of cloth of gold, with two knoppes of silver, gilt and enamelled.' Hearne's LIB. NIG. SCACC. APPEND. p. 674. 686. This establishment, but with a far greater degree of buffoonery, was common in the collegiate churches of France. Dom. Marlot, HISTOIRE de la Metropole de Rheims, tom. ii. p. 769. A part of the ceremony in the church of Noyon was, that the children of the choir should celebrate the whole service on Innocent's day. Brillou, DICTIONNAIRE DES ARRETS, Artic. NOYON. edit. de 1727. This privilege, as I have before observed, is permitted to the children of the choir of Winchester college, on that festival, by the founder's statutes, given in 1380. Yet in the statutes of Eton college, given in 1441, and altogether transcribed from those of Winchester, the chorister-bishop of the chapel is permitted to celebrate the holy offices on the feast of St. Nicholas, but *by no means* on that of the INNOCENTS.—'In festo sancti Nicolai, in quo et NULLATENUS in festo sanctorum INNOCENTII, divina officia (præter Missæ Secreta) exequi et dici permittimus per Episcopum 'Puerorum, ad hoc, de eisdem [pueris choristis] annis singulis eligendum.' STATUT. Coll. Etonens. Cap. xxxi. The same clause is in the statutes of King's college at Cambridge. Cap. xlii. The parade of the mock-bishop is evidently akin to the *Fête des Faux*, in which they had a bishop, an abbot, and a precentor, of the fools. One of the pieces of humour in this last-mentioned show, was to shave the precentor in public, on a stage erected at the west door of the church. M. Tilliot, MEM. de la *Fête des Faux*, ut supr. p. 13. In the Council of Sens, A.D. 1485, we have this prohibition. 'Turpem etiam illum abusum in quibusdam frequentat ecclesiis, quo, certis annis, nonnulli cum mitra, laculo, ac vestibus pontificalibus, *more episcoporum* benedicunt, alii ut reges et duces induti, quod Festum FATUORUM, vel 'INNOCENTII, seu PUEBORUM, in quibusdam regionibus nuncupatur, &c.' 'Concil. Senon.' cap. iii. Harduin. ACT. CONCIL. Paris. 1714. tom. ix. p. 1525. E. Ibid. CONCIL. BASIL. Sess. xxi. p. 1122. E. And 1296, D. p. 1344. A. It is surprising that Colet, dean of St. Paul's, a friend to the purity of religion, and who had the good sense and resolution to censure the superstitions and fopperies of popery in his public sermons, should countenance this idle farce of the boy-bishop, in the statutes of his school at St. Paul's; which he founded with a view of establishing the education of youth on a more rational and liberal plan than had yet been known, in the year 1512. He expressly orders that his scholars, 'shall every Childermas [Innocent's daye come to Paulis church, and hear the CHILDE-BYSHOP's] (of St. Paul's cathedral) sermon. And after, be at the hygh masse; and each of them offer a penny to the 'CHILD-BYSHOP, and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole.' Knight's LIFE OF COLET, (MISCELL. Num. V. APPEND.) p. 362. I take this opportunity of observing, that the anniversary custom at Eton of going *ad Montem*, originated from the ancient and popular practice of these theatrical processions in collegiate bodies.

In the statutes of New college in Oxford, founded about the year 1380, there is the following remarkable passage. 'Ac etiam illum LUDUM vilissimum et horribilem RADENDI BARBAS, 'qui sieri solet in nocte præcedente Inceptionis Magistradorum in Artibus, infra collegium nostrum prædictum, vel alibi in Universitate prædicta, ubicunque, ipsis [sociis et scholaribus] 'penitus interdicimus, ac etiam prohibemus expresse.' RUBR. xxv. Hearne endeavours to explain this injunction, by supposing that it was made in opposition to the Wickliffites, who disregarded the laws of scripture; and, in this particular instance, violated the following text in LEVITICUS, where this custom is expressly forbidden, xix. 27. 'Neither shalt thou mar 'the corners of thy beard.' NOT. ad Joh. Trokelowe. p. 393. Nothing can be more unfortunate than this elucidation of our antiquary. The direct contrary was the case: for the Wickliffites entirely grounded their ideas of reformation both in morals and doctrine on scriptural proofs, and often committed absurdities in too precise and literal an acceptance of texts. And, to say no more, the custom, from the words of the statute, seems to have been long preserved in the university, as a mock-ceremony on the night preceding the solemn Act of Magistration. It is styled LUDUS, a Play; and I am of opinion, that it is to be ranked among the other ecclesiastic mummeries of that age; and that it has some connection with the exhibition mentioned above of shaving the Precentor in public.

had often assisted this year at several festivals in the refectory of the convent, and in the hall of the prior, without fee or gratuity. I will give the article which is very circumstantial, at length '*Pro jentaculis puerorum elemosynæ exeuntium ad aulam in castro ut ibi LUDUM peragerent in die Purificationis, xiv d. Unde nihil a domini [Clinton] thesaurario, quia sæpius hoc anno ministralli castri fecerunt ministralsiam in aula conventus et Prioris ad festa plurima sine ullo regardo*¹.' That is, 'For the extraordinary breakfast of the children of the almonry, or singing-boys of the convent, when they went to the hall in the castle, to perform the PLAY on the feast of the Purification, fourteen-pence. In consideration of which performance, we received nothing in return from the treasurer of the lord Clinton, because the minstrels of the castle had often this year plaid at many festivals, both in the hall of the convent and in the prior's hall, without reward.' So early as the year 1378, the scholars, or choristers, of St. Paul's cathedral in London, presented a petition to Richard II., that his majesty would prohibit some ignorant and unexperienced persons from acting the HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had expended considerable sums for preparing a public presentation of that play at the ensuing Christmas². From MYSTERIES this young fraternity proceeded to more regular drama: and at the commencement of a theatre, were the best and almost only comedians. They became at length so favorite a set of players, as often to act at court: and on particular occasions of festivity, were frequently removed from London, for this purpose only, to the royal houses at some distance from town. This is a circumstance in their dramatic history, not commonly known. In the year 1544, while the princess Elizabeth resided at Hatfield-house in Hertfordshire, under the custody of sir Thomas Pope, she was visited by queen Mary. The next morning, after mass, they were entertained with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting *with which their highnesses right were well content*. In the evening, the great chamber was adorned with a sumptuous suit of tapestry, call *The Hanginge of Antioch*: and after supper, a play was presented by the *children of Paul's*³. After the play, and the next morning, one of the children named, Maximilian Paines, sung to the princess, while she *plaid at the virginalls*⁴. Strype,

¹ Penes me. supr. citat.

² See RISE AND PROGRESS, &c. CIBE. L. vol. ii. p. 118.

³ Who perhaps performed the play of HOLOPHERNES, the same year, after a *greate and rich masking and banquet*, given by sir Thomas Pope to the princess, in the *grete hall at Hatfelde*. LIFE of sir THO. POPE. SECT. p. 85.

⁴ MSS. ANNALES OF Q. MARIE'S REIGNE, MSS. Cotton. VITELL. F. 5. There is a curious anecdote in Melville's MEMOIRS, concerning Elizabeth, when queen, being surprized from behind the tapestry by lord Hunsdon, while she was playing on her virginals. Her majesty, I know not whether in a fit of royal prudery, or of royal coquetry, suddenly rose from the instrument and offered to *strike* his lordship: declaring, 'that she was not used to *play before men*, but when she was solitary to shun melancholy.' MEM. Lond. 1752. p. 99.

perhaps from the same manuscript chronicle, thus describes a magnificent entertainment given to queen Elizabeth, in the year 1559, at Nonsuch in Surrey, by lord Arundel, her majesty's housekeeper, or superintendant, at that palace, now destroyed. I chuse to give the description in the words of this simple but picturesque compiler. 'There the queen had great entertainment, with banquets, especially 'on Sunday night, made by the said earl: together with a Mask, 'and the warlike sounds of drums and flutes, and all kinds of musick 'till midnight. On Monday, was a great supper made for her: but 'before night, she stood at her standing in the further park, and 'there she saw a Course. At night was a play by the *Children of Paul's* and their [music] master Sebastian. After that a costly 'banquet, accompanied with drums and flutes. This entertainment 'lasted till three in the morning. And the earl presented her majesty 'a cupboard of plate.' In the year 1562, when the society of parish clerks in London celebrated one of their annual feasts, after morning service in Guildhall chapel, they retired to their hall; where after dinner, a *goodly play* was performed by the choristers of Westminster abbey, with *waits, and regals, and singing*². The children of the chapel-royal were also famous actors; and were formed into a company of players by queen Elizabeth, under the conduct of Richard Edwards, a musician, and a writer of Interludes, already mentioned, and of whom more will be said hereafter. All Lilly's plays, and many of Shakespeare's and Jonson's, were originally performed by these boys⁴: and it seems probable, that the title given by Jonson to one of his comedies, called CYNTHIA'S REVELS, first acted in 1605 'by the children of her majesties chapel, with the allowance 'of the Master of the Revels,' was an allusion to this establishment of queen Elizabeth, one of whose romantic names was CYNTHIA⁵.

Leland applauds the skill of Elizabeth, both in playing and singing. ENCOM. fol. 59. [p. 125. edit. Hearn.]

Aut quid commemorem quos tu testudine sumpta
Concentus referas mellifluosque modos?

¹ ANN REF. vol. i. ch. xv. p. 194., edit. 1725. fol.

² Strype's edit. of Stowe's SURV. LOND. B. v. p. 231.

³ Six of Lilly's nine comedies are entitled COURT-COMEDIES: which, I believe, were written professedly for this purpose. These were reprinted together, London 1632. 12mo. His last play is dated 1597.

⁴ They very frequently were joined by the choristers of St. Paul's. It is a mistake that these were rival companies; and that because Jonson's POETASTER was acted, in the year 1601, by the boys of the chapel, his antagonist Decker got his SATIROMASTIX, an answer to Jonson's play, to be performed out of opposition, by those of St. Paul's. Lilly's court-comedies, and many others, were acted by the children of both choirs in conjunction. It is certain that Decker sneers at Johnson's interest with the Master of the Revels, in procuring his plays to be acted so often at court. '*Sir Vaughan*. I have some cossen-germans at court shall 'beget you the reversion of the master of the king's revels, or else to be his lord of misrule nowe at Christmas.' SIGNAT. G. 3. Dekker's SATIROMASTIX, or the untrussing of the Humorous Poet. Lond. for E. White, 1602. 4to. Again, SIGNAT. M. 'When your playes are mislikt at court, you shall not crie mew like a pusse-cat, and say you are glad you write out of the courtier's element.' On the same idea the satire is founded of sending Horace, or Jonson, to court, to be dubbed a poet: and of bringing 'the quivering bride to court in a maske, &c.' Ibid SIGNAT. I. 3.

The general reputation which they gained, and the particular encouragement and countenance which they received from the queen, excited the jealousy of the grown actors at the theatres: and Shakespeare, in *HAMLET*, endeavours to extenuate the applause which was idly indulged to their performance, perhaps not always very just, in the following speeches of Rosencrantz and Hamlet.—‘There is an ‘aiery of little children, little eyases¹, they cry out on the top of the ‘question, and are most tyrannically clapped for’t: these are now ‘the fashion, and so berattle the *common* stages, so they call them, that ‘many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce ‘come thither.—*Ham.* What, are they children? Who mantains ‘them? How are they escoted²? Will they pursue the Quality ‘no longer than they can sing, &c³.’ This was about the year 1599. The latter clause means, ‘Will they follow the *profession* of players, ‘no longer than they keep the voices of boys, and sing in the choir?’ So Hamlet afterwards says to the player, ‘Come, give us a taste of ‘your *quality*: come, a passionate speech⁴.’ Some of these, however, were distinguished for their propriety of action, and became admirable comedians at the theatre of Black-friars⁵. Among the children of queen Elizabeth’s chapel, was one Salvadore Pavy, who acted in Jonson’s *POETASTER*, and *CYNTHIA’S REVELS*, and was inimitable in his representation of the character of an old man. He died about thirteen years of age, and is thus elegantly celebrated in one of Jonson’s epigrams.

An Epitaph on S. P. a child of queen Elizabeth’s chapell.

Weep with me all you that read
This little story !

¹ Nest of young hawks.

² Paid.

³ ACT ii. SC. vi. And perhaps he glances at the same set of actors in *ROMEO AND JULIET*, when a play, or maske, is proposed. ACT i. SC. v.

We’ll have no Cupid, hood-wink’d with a scarf,
Bearing a Tartar’s painted bow of lath.—
Nor a *without-book* prologue faintly spoke
After the prompter——

⁴ Ibid. SC. iii.

⁵ There is a passage in STRAFFORDE’S *LETTERS*, which seems to shew, that the dispositions and accommodations at the theatre at Black-friars, were much better than we now suppose. ‘A little pique happened betwixt the duke of Lenox and the lord chamberlain, about a box at ‘a new play in the Black-friars, of which the duke had got the key.’ The dispute was settled by the king. G. GARRARD to the LORD DEPUTY. Jan. 25. 1635. vol. i. p. 511. edit. 1739. fol. See a curious account of an order of the privy council, in 1633, ‘hung up in a table near Paules ‘and Black-fryars, to command all that resort to the play-house there, to send away their ‘coaches, and to disperse abroad in Paule’s church-yard, carter-lane, the conduit in fleet-‘street, &c.’ Ibid. p. 175. Another of Garrard’s letters mentions a play at this theatre, which ‘cost three or four hundred pounds setting out; eight or ten suits of new cloaths he ‘[the author] gave the players, an unheard of prodigality!’ Dat. 1637. Ibid. vol. ii. 150.

It appears by the Prologue of Chapman’s *ALL FOOLS*, a comedy presented at Black-friars, and printed 1605, that only the spectators of rank and quality sate on the stage.

— To fair attire the stage
Helps much; for if our *other audience* see
You on the stage depart before we end,
Our wits go with you all, &c.—

And know, for whom a tear you shed
 DEATH'S self is sorry.
 Twas a child, that so did thrive
 In grace and feature,
 AS HEAVEN and NATURE seem'd to strive
 Which owned the creature.
 Yeares he numbered scarce thirteene,
 When Fates turn'd cruell ;
 Yet three fill'd zodiackes had he beene
 The Stage's Jewell :
 And did acte, what now we moane,
 Old men so duely ;
 As, sooth, the PARCÆ thought him one,
 He plaid so truly.
 So, by error, to his fate
 They all consented ;
 But viewing him since, alas ! too late,
 They have repented :
 And have sought, to give new birthe,
 In bathes to steep him :
 But, being so much too good for earth,
 HEAVEN vows to keep him.¹

To this ecclesiastical origin of the drama, we must refer the plays acted by the society of the parish-clerks of London, for eight days successively, at Clerkenwell, which thence took its name, in the presence of most of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, in the years 1390, and 1409. In the ignorant ages, the parish-clerks of London might justly be considered as a literary society. It was an essential part of their profession, not only to sing but to read ; an accomplishment almost solely confined to the clergy : and, on the whole, they seem to come under the character of a religious fraternity. They were incorporated into a guild, or fellowship, by Henry III. about the year 1240, under the patronage of St. Nicholas. It was antiently customary for men and women of the first quality, ecclesiastics, and others, who were lovers of church music, to be admitted into this corporation : and they gave large gratuities for the support, or education, of many persons in the practice of that science. Their public feasts, which I have already mentioned, were frequent, and celebrated with singing and music ; most commonly at Guildhall chapel or college.² Before the reformation, this society was constantly hired to assist as a choir, at the magnificent funerals of the nobility, or other distinguished personages, which were celebrated within the city of London, or in its neighbourhood. The splendid ceremonies of their anniversary procession and mass, in the year 1554, are thus related by Strype, from an old chronicle. ' May the sixth, was a goodly evensong at Guildhall

¹ EPIGRAMMES, Epig. cxx.

² Stowe's SURVEY LONDON ut supr. lib. v. p. 231.

'college, by the Masters of the CLARKS and their fellowship, with singing and playing; and the morrow after, was a great mass, at the same place, and by the same fraternity: when every clark offered an half-penny. The mass was sung by diverse of the queen's [Mary's] chapel and children. And after mass done, every clark went their procession, two and two together; each having on, a surplice and a rich cope, and a garland. And then fourscore standards, streamers, and banners; and each one that bare them had an albe or a surplice. Then came in order the waits playing: and then, thirty clarkes, singing FESTA DIES. There were four of these choirs. Then came a canopy, borne over the Sacrament by four of the masters of the clarkes, with staffe torches burning, &c.¹ Their profession, employment, and character, naturally dictated to this spiritual brotherhood the representation of plays, especially those of the scriptural kind: and their constant practice in shows, processions, and vocal music, easily accounts for their address in detaining the best company which England afforded in the fourteenth century, at a religious farce, for more than a week.

Before I conclude this inquiry, a great part of which has been taken up in endeavouring to shew the connection between places of education and the stage, it ought to be remarked, that the ancient fashion of acting plays in the inns of court, which may be ranked among seminaries of instruction, although for a separate profession, is deducible from this source. The first representation of this sort which occurs on record, and is mentioned with any particular circumstances, was at Gray's-inn. John Roos, or Roo, student at Gray's-inn, and created a serjeant at law in the year 1511, wrote a comedy which was acted at Christmas in the hall of that society, in the year 1527. This piece, which probably contained some free reflections on the pomp of the clergy, gave such offence to Cardinal Wolsey, that the author was degraded and imprisoned.² In the year 1550, under the reign of Edward VI., an order was made in the same society, that no comedies, commonly called Interludes, should be acted in the refectory in the intervals of vacation, except at the celebration of Christmas: and that then, the whole body of students should jointly contribute towards the dresses, scenes, and decorations.³ In the year 1561, Sackville's and Norton's tragedy of FERREX AND PORREX was presented before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple.⁴ In the year 1566, the SUPPOSES, a comedy, was acted at Gray's-inn, written by Gascoigne, one of the students. Dekker, in his satire

¹ ECCLES. MEM. vol. iii. ch. xiii. p. 121.

³ Dugdale, ORIG. JURID. cap. 67. p. 285.

⁴ Printed at London, 1565. 12mo. In one of the old editions of this play, I think a 4to, of 1590, it is said to be 'set forth as the same was showed before the queen's most excellent majestie, in her highness's court of the inner-temple.' It is to be observed, that Norton, one of the authors, was connected with the law: For the 'Approbation of Mr. T. Norton, counsellor and solicitor of London, appointed by the bishop of London,' is prefixed to Ch. Marbury's *Collection of Italian Proverbs*, Lond. 1581. 4to.

² Hollinshed. CHRON. iii. 894.

against Jonson above cited, accuses Jonson for having stolen some jokes from the Christmas plays of the lawyers. 'You shall sweare not 'to bumbast out a new play with the old lynning of jests stolne from 'the Temple-revels.'¹ In the year 1632 it was ordered, in the Inner Temple, that no play should be continued after twelve at night, not even on Christmas-eve.²

But these societies seem to have shone most in the representation of Masques, a branch of the old drama. So early as the year 1431, it was ordered, that the society of Lincoln's inn should celebrate four revels,³ on four grand festivals, every year, which I conceive to have consisted in great measure of this species of impersonation. In the year 1613, they presented at Whitehall a masque before James I., in honour of the marriage of his daughter the princess Elizabeth with the prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine, at the cost of more than one thousand and eighty pounds.⁴ The poetry was by Chapman, and the machinery by Jones.⁵ But the most splendid and sumptuous performance of this kind, plaid by these societies, was the masque which they exhibited at Candlemas-day, in the year 1633, at the expence of two thousand pounds, before Charles I.; which so pleased the king, and probably the queen, that he invited 120 gentlemen of the law to a familiar entertainment at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday following.⁶ It was called the TRIUMPH OF PEACE, and written by Shirley, then a student of Gray's-inn. The scenery was the invention of Jones, and the music was composed by William Lawes and Simon Ives.⁷ Some curious anecdotes of this exhibition

¹ SATIROMASTIX, edit. 1602. ut supr. SIGNAT. M.

² Dug. ut supr. cap. 57. p. 140. seq. also c. 61. 205.

³ It is not, however, exactly known whether these revels were not simply DANCES: for Dugdale says, that the students of this inn 'anciently had DANCINGS for their recreation and 'delight.' *IBID.* And he adds, that in the year 1610, the under barristers, for example's sake, were put out of commons by decimation, because they offended in not DANCING on Candlemas-day, when the JUDGES were present, according to an ancient order of the society. *Ibid.* col. 2. In an old comedy, called CUPID'S WHIRLIGIG, acted in the year 1616, by the children of his majesty's revels, a law-student is one of the persons of the drama, who says to a lady, 'Faith, lady, I remember the first time I saw you was in quadragesimo-sexto of the 'queene, in a michaelmas tearme, and I think it was the morrow upon mouse Michaelis, or 'crastino Animarum, I cannot tell which. And the next time I saw you was at our REVELLS 'where it pleased your ladyship to grace me with a galliard; and I shall never forget it, for 'my velvet pantables [pantolles] were stolne away the whilst.' But this may also allude to their masks and plays. SIGNAT. H. 2. edit. Lond. 1616. 4to.

⁴ Dugdale *IBID.* p. 246. The other societies seem to have joined. *IBID.* cap. 67. p. 286. Finett's PHILOXENIS, p. 8. 11. edit. 1656. and *Ibid.* p. 73.

⁵ Printed LOND. 1614. 4to. 'With a description of the whole show, in the manner of their 'march on horseback to the court from the Master of the Rolls his house, &c.' It is dedicated to Sir E. Philips, Master of the Rolls. But we find a masque on the very same occasion, and at Whitehall, before the king and queen, called *The masque of Grays inn gentlemen and the Inner temple*, by Beaumont, in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher.

⁶ Dugdale *ibid.* p. 346.

⁷ It was printed, Lond. 1633. 4to. The author says, that it exceeded in variety and richness of decoration, any thing ever exhibited at Whitehall. There is a little piece called THE INNS OF COURT ANAGRAMMATIST, or *The Masquers Masqued in Anagrams*, written by Francis Lenton, the queen's poet, Lond. 1634. 4to. In this piece, the names, and respective houses, of each masquer are specified; and in commendation of each there is an epigram. The masque with which his majesty returned this compliment on the shrove-tuesday following at Whitehall, was, I think, Carew's CÆLUM BRITANNICUM, written by the king's com-

are preserved by a cotemporary, a diligent and critical observer of those seemingly insignificant occurrences, which acquire importance in the eyes of posterity, and are often of more value than events of greater dignity. 'On Monday after Candlemas-day, the gentlemen of 'the inns of court performed their MASQUE at Court. They were 'sixteen in number, who rode through the streets,¹ in four chariots, and 'two others to carry their pages and musicians; attended by an hundred gentlemen on great horses, as well clad as every I saw any. 'They far exceeded in bravery [splendour] any Masque that had 'formerly been presented by those societies, and performed the dancing part with much applause. In their company, was one Mr. Read 'of Gray's-inn; whom all the women, and some men, cried up for as 'handsome a man as the duke of Buckingham. They were well used 'at the court by the king and queen. No disgust given them, only 'this one accident fell: Mr. May, of Gray's-inn, a fine poet, he who 'translated Lucan, came athwart my lord chamberlain in the banquetting-house,² and he broke his staff over his shoulders, not knowing who he was; the king present, who knew him, for he calls him 'HIS POET, and told the chamberlain of it, who sent for him the next 'morning, and fairly excused himself to him, and gave him fifty pounds 'in pieces.—This riding-show took so well, that both king and queen 'desired to see it again, so that they invited themselves to supper to 'my lord mayor's within a week after; and the Masquers came in a 'more glorious show with all the riders, which were increased twenty, 'to Merchant-taylor's Hall, and there performed again.'³ But it was

mand, and played by his majesty, with many of the nobility and their sons who were boys. The machinery by Inigo Jones, and the music by H. Lawes. It has been given to Davenant, but improperly.

There is a play written by Middleton about the year 1623, called *INNER TEMPLE MASQUE*, or the *MASQUE OF HEROES*, presented as an *entertainment for many worthy ladies*, by the members of the society. Printed, London 1640. 4to. I believe it is the foundation of Mrs. Behn's *CITY-HEIRESS*.

I have also seen the *MASQUE OF FLOWERS*, acted by the students of Grays-inn, in the Banquetting-house at White-hall, on Twelfth Night in 1613. It is dedicated to sir F. Bacon, and was printed, Lond. 1614. 4to. It was the last of the court solemnities exhibited in honour of Carr, earl of Somerset.

¹ They went from Ely house.

² At Whitehall.

³ STRAFFORDE'S LETTERS, Garrard to the Lord Deputy, dat. Feb. 27, 1633. vol. i. p. 207. It is added, 'On Shrove-Tuesday at night, the king and the lords performed their Masque. 'The templars were all invited, and well pleased, &c. P. 177. And Fr. Osborn's *TRADID*. MEM. vol. ii. p. 134. WORKS, edit. 1722. 8vo. It seems the queen and her ladies were experienced actresses: for the same writer says, Jan. 9. 1633. 'I never knew a duller 'Christmas than we had at Court this year; but one play all the time at Whitehall!—The 'queen had some little infirmity, which made her keep in: only on Twelfth-night, she feasted 'the king at Somerset-house, and presented him with a play, newly studied, long since 'printed, the *FAITHFUL SHEPHERDESS* [of Fletcher] which the king's players acted in the 'robes *she and her ladies acted their PASTORAL in the last year*.' Ibid. p. 177. Again, Jan. 11. 1634. 'There is some resolution for a Maske at Shrovetide: the queen and fifteen 'ladies, are to perform, &c.' Ibid. p. 360. And, Nov. 9. 1637. 'Here are to be two masks 'this winter; one at Christmas, which the king and the young noblesse do make; the other 'at Shrovetide, which the queen and her ladies do present to the king. A great room is now 'building only for this use betwixt the guard chamber and the banquetting-house, and of 'fir, &c.' Ibid. vol. ii. p. 130. See also p. 140. And Finett's *PHILOXENIS*. 'There being a 'maske in practice of the queen in person, with other great ladies, &c.' p. 198. See White-lock, sub. an. 1632. She was [also] an actress in Davenant's masque of the *TEMPLE OF*

not only by the parade of processions, and the decorations of scenery, that these spectacles were recommended. Some of them, in point of poetical composition, were eminently beautiful and elegant. Among these may be mentioned a masque on the story of Circe and Ulysses, called the INNER TEMPLE MASQUE, written by William Brown, a student of that society, about the year 1620.¹ From this piece, as a specimen of the temple-masques in this view, I make no apology for my anticipation in transcribing the following ode, which Circe sings as a charm to drive away sleep from Ulysses, who is discovered reposing under a large tree. It is addressed to Sleep.

THE CHARME.

Sonne of Erebus and Nighte !	Hye away, and aime thy flighte,
Where consort none other fowle	Than the batte and sullen owle :
Where, upon the lymber gras,	Poppy and mandragoras,
With like simples not a few,	Hange for ever dropes of dew :
Where flowes Lethe, without coyle,	Softly like a streame of oyle.
Hye thee thither, gentle Sleepe !	With this Greeke no longer keepe.

LOVE, with many of the nobility of both sexes. In Jonson's *CLORIDIA* at Shrovetide, 1630.—In Jonson's Masque called *LOVE FREED FROM IGNORANCE AND FOLLY*, printed in 1640.—In W. Montagu's *Shepherd's Oracle*, a Pastoral, printed in 1649.—In the masque of *Albion's Triumph*, the Sunday after Twelfth-night. 1631. Printed 1631.—In *LUMINALIA*, or *The Festival of Light*, a masque, on Shrove-tuesday in 1637. Printed Lond. 1637. 4to.—In *Salmacida Spolia* at Whitehall, 1639. Printed Lond. 1639. 4to. The words, I believe, by Davenant; and the music by Lewis Richard, master of her majesty's music.—In *Tempe restored*, with fourteen other ladies, on Shrove-tuesday at Whitehall, 1631. Printed Lond. 1631. 4to. The words by Aurelian Townsend. The king acted in some of these pieces. In the preceding reign, queen Anne had given countenance to this practice; and, I believe, she is the first of our queens that appeared personally in this most elegant and rational amusement of a court. She acted in Daniel's Masque of *The Vision of the four Goddesses*, with eleven other ladies, at Hampton-court, in 1604. Lond. 1624. 4to.—In Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, at Whitehall, in 1609.—In Daniel's *Tethys's Festival*, a Masque at the creation of prince Henry, Jun. 5. 1610. This was called the *Queen's Wake*. Winwood. iii. 180. Daniel dedicates to this queen a pastoral tragi-comedy, in which she perhaps performed, called *Hymen's Triumph*. It was presented at Somerset-house, where she magnificently entertained the king on occasion of the marriage of lord Roxburgh. Many others, I presume, might be added. Among the *Entertainments at Rutland-house*, composed by Davenant in the reign of Charles I., there is a *Declamation*, or rather Disputation, with music, concerning *Public Entertainment by Moral Representation*. The disputants are Diogenes and Aristophanes. I am informed, that among the MSS. papers of the late Mr. Thomas Coxeter, of Trinity college in Oxford, an ingenious and inquisitive gleaner of anecdotes for a biography of English poets, there was a correspondence between sir Fulke Greville and Daniel the poet, concerning improvements and reformations proposed to be made in these court-interludes. But this subject will be more fully examined, and further pursued, in its proper place.

After the Restoration, when the dignity of the old monarchical manners had suffered a long eclipse from a Calvinistic usurpation, a feeble effort was made to revive these liberal and elegant amusements at Whitehall. For about the year 1675, queen Catherine ordered Crowne to write a Pastoral called *Calisto*, which was acted at court by the ladies Mary and Anne daughters of the duke of York, and the young nobility. About the same time lady Anne, afterwards queen, plaid the part of Semandra, in Lee's *Mithridates*. The young noblemen were instructed by Betterton, and the princesses by his wife; who perhaps conceived Shakespeare more fully than any female that ever appeared on the stage. In remembrance of her theatrical instructions, Anne, when queen, assigned Mrs. Betterton an annual pension of £100. Langb. *DRAM.* P. p. 92. edit. 1691. Cibber's *APOL.* p. 134.

This was an early practice in France. In 1540, Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, wrote Moralities, which she called *Pastorals*, to be acted by the ladies of her court.

¹ Printed from a MSS. in Emanuel-college at Cambridge, by Tho. Davies. *WORKS OF W. Browne*, Lond. 1772. vol. iii. p. 121. In the dedication to the Society the author says, 'If it degenerate in kinde from those other the society hath produced, blame yourselves for 'not keeping a happier muse.' Wood says that Browne 'retiring to the inner temple, 'became famed there for his poetry.' *ATH.* Oxon. i. p. 492.

Thrice I charge thee by my wand, Thrice with moly from my hand
 Doe I touch Ulysses' eyes, And with th' iaspis. Then arise
 Sagest Greeke ! [Pag. 135.]

In praise of this song it will be sufficient to say, that it reminds us of some favourite touches in Milton's *COMUS*, to which it perhaps gave birth. Indeed one cannot help observing here in general, although the observation more properly belongs to another place, that a masque thus recently exhibited on the story of Circe, which there is reason to think had acquired some popularity, suggested to Milton the hint of a masque on the story of Comus. It would be superfluous to point out minutely the absolute similarity of the two characters : they both deal in incantations conducted by the same mode of operation, and producing effects exactly parallel.

From this practice of performing interludes in the inns of court, we may explain a passage in Shakespeare : but the present establishment of the context embarrasses that explanation, as it perplexes the sentence in other respects. In PART II. OF HENRY IV., Shallow is boasting to his cousin Silence of his heroic exploits when he studied the law at Clement's-inn. 'I was once at Clement's-inn, where I think they will talk of mad Shallow yet. *Sil.* You were called *lusty Shallow* then, cousin. *Shal.* I was called any thing, and I would have done any thing, indeed too, and roundly too. There was I, and little John Doit of Staffordshire, &c. You had not four such swinge-bucklers in the inns of court again. We knew where all the Bona Roba's were, &c.—Oh, the mad days that I have spent !' [ACT iii. SC. iii.] Falstaffe then enters, and is recognised by Shallow, as his brother-student at Clement's-inn ; on which, he takes occasion to resume the topic of his juvenile frolics exhibited in London fifty years ago. 'She's old, and had Robin Night work, before I came to Clement's inn.—Ha, cousin Silence, that thou hadst That that this knight and I have seen ! Hah, Sir John, &c.' Falstaffe's recruits are next brought forward to be inrolled. One of them is ordered to handle his arms : when Shallow says, still dwelling on the old favourite theme of Clement's-inn, 'He is not his craft master, he doth not do it right. I remember at Mile-End Green, when I lay at Clement's-inn, I was then Sir Dagonet in ARTHUR'S SHOW, there was a little quiver fellow, and he would manage you his piece thus, &c.' Does he mean, that he acted sir Dagonet at Mile-end Green, or at Clement's-inn ? By the application of a parenthesis only, the passage will be cleared from ambiguity, and the sense I would assign will appear to be just. 'I remember at Mile-end Green, (when I lay at Clement's-inn, I was then Sir Dagonet in ARTHUR'S SHOW), there was a little quiver fellow, &c.' That is, 'I remember when I was a very young man at Clement's-inn, and not fit to act any higher part than Sir Dagonet in

'the interludes which we used to play in the society, that among the 'soldiers who were exercised in Mile-end Green, there was one remarkable fellow, &c.' The performance of this part of Sir Dagonet was another of Shallow's feats at Clement's-inn, on which he delights to expatiate; a circumstance, in the mean time, quite foreign to the purpose of what he is saying, but introduced, on that account, to heighten the ridicule of his character. Just as he had told Silence, a little before, that he saw Schoggan's head broke by Falstaffe at the court-gate, 'and the *very same day*, I did fight with one Sampson 'Stockfish, a fruiterer, behind Gray's-inn.' Not to mention the satire implied in making Shallow act Sir Dagonet, who was King Arthur's Fool. ARTHUR'S SHOW, here supposed to have been presented at Clement's-inn, was probably an interlude, or masque, which actually existed, and was very popular, in Shakespeare's age: and seems to have been compiled from Mallory's MORTE ARTHUR, or the history of king Arthur, then recently published, and the favorite and the most fashionable romance².

When the societies of the law performed these shews within their own respective refectories, at Christmas, or any other festival, a Christmas-prince, or revel-master, was constantly appointed. At a Christmas celebrated in the hall of the Middle-temple, in the year 1635, the jurisdiction, privileges, and parade, of this mock-monarch, are thus circumstantially described³. He was attended by his lord keeper, lord treasurer, with eight white staves, a captain of his band of pensioners and of his guard; and with two chaplains, who were so seriously impressed with an idea of his real dignity, that when they preached before him on the preceding Sunday in the Temple church, on ascending the pulpit, they saluted him with three low bows. He dined, both in the hall, and in his privy-chamber, under a cloth of estate. The pole-axes for his gentlemen pensioners were borrowed of lord Salisbury. Lord Holland, his temporary Justice in Eyre, supplied him with venison, on demand: and the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, with wine. On twelfth-day, at going to church, he received many petitions, which he gave to his master of requests: And, like other kings, he had a favourite, whom, with others, gentlemen of high quality, he knighted at returning from church. His expences, all

¹ In the text, 'When I *laid* at Clement's inn,' is *lodged*, or *lived*. So Leland. 'An old 'manor-place, where in tymes paste sum of the Moulbrays LAY for a starte.' That is *LIVED for a time, or sometimes*. ITIN. vol. i. fol. 119. Again, Maister Page hath translated the House, and now much *LYTH* there.' Ibid. fol. 121. And in many other places.

² That Mile-end green was the place for public sports and exercises, we learn from Froissart. In the affair of Tyler and Straw he says, 'Then the kyng sende to them that they shulde all drawe to a fayre playne place, called Myle-end, where the people of the cytie did sport themselves in the somer season.' &c. Berner's TRANSL. tom. i. c. 383. f. 262. a.

³ Dugdale ORIG. JURID. p. 151. where many of the circumstances of this officer are described at large: who also mentions, at Lincoln's-inn, a KING OF THE COCKNEYS on childermas-day, cap. 64.

from his own purse, amounted to two thousand pounds¹. We are also told, that in the year 1635, 'On Shrovetide at night, the lady Hatton 'feasted the king, queen, and princes, at her house in Holborn. The 'Wednesday before, the PRINCE OF THE TEMPLE invited the Prince 'Elector and a brother to a Masque at the Temple², which was very 'completely fitted for the variety of the scenes, and excellently well 'performed. Thither came the queen with three of her ladies disguised, all clad in the attire of citizens.—This done, the PRINCE was 'deposed, but since the king knighted him at Whitehall³.'

But these spectacles and entertainments in our law-societies, not so much because they were romantic and ridiculous in their mode of exhibition, as that they were institutions celebrated for the purposes of merriment and festivity, were suppressed or suspended under the false and illiberal ideas of reformation and religion, which prevailed in the fanatical court of Cromwell. The countenance afforded by a polite court to such entertainments, became the leading topic of animadversion and abuse in the miserable declamations of the puritan theologists; who attempted the business of national reformation without any knowledge of the nature of society, and whose censures proceeded not so much from principles of a purer morality, as from a narrowness of mind, and from that ignorance of human affairs which necessarily accompanies the operations of enthusiasm.

SECTION XXXV.

WE are now arrived at the commencement of the sixteenth century. But before I proceed to a formal and particular examination of the poetry of that century, and of those that follow, some preliminary considerations of a more general nature, and which will have a reference to all the remaining part of our history, for the purpose of preparing the reader, and facilitating future inquiries, appear to be necessary.

On a retrospect of the fifteenth century, we find much poetry written during the latter part of that period. It is certain, that the recent introduction into England of the art of typography, to which our countrymen afforded the most liberal encouragement, and which for many years was almost solely confined to the impression of English books,

¹ STRAFFOLDE'S LETTERS. The writer adds, 'All this is done, to make them fit to give the 'prince elector a royal entertainment, with masks, dancings, and some other exercises of wit 'in orations or arraignments, that day they invite him.'

² This, I think, was DAVENANT'S TRIUMPHS OF PRINCE D'AMOUR, written at their request for the purpose, in three days. The music by H. and W. Lawes. The names of the performers are at the end.

³ Ibid. p. 525. The writer adds, 'Mrs. Basset, the great lance-woman of Cheapside, went 'foremost, and led the queen by the hand, &c.' See *ibid.* p. 506.

the fashion of translating the classics from French versions, and growing improvements of the English language, and the diffusion of learning among the laity, greatly contributed to multiply English composition, both in prose and verse. These causes, however, were yet immature; nor had they gathered a sufficient degree of power and stability, to operate on our literature with vigorous effect.

But there is a circumstance, which, among some others already suggested, impeded that progression in our poetry, which might yet have been expected under all these advantages. A revolution, the most fortunate and important in most other respects, and the most interesting that occurs in the history of the migration of letters, now began to take place; which, by diverting the attention of ingenious men to new modes of thinking, and the culture of new languages, introduced a new course of study, and gave a temporary check to vernacular composition. This was the revival of classical learning.

In the course of these annals we must have frequently remarked, from time to time, striking symptoms of a restless disposition in the human mind to rouse from its lethargic state, and to break the bonds of barbarism. After many imperfect and interrupted efforts, this mighty deliverance, in which the mouldering Gothic fabrics of false religion and false philosophy fell together, was not effectually completed till the close of the fifteenth century. An event, almost fortuitous and unexpected, gave a direction to that spirit of curiosity and discovery, which had not yet appeared in its full force and extent, for want of an object. About the year 1453, the dispersion of the Greeks, after Constantinople had been occupied by the Turks, became the means of gratifying that natural love of novelty, which has so frequently led the way to the noblest improvements, by the introduction of a new language and new books; and totally changed the state of letters in Europe¹.

This great change commenced in Italy; a country, from many circumstances, above all others peculiarly qualified and prepared to adopt such a deviation. Italy, during the darkest periods of monastic ignorance, had always maintained a greater degree of refinement and knowledge than any other European country. In the thirteenth century, when the manners of Europe appear to have been overwhelmed with every species of absurdity, its luxuries were less savage, and its public spectacles more rational, than those of France,

¹ But it should be remembered, that some learned Grecians, foreseeing the persecutions impending over their country, frequented Italy, and taught their language there, before the taking of Constantinople. Some Greeks, who attended the Florentine council, and never returned for fear of the Turks, founded the present royal library in the city of Turin. In the year 1401, the Greek emperor, unable to resist the frequent insults of these barbarians, came into England to seek redress or protection from Henry IV. He landed at Dover, attended by many learned Greeks; and the next day was honourably received at Christ-church priory at Canterbury, by the prior, Thomas Chyllenden. In a MSS. called *SPECULUM PARVULORUM*, lib. 5. c. 30. MSS. Bibl. Lambeth.

England, and Germany. Its inhabitants were not only enriched, but enlightened, by that flourishing state of commerce, which its commodious situation, aided by the combination of other concomitant advantages, contributed to support. Even from the time of the irruptions of the northern barbarians, some glimmerings of the ancient erudition still remained in this country; and in the midst of superstition and false philosophy, repeated efforts were made in Italy to restore the Roman classics. To mention no other instances, Alberti Mussato¹ of Padua, and a commander in the Paduan army against the Veronese, wrote two Latin tragedies, *ECERRIUS*², or the fate of the tyrant Ecerinus of Verona, and *ACHILLEIS*, on the plan of the Greek drama, and in imitation of Seneca, before the year 1320. The many monuments of legitimate sculpture and architecture preserved in Italy, had there kept alive ideas of elegance and grace; and the Italians, from their familiarity with those precious remains of antiquity, so early as the close of the fourteenth century, had laid the rudiments of their perfection in the ancient arts. Another circumstance which had a considerable share in clearing the way for this change, and which deserves particular attention, was the innovation introduced into the Italian poetry by Petrarch: who, inspired with the most elegant of passions, and cloathing his exalted feelings on that delicate subject in the most melodious and brilliant Italian versification, had totally eclipsed the barbarous beauties of the Provençal troubadours; and by this new and powerful magic, had in an eminent degree contributed to reclaim, at least for a time, the public taste, from a love of Gothic manners and romantic imagery.

In this country, so happily calculated for their favourable reception, the learned fugitives of Greece, when their empire was now destroyed, found shelter and protection. Hither they imported, and here they interpreted, their ancient writers, which had been preserved entire at Constantinople. These being eagerly studied by the best Italian scholars, communicated a taste for the graces of genuine poetry and eloquence; and at the same time were instrumental in propagating a more just and general relish for the Roman poets, orators, and historians. In the meantime a more elegant and sublime philosophy was adopted; a philosophy more friendly to works of taste and imagination, and more agreeable to the sort of reading which was now gaining

¹ He was honoured with the laurel, and died 1329.

² Printed at Venice, 1636. fol. with his *EPISTOLÆ*, *ELEGI*, *SOLILOQUIA*, *ECLOGÆ*, *CENTO OVIDIANUS*, Latin History of Italy, and *BAVARUS ad Filium*. And in Muratori's *RER. ITAL. SCRIPTOR.* tom. x. Mediolan. 1727. P. 1. 123, 569. 769. 785. See also in *THESAUR. ITAL.* tom. vi. part. ii. Lugd. Bat. 1722. Among his inedited works are mentioned, *LIBER DE LITE NATURÆ ET FORTUNÆ*, on Natural Causes and Fate. And three books in heroic verse, on the War against the Veronese above-mentioned. The name and writings of Mussato were hardly known, till they were brought forward to the public notice in the *ESSAY ON POPE*; which I shall not be accused of partiality, as I only join the voice of the world, in calling the most agreeable and judicious piece of criticism produced by the present age.

ground. The scholastic subtleties, and the captious logic of Aristotle, were abolished for the mild and divine wisdom of Plato.

It was a circumstance, which gave the greatest splendour and importance to this new mode of erudition, that it was encouraged by the popes: who, considering the encouragement of literature as a new expedient to establish their authority over the minds of men, and enjoying an opulent and peaceable dominion in the voluptuous region of Italy, extended their patronage on this occasion with a liberality so generous and unreserved, that the court of Rome on a sudden lost its austere character, and became the seat of elegance and urbanity. Nicholas V., about the year 1440, established public rewards at Rome for composition in the learned languages, appointed professors in humanity, and employed intelligent persons to traverse all parts of Europe in search of classic manuscripts buried in the monasteries¹. It was by means of the munificent support of pope Nicholas, that Cyriac of Ancona, who may be considered as the first antiquary of Europe was enabled to introduce a taste for gems, medals, inscriptions, and other curious remains of classical antiquity, which he collected with indefatigable labour in various parts of Italy and Greece². He allowed Francis Philelphus, an elegant Latin poet of Italy, about 1450, a stipend for translating Homer into Latin³. Leo X., not less conspicuous for his munificence in restoring letters, descended so far from his apostolical dignity, as to be a spectator of the *POENULUS* of Plautus: which was performed in a temporary theatre in the court of the capitol, by the flower of the Roman youth, with the addition of the most costly decorations⁴: and Leo, while he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas against the heretical doctrines of Martin Luther, published a bull of excommunication against all those who should dare to censure the poems of Ariosto. It was under the pontificate of Leo, that a perpetual indulgence was granted for rebuilding the church of a monastery, which possessed a MSS. of Tacitus⁵. It is obvious to

¹ 'Domine Georgii DISSERTATIO de Nich. quinti erga Lit. et Literat. Viros Patrocinio.' Rom. 1742. 4to. Added to his LIFE.

² Fr. Burmanni PRÆFAT. ad Inscription. Gruterian. Amstel. 1707. fol. Baluz. MISCELL. tom. vi. p. 539. Ant. Augustini DIALOG. DE NUMISMAT. ix. xi. Voss. de HISTOR. Lat. p. 809. His ITINERARIUM was printed at Florence, by L. Mehus, 1742. 8vo. Leon. Aretini EPISTOL. tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149. And GIORNAL. de' Letterati d'Italia. tom. xxi. p. 428. COLLECTION of Inscriptions, by P. Apianus, and B. Amantius, Ingoldstat. 1634. fol. at the MONUM. GADITAN.

³ Philolph. EPIST. xxiv. 1. xxxvi. 1. In the EPISTLE of Philelphus, and in his 10 books of SATIRES in Latin verse, are many curious particulars relating to the literary history of those times. Venet. fol. 1502. His NICOLAUS, or two books of Lyrics, is a panegyric on the life and acts of pope Nicholas V.

⁴ It was in the year 1513, on occasion of Julius Medicis, Leo's brother, being made free of Rome. P. Jovius, HIST. lib. xi. ad calc. And Vit. LEON. lib. iii. p. 145. Jovius says, that the actors were *Romane juventutis lepidissimi*. And that several pieces of poetry were recited at the same time. Leo was also present at an Italian comedy, written by cardinal Bibbienna, called CALANDER, in honour of the Duchess of Mantua. It was acted by noble youths in the spacious apartments of the Vatican, and Leo was placed in a sort of Throne. Jovius in VIT. p. 189.

⁵ Paulus Jovius relates an anecdote of Leo X., which shews that some passages in the

observe, how little conformable, this just taste, these elegant arts, and these new amusements, proved in their consequences to the spirit of the papal system: and it is remarkable, that the court of Rome, whose sole design and interest it had been for so many centuries, to enslave the minds of men, should be the first to restore the religious and intellectual liberties of Europe. The apostolical fathers, aiming at a fatal and ill-timed popularity, did not reflect, that they were shaking the throne, which they thus adorned.

Among those who distinguished themselves in the exercise of these studies, the first and most numerous were the Italian ecclesiastics. If not from principles of inclination, and a natural impulse to follow the passion of the times, it was at least their interest, to concur in forwarding those improvements, which were commended, countenanced, and authorised, by their spiritual sovereign: they abandoned the pedantries of a barbarous theology, and cultivated the purest models of antiquity. The cardinals and bishops of Italy composed Latin verses, and with a success attained by none in more recent times, in imitation of Lucretius, Catullus, and Virgil. Nor would the encouragement of any other European potentate have availed so much, in this great work of restoring literature: as no other patronage could have operated with so powerful and immediate an influence on that order of men, who, from the nature of their education and their profession, must always be the principal instruments in supporting every species of liberal erudition.

And here we cannot but observe the necessary connection between literary composition and the arts of design. No sooner had Italy banished the Gothic style in eloquence and poetry, than painting, sculpture, and architecture, at the same time, and in the same country, arrived at maturity, and appeared in all their original splendour. The beautiful or sublime ideas which the Italian artists had conceived from the contemplation of ancient statues and ancient temples, were invigorated by the descriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Petrarch, the poet, was crowned in the capitol, and Raphael was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal.

These improvements were soon received in other countries, Lascaris, one of the most learned of the Constantinopolitan exiles, was invited into France by Lewis XII., and Francis I.: and it was under the latter of these monarchs that he was employed to form a library at Fontainebleau, and to introduce Greek professors into the university of Paris¹. Yet we find Gregory Typhernas teaching Greek at Paris, so

classics were studied at the court of Rome to very bad purposes. I must give it in his own words. 'Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeste nonnullos e cubiculariis suis (erant enim e tota Italia nobilissimi) adamare, et cum his tenerius atque libere joculari videretur.' In VITA LEONIS X. p. 192.

¹ Du Breul, ANTIQUITEZ de Paris, liv. ii. 1639. 4to. p. 563. Bemb. HIST. VENET. par. ii. p. 76. And R. Simon, CRITIQUE de la Bibl. Eccles. par du Pin, tom. i. p. 502. 512.

early as the year 1472. [Hody, p. 233.] About the same time, Antonius Eparchus of Corsica sold 100 Greek books to the emperor Charles V. and Francis I., [Morhoff, POLYHIST, iv. 6,] those great rivals, who agreed in nothing, but in promoting the cause of literature. Francis I. maintained even a Greek secretary, the learned Angelus Vergerius, to whom he assigned, in the year 1541, a pension of 400 livres from his exchequer¹. He employed Julius Camillus to teach him to speak fluently the language of Cicero and Demosthenes, in the space of a month: but so chimerical an attempt necessarily proved abortive, yet it shewed his passion for letters². In the year 1474, the parliament of Paris, who, like other public bodies, eminent for their wisdom, could proceed on no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs, and were alarmed at the appearance of an innovation, commanded a cargo of books, some of the first specimens of typography, which were imported into Paris by a factor of the city of Mentz, to be seized and destroyed. Francis I. would not suffer so great a dishonour to remain on the French nation; and although he interposed his authority too late for a revocation of the decree, he ordered the full price to be paid for the books. This was the same parliament that opposed the reformation of the calendar, and the admission of any other philosophy than that of Aristotle. Such was Francis's solicitude to encourage the graces of a classical style, that he abolished the Latin tongue from all public acts of justice, because the first president of the parliament of Paris had used a barbarous term in pronouncing sentence³: and because the Latin code and judicial processes, hitherto adopted in France, familiarised the people to a base Latinity. At the same time, he ordered these formularies to be turned, not into good Latin, which would have been absurd or impossible, but into pure French⁴: a reformation which promoted the culture of the vernacular tongue. He was the first of the kings of France, that encouraged brilliant assemblies of ladies to frequent the French court: a circumstance, which not only introduced new splendour and refinement into the parties and carousals of the court of that monarchy, but gave a new turn to the manners of the French ecclesiastics, who of course attended the king, and destroyed much of their monkish pedantry⁵.

When we mention the share which Germany took in the restitution of letters, she needs no greater panegyric, than that her mechanical genius added, at a lucky moment, to all these fortunate contingencies

¹ Du Breul, *ibid.* p. 568. It is a just remark of P. Victorius, that Francis I., by founding beautiful Greek and Roman types at his own cost, invited many students, who were caught by the elegance of the impression, to read the ancient books. PREFAT. AD COMMENT. in octo libr. Aristotelis de Opt. Statu Civitat.

² Alciati EPISTOL. xxiii. inter 'Gudianas,' pag. 109.

³ Matagonis de Matagonibus adversus Italogalliam Antonii Matharelli, p. 226.

⁴ Varillas, HIST. de Francois I. livr. ix. pag. 381.

⁵ Brantome, MEM. tom. i. p. 227. Mezerai, HIST. France, sur Hen. III. tom. iii. p. 446. 447.

in favour of science, an admirable invention, which was of the most singular utility in facilitating the diffusion of the ancient writers over every part of Europe: I mean the art of printing. By this observation, I do not mean to insinuate that Germany kept no pace with her neighbours in the production of philological scholars. Rodolphus Langius, a canon of Munster, and a tolerable Latin poet, after many struggles with the inveterate prejudices and authoritative threats of German bishops, and German universities, opened a school of humanity at Munster: which supplied his countrymen with every species of elegant learning, till it was overthrown by the fury of fanaticism, and the revolutions introduced by the barbarous reformatations of the anabaptistic zealots, in the year 1534¹. Reuchlin, otherwise called Capnio, co-operated with the laudable endeavours of Langius by professing Greek, before the year 1490, at Basil². Soon afterwards he translated Homer, Aristophanes, Plato, Xenophon, Æschines, and Lucian, into Latin, and Demosthenes into German. At Heidelberg he founded a library, which he stored with the choicest Greek MSS. It is worthy to remark, that the first public institution in any European university for promoting polite literature, by which I understand these improvements in erudition, appears to have been established at Vienna. In the year 1501, Maximilian I., who, like Julius Cæsar, had composed a commentary on his own illustrious military achievements, founded in the university of Vienna a COLLEGE of POETRY. This society consisted of four professors: one for poetry, a second for oratory, and two others for mathematics. The professor of poetry was so styled, because he presided over all the rest: and the first person appointed to this office was Conradus Celtes, one of the restorers of the Greek language in Germany, an elegant Latin poet, a critic on the art of Latin versification, the first poet laureate of his country, and the first who introduced the practice of acting Latin tragedies and comedies in public, after the manner of Terence³. It was the business of this professor, to examine candidates in philology; and to reward those who appeared to have made a distinguished proficiency in classical studies with a crown of

¹ D. Chytræus, 'Saxonia.' l. iii. p. 80: Trithem. p. 993. De S. E. Et 'de Luminarib. German.' p. 239.

² 'Epistol. Claror. Viror.' ad Reuchlin. p. m. 4. 17. Maius, in 'Vita Reuchlini, &c.

³ Celtes dedicates his AMORES, or Latin Elegies, to Maximilian, in a Latin panegyric prefixed; in which he compliments the emperor, 'You who have this year endowed most liberally the muses, long wandering, and banished from Germany by the calumnies of certain unskilful men, with a college and a perpetual stipend: having, moreover, according to a custom practised in my time at Rome, delegated to me and my successors, in your stead, the authority of creating and laureating poets in the said college, &c.' PANEG. PRIM. ad Maximilian. IMP. Signat. a. ii. AMORES, &c. Noringb. 1502. 4to. The same author, in his 'Description' of the city of Nuremburgh, written in 1501, mentions it as a circumstance of importance and a singularity, that a person skilled in the Roman literature had just begun to give lectures in a public building, to the ingenuous youth of that city, in poetry and oratory, with a salary of one hundred aurei, as was the practice in the cities of Italy. Descriptio 'Urbis Noringb.' cap. xii.

laurel. Maximilian's chief and general design in this institution, was to restore the languages and eloquence of Greece and Rome¹.

Among the chief restorers of literature in Spain, about 1490, was Antonio de Lebrixa, one of the professors in the university of Alcala, founded by the magnificent cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo. It was to the patronage of Ximenes that Lebrixa owed his celebrity². Profoundly versed in every species of sacred and profane learning, and appointed to the respectable office of royal historian, he chose to be distinguished only by the name of the grammarian³; that is, a teacher of polite letters. In this department, he enriched the seminaries of Spain with new systems of grammar, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew: and, with a view to reduce his native tongue under some critical laws, he wrote comparative lexicons, in the Latin, Castilian, and Spanish languages. These, at this time, were plans of a most extraordinary nature in Spain; and placed the literature of his country, which, from the phlegmatic temper of the inhabitants was tenacious of ancient forms, on a much wider basis than before. To these he added a manual of rhetoric, compiled from Aristotle, Tully, and Quintilian: together with commentaries on Terence, Virgil, Juvenal, Persius, and other classics. He was deputed by Ximenes, with other learned linguists, to superintend the grand Complutensian edition of the Bible: and in the conduct of that laborious work, he did not escape the censure of heretical impiety for exercising his critical skill on the sacred text, according to the ideas of the holy inquisition, with too great a degree of precision and accuracy⁴.

Even Hungary, a country by no means uniformly advanced with other parts of Europe in the common arts of civilisation, was illuminated with the distant dawning of science. Mattheo Corvini, king of Hungary and Bohemia, in the fifteenth century, and who died in 1490, was a lover and a guardian of literature⁵. He purchased innumerable volumes of Greek and Hebrew writers at Constantinople and other Grecian cities, when they were sacked by the Turks: and, as the operations of typography were now but imperfect, employed at Florence many learned librarians to multiply copies of classics, both Greek and Latin, which he could not procure in Greece⁶. These, to the number of 50,000, he placed in a tower, which he had erected in

¹ See the imperial patent for erecting this college, in Freherus's 'German. Rerum Scriptor. Var.' &c. tom. ii. fol. Francof. 1602. p. 237. And by J. Henry Van Seelen. Lubeç. 4to. 1723. And in his SELECT. LITERAR. p. 488. In this patent, the purpose of the foundation is declared to be, 'restituere abolitam præci sæculi eloquentiam.'

² Nic. Anton. 'Bibl. Nov. Hispan.' tom. i. p. 104.—109.

³ L. Vives, de Causis 'Corruptarum Art.' ii. p. 62.

⁴ Alvarus Gomesius de 'Vita Ximenis,' lib. ii, pag. 43. Nic. Anton. ut supr. p. 109. Imbonatus, 'Bibl. Latino. Hebr. p. 315.

⁵ Petr. Jaenichii 'Notit. Biblioth. Thoruniensis, p. 32. Who has written a DISSERTATION *De meritis Matthæi Corvini in rem literariam.*

⁶ Joh. Alex. Brassicani 'Præfat. ad Salvianum,' Basil. 1530. fol. And 'Maderus de Bibliothecis. p. 145. 149.

the metropolis of Buda¹: and in this library he established thirty amanuenses, skilled in painting, illuminating, and writing: who, under the conduct of Felix Ragusinus, a Dalmatian, consummately learned in the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages, and an elegant designer and painter of ornaments on vellum, attended incessantly to the business of transcription and decoration². The librarian was Bartholomew Fontius, a learned Florentine, the writer of many philological works³, and a professor of Greek and oratory at Florence. When Buda was taken by the Turks in the year 1526, cardinal Bozmanni offered for the redemption of this inestimable collection, 200,000 pieces of the Imperial money: yet without effect, for the barbarous besiegers defaced or destroyed most of the books, in the violence of seizing the splendid covers and the silver bosses and clasps with which they were enriched⁴. The learned Obsopaeus relates, that a book was brought him by an Hungarian soldier, which he had picked up, with many others, in the pillage of king Corvino's library, and had preserved as a prize, merely because the covering retained some marks of gold and rich workmanship. This proved to be a MSS. of the ETHIOPICS of Heliodorus; from which, in the year 1534, Obsopaeus printed at Basle the first edition of that elegant Greek romance⁵.

But as this incidental sketch of the history of the revival of modern learning, is intended to be applied to the general subject of my work, I hasten to give a detail of the rise and progress of these improvements in England: nor shall I scruple, for the sake of producing a full and uniform view, to extend the enquiry to a distant period.

Efforts were made in our English universities for the revival of critical studies, much sooner than is commonly imagined. So early as the year 1439, William Byngham, rector of St. John Zachary in London, petitioned Henry VI., in favour of his grammar scholars, for whom he had erected a commodious mansion at Cambridge, called GOD'S HOUSE, and which he had given to the college of Clare-hall: to the end, that 24 youths under the direction and government of a learned priest, might be there perpetually educated, and be from thence transmitted, in a constant succession, into different parts of England, to those places where grammar schools had fallen into a

¹ Anton. Bonfinii 'Rer. Hungar.' Decad. iv. lib. 7. p. 460. edit. 1690.

² Belius, 'Apparat. ad Histor. Hungar.' Dec. i. cap. 5.

³ Among other things, he wrote commentaries on Persius, Juvenal, Livy, and Aristotles POETICS. He translated Phalaris's Epistles into the Tuscan language, published at Florence 1491. Crescimbeni has placed him among the Italian poets. Lambeccius says, that in the year 1665, he was sent to Buda by the emperor Leopold, to examine what remained in this library. After repeated delays and difficulties, he was at length permitted by the Turks to enter the room: where he saw about 400 books, printed, and of no value, dispersed on the floor, and covered with dust and filth. Lambeccius supposes, that the Turks, knowing the condition of the books, were ashamed to give him admittance, 'Comment. de Bibl. Vindobon.' lib. ii. c. ix. p. 993.

⁴ COLLECTIO Madero-Schmidiana, ACCESS. i. p. 319. seq. Belius. ut supr: tom. iii. p. 325.

⁵ In the PREFACE. See Neandri PRÆFAT. AD GNOMOLOG. Stobæi. p. 27.

state of desolation¹. In the year 1498, Alcock, bishop of Ely, founded Jesus college in Cambridge, partly for a certain number of scholars to be educated in grammar². Yet there is reason to apprehend, that these academical pupils in grammar, with which the art of rhetoric was commonly joined, instead of studying the real models of style, were chiefly trained in systematic manuals of these sciences, filled with unprofitable definitions and unnecessary distinctions: and that in learning the arts of elegance, they acquired the barbarous improprieties of diction which those arts were intended to remove and reform. That the foundations I have mentioned did not produce any lasting beneficial effects, and that the technical phraseology of metaphysics and casuistry still continued to prevail at Cambridge, appears from the following anecdote. In the reign of Henry VII., that university was so destitute of skill in latinity, that it was obliged to hire an Italian, one Caius Auberinus, for composing the public orations and epistles, whose fee was at the rate of twenty-pence for an epistle³. The same person was employed to explain Terence in the public schools⁴. Undoubtedly the same attention to a futile philosophy, to unintelligible elucidations of Scotus and Aquinas, notwithstanding the accessions accruing to science from the establishment of the Humfredian library, had given the same tincture to the ordinary course of studies at Oxford. For, about the year 1468, the university of Oxford complimented Chadworth bishop of Lincoln, for his care and endeavours in restoring grammatical literature, which, as

¹ Ubi scholæ grammaticales existunt desolatæ. Pat. Hen. vi. ann. reg. xvii. p. 2. membr. 16.

² Rymer, Fœder. xii. 653. We find early establishments of this sort in the colleges of Paris. In the year 1304, queen Jane founded the college of Navarre, at Paris, for 30 theologists, 30 artists, and 20 GRAMMARIANS, who are also called *Enfans escholiers en grammaire*. They are ordered to hear *lectiones*, [lessons] *materias*, *et versus*, *prout in scholis grammaticilibus consuevit*. Boul. HIST. ACAD. PARIS. vol. iv. p. 74. But the college of AVE MARIA, at Paris, founded in 1339, is for a Master and six boys only, from nine to sixteen years. Boul. *ibid.* p. 261. The society of Merton college, in Oxford, founded in 1272, originally maintained in the university such boys as claimed kindred to the founder, bishop Walter de Merton, in grammar learning, and all necessities, sometimes till they were capable of taking a degree. They were placed in Nunhall, adjoining to the college on the east. 'Expens. factæ per Thomam de Herlyngton, pro pueris de genere fundatoris a fest. Epiph. usque ad fest. S. Petri ad vincula, 21 Edw. III. A.D. 1347.'—'*Item*, in filo albo et viridi, et ceteris pertinenciis, ad reparationem vestium tam artistarum quam GRAMMATICORUM. vi d. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubiensi pro salario SCHOLÆ, in tertio quadragesimali, x. d. Et hostiario [usher] suo, ii d. ob. *Item*, Mag. Joh. Cornubiensi pro tertio estivali, x d. Et hostiario suo, ii d. ob.' Anth. Wood, MSS. Coll. Merton COLLECTAN. [Cod. MSS. Ballard. Bibl. Bodl. 46.]

³ MSS. Bibl. C. C. C. Camb. MISCELL. P. p. 194. *Officium magistri Glomeria*. I observe here, that Giles du Vadis, or Ægidius Dewes, successively royal librarian at Westminster, to Henry VII. and VIII., was a Frenchman. The last king granted him a salary for that office, of ten pounds, in the year 1522. Priv. Sig. 12 Henr. VIII. Offic. Pell. He was preceptor in French to Henry VIII., prince Arthur, princess Mary, the kings of France and Scotland, and the marquis of Exeter. Stowe, LONDON, p. 230. Among other things of the sort, he wrote at the command of Henry, *An Introductory for to learne to rede, to pronounce, and to speak French truly compiled for the princess Mary*. Lond. p. Waley, 4to. [See Pref. Palsgrave's LESCLAIRCISSMENT]. He died in 1535.

⁴ 'Quod fecit admodum frigide, ut ea erant tempora.' Lib. Matt. Archiep. Parker, MSS. BAKER, MSS. Harl. 704C. f. 125, 6.

they represent, had long decayed and been forgotten in that ancient seminary¹.

But although these gleams of science long struggled with the scholastic cloud which enveloped our universities, we find the culture of the classic embraced in England much sooner than is supposed. Before the 1490, many of our countrymen appear to have turned their thoughts to the revival of the study of classics: yet chiefly in consequence of their communications with Italy, and, as most of them were clergymen, of the encouragements they received from the liberality of the Roman pontiffs². Millyng, abbot of Westminster, about the year 1480, understood the Greek language: which yet is mentioned as a singular accomplishment, in one, although a prelate, of the monastic profession³. Robert Flemmyng studied the Greek and Latin languages under Baptista Guarini at Ferrara; and at his return into England, was preferred to the deanery of Lincoln about the year 1450⁴. During the reign of Edward IV., he was at Rome; where he wrote an elegant Latin poem in heroic verse, entitled *LUCUBRATIONES TIBURTINÆ*, which he inscribed to pope Sixtus his singular patron⁵. It has these three chaste and strong hexameters, in which he describes the person of that illustrious pontiff.

¹ Registr. Univ. Oxon. FF. [EPISTOL. ACAD.] fol. 254. The Epistles in this Register, contain many local anecdotes of the restoration of learning at Oxford.

² Such of our countrymen as wrote in Latin at this period, and were entirely educated at home without any connections with Italy, wrote a style not more classical than that of the monkish latin annalists who flourished two or three centuries before. I will instance only in Ross of Warwick, author of the *HISTORIA REGUM ANGLIÆ*, educated at Oxford, an ecclesiastic, and esteemed an eminent scholar. Nor is the plan of Ross's History, which was finished so late as the year 1483, less barbarous than his latinity; for in writing a chronicle of the kings of England, he begins, according to the constant practice of the monks, with the creation and the first ages of the world, and adopts all their legends and fables. His motives for undertaking this work are exceedingly curious. He is speaking of the method of perpetuating the memories of famous men by statues: 'Also in our churches, tabernacles in stonework, or niches, are wrought for containing images of this kind. For instance, in the new work of the college of Windsor, [i. e. St. George's chapel,] such tabernacles abound, both within and without the building. Wherefore, being requested, about the latter end of the reign of Edward IV., by the venerable master Edward Seymour, Master of the Works there, and at the desire of the king, to compile a history of those kings and princes who have founded churches and cities, that the images placed in those niches might appear to greater advantage, and more effectually preserve the names of the persons represented; at the instance of this my brother-student at Oxford, and especially at the desire of the said most noble monarch, as also to exhilarate the minds of his royal successors, I have undertaken his work, &c.' Edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1745. p. 120. 8vo.

³ Leland, in V. One Adam Eston, educated at Oxford, a Benedictine monk of Norwich, and who lived at Rome the greatest part of his life, is said to have written many pieces in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He died at Rome, in the year 1397. Tanner, p. 266. Leland mentions John Bate, a Carmelite, of York, about the year 1429, as a Greek scholar: Scriptor. BATUS.

⁴ Wood, HIST. UNIV. OXON. ii. 62. Wharton, APPEND. p. 155. Bate, viii. 21.

⁵ Printed at Ferrara, 1477. 8vo. In two books. He was prothonotary to Pope Sixtus. In his poem he mentions Baptista Platina, the librarian at Rome; who, together with most of the Italian scholars, was his familiar friend. Carbo's funeral Oration on Guarini. I know not whether one John Opicius, our countryman as it seems, and a Latin poet, improved his taste in Italy about this time: but he has left some copies of elegant Latin verses. MSS. COTTON. VESPAS. B. iv. One is, 'De regis Henrici septimi in Galliam progressu.' It begins, 'Bella canant alii Trojæ, prostrataque dicant.' Another is, 'De ejusdem laudibus sub prætextu rosæ purpureæ,' a dialogue between Mopus and Melibeus. One of the poems. 'On Christmas,' has the date 1497.

Sane quisquis in hunc oculos converterit acreis,
In facie vultuque viri sublime videbit
Elucere aliquid, majestatemque verendam.

Lelland assures us, that he saw in the libraries of Oxford a Greco-Latin lexicon, compiled by Flemmyng, which has escaped my searches. He left many volumes, beatifully written and richly illuminated, to Lincoln College in Oxford, where he had received his academical education. [Lel. *ibid.*] About the same period, John Gunthorpe, afterwards, among other numerous and eminent promotions, dean of Wells, keeper of the privy seal, and master of King's hall in Cambridge, attended also the philological lectures of Guarini: and for the polished latinity with which he wrote EPISTLES and ORATIONS, compositions at that time much in use and request, was appointed by Edward IV. Latin secretary to queen Anne, in the year 1487¹. The MSS. collected in Italy, which he gave to both the universities of England, were of much more real value, than the sumptuous silver image of the virgin Mary, weighing 143 ounces, which he presented to his cathedral of Wells². William Gray imbibed under the same preceptors a knowledge of the best Greek and Roman writers: and in the year 1454, was advanced by pope Nicholas V., equally a judge and protector of scholars, to the bishoprick of Ely³. This prelate employed at Venice and Florence many scribes and illuminators⁴, in preparing copies of the classics and other useful books, which he gave to the library of Baliol college in Oxford, [Leland, *COLL.*] at that time esteemed the best in the university. John Phrea, or Free, an ecclesiastic of Bristol, receiving information from the Italian merchants who trafficked at Bristol, that multitudes of strangers were constantly crowding to the capitals of Italy for instruction in the learned languages, passed over to Ferrara; where he became a fellow-student with the prelate last mentioned, by whose patronage and assistance his studies were supported⁵. He translated Diodorus Siculus, and many pieces of Xenophon, into Latin⁶. On account of

¹ Pat. 7. Edw. iv. m. 2. Five of his ORATIONS before illustrious personages are extant' MSS. Bodl. NE. F. ii. 20. In the same MSS. are his ANNOTATIONES *quædam* CRITICÆ *in verba quædam apud poetâs citata*. He gave many books, collected in Italy, to Jesu college at Cambridge. Lel. *COLL.* iii. 13. He was ambassador to the king of Castile, in 1466, and 1470. Rymer, *FOED.* xi. 572, 653. Bale mentions his *Diversi generis CARMINA.* viii. 42. And a book on Rhetoric.

² Registr. Eccles. Wellens.

³ Wharton, *ANGL. SACR.* i. 672.

⁴ One of those was Antoninus Marius. In Baliol college library, one of bishop Gray's manuscripts has this entry, 'Antonius Marii filius Florentinus civis transcripsi ab originalibus exemplaribus, 2 Jul. 1448. &c.' MSS. lxxviii. [Apud MSS. Langb. *BAL.* p. 81.] Leland. *COLL.* iii. p. 21.

⁵ Among Phrea's 'Epistles' in Baliol library, one is 'Preceptorio suo Guarino,' whose epistles are full of encomiums on Phreas, MSS. Bal. Coll. Oxon. G. 9. See ten of his epistles, five of which are written from Italy to bishop Gray, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. N.E. F. ii. 20. In one of these he complains, that the bishop's remittances of money had failed, and that he was obliged to pawn his books and clothes to Jews at Ferrara.

⁶ He also translated into latin Synesius's 'Panegyric on Baldness.' Printed, Basle. 1521.

the former work he was nominated bishop of Bath and Wells by pope Paul the second, but died before consecration in the year 1464¹. His Latin Epistles, five of which are addressed to his patron the bishop of Ely, discover an uncommon terseness and facility of expression. It was no inconsiderable testimony of Phreæ's taste, that he was requested by some of his elegant Italian friends, to compose a new epitaph in Latin elegiacs for Petrarch's tomb: the original inscription in monkish rhymes, not agreeing with the new and improved ideas of Latin versification². William Sellynge, a fellow of All Souls college in Oxford, disgusted with the barren and contracted circle of philosophy taught by the irrefragable professors of that ample seminary, acquired a familiarity with the most excellent ancient authors, and cultivated the conversation of Politan at Bononia. [Leland, CELLINGUS.] To whom he introduced the learned Linacer [Id ITIN. vi f. 5.] About the year 1460, he returned into England; and being elected prior of Chrish-Church at Canterbury, enriched the library of that fraternity with an inestimable collection of Greek and Roman manuscripts, which he had amassed in Italy.³ It has been said, that among these books, which were all soon afterwards accidentally consumed by fire, there was a complete copy of Cicero's Platonic system of politics DE REPUBLICA⁴. Henry VII. sent Sellynge in the quality of an envoy to the king of France: before whom he spoke a most elegant Latin oration. [From his EPITAPH.] It is mentioned on his monument, now remaining in Canterbury cathedral, that he understood the Greek language.

8vo. [Whence Abraham Flemming made his English translation, London, 1579.] Leland mentions some flowing Latin heroics, which he addressed to his patron Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, in which Bacchus expostulates with a goat gnawing a vine. COLL. iii. 13. And 'Scriptor. Phreas.' His 'Cosmographia Mundi' is a collection from Pliny. Leland, COLL. iii. p. 58. MSS. Br. Twyne, 8. p. 285.

¹ Leland, COLL. iii. 58. Wood, HIST. UNIV. OXON. ii. 76.

² Leland, COLL. iii. 13. 63. Leland says that he had the new epitaph, *Novum ac elegans*. SCRIPTOR. Phreas. 'Tuscia me genuit, &c.'

³ Wood, HIST. UNIV. OXON. ii. 177. In a monastic OBITARY, cited by Wharton, he is said to be, 'Latina quoque et GRÆCA lingua apprime institutus.' It is added, that he adorned the library over the prior's chapel with exquisite sculptures, and furnished it with books, and that he glazed the south side of the cloysters of his monastery, for the use of his studious brethren, placing on the walls new TEXTS, or inscriptions, called CAROLI, or carols. ANGL. Sacr. i. p. 145. ses.

⁴ This is asserted on the authority of Leland. SCRIPTOR. ut supr. Cardinal Pole expended 2000 crowns in searching for Tully's Six Books 'de republica' in Poland, but without success. EPISTOL. Aschami ad Sturm. dat. 14 Sept. 1555. lib. i. p. 99. And Sturmius, in a letter to Ascham [dat. 30 Jan. 1552.] says, that a person in his neighbourhood had flattered him with a promise of this inestimable treasure. Barthius reports, that they were in the monastery of Fulda, on vellum, but destroyed by the soldiers in a pillage of that convent. Christiani Feustell. MISCELLAN. p. 47. Compare Mabillon. MUS. ITALIC. tom. i. p. 79. Isaac Bullart relates, that in the year 1576, during the siege of Moscow, some noble Polish officers, accompanied by one Voinuskus, a man profoundly skilled in the learned languages, made an excursion into the interior parts of Muscovy; where they found, among other valuable monuments of ancient literature, Tully's 'Republic,' written in golden letters. ACAD. Art. Scient. tom. p. 87. It is to be wished, that the same good fortune which discovers this work of Cicero, will also restore the remainder of Ovid's 'Fasti,' the lost Decads of Livy, the 'Anticatones' of Cesar, and an entire copy of Petronius.

Doctor theologus Selling GRÆCA atque Latina
Lingua perdoctus.— — —

This is an uncommon topic of praise in an abbot's epitaph. William Grocyn, a fellow of New college at Oxford, pursued the same path about the year 1488: and having perfected his knowledge of the Greek tongue, with which he had been before tinctured, at Florence under Demetrius Chalcondylas and Politian, and at Rome under Hermolaus Barbarous, became the first voluntary lecturer of that language at Oxford, before the year 1490¹. Yet Polydore Virgil, perhaps only from a natural partiality to his country affirms, that Cornelius Vitellus, an Italian of noble birth, and of the most accomplished learning, was the first who taught the Greek and Roman classics at Oxford². Nor must I forget to mention John Tiptoft, the unfortunate earl of Worcester; who in the reign of Henry VI., rivalled the most learned ecclesiastics of his age, in the diligence and felicity with which he prosecuted the politer studies. At Padua, his singular skill in refined Latinity endeared him to Pope Pius II., and to the most capital ornaments of the Italian School³. His Latin letters still remain, and abundantly prove his abilities and connections⁴. He translated Cicero's dialogue on FRIENDSHIP into English⁵. He was the common patron of all his ingenious countrymen, who about this period were making rapid advances in a more rational and ample plan of study; and, among other instances of his unwearied liberality to true literature, he prepared a present of chosen manuscript books, valued at five hundred marcs, for the increase of the Humphredian library at Oxford, then recently instituted⁶. These books appear to have been purchased in Italy; at that time the grand and general mart of ancient authors, especially the Greek classics⁷. For

¹ Wood, HIST. UNIV. OXON. i. 246. Fiddes's WOLSEY, p. 201.

² ANGL. HISTOR. lib. xxvi. p. 610. 30. edit. Basle. 1534. fol. But he seems to have only been schoolmaster of Magdalen or New-college. Nic. Harpsfield, HIST. ECCLES. p. 651, who says that this Vitellius spoke his *first oration* at New-college. '*Qui primam suam orationem in collegio Wiccamensi habuit.*'

³ Ware, SCRIPT. HIBERN. ii. 133. Camd. BRIT. p. 436. And the Funeral Oration of Ludovico Carbo, on Guarini.

⁴ In this correspondence, four letters are written by the earl, viz. to Laurence More, John Fre or Phrea, William Attecliff, and Magister Vincent. To the earl are letters of Galeotus Martius, Baptista, Guarini, and other *anonymous* friends. MSS. Eccles. Cathedr. Lincoln.

⁵ Printed by Caxton, 1481. fol. Leland thinks, that the version of Tully's *de Senectute*. printed also by Caxton, was made by this earl. But this translation was made by William of Wyncestre, or William Botoner, an eminent physician and antiquary, from the French of Lawrence Premierfait, and presented by the translator to bishop Waynflete, Aug. 20, 1473. MSS. Harl. 4329. 2. 3. Tiptoft also translated into English two elegant Latin ORATIONS of Banatusius Magnomontanus, supposed to be spoken by C. Scipio and C. Flaminius, who were rivals in the courtship of Lucretia. This version was printed by Caxton, with Tully's two DIALOGUES above-mentioned. He has left other pieces.

⁶ EPIST. Acad. Oxon. 259. Registr. F. E. f. 121. I suspect, that on the earl's execution, in 1470, they were never received by the university. Wood, ANTIQ. UN. OXON. ii. 50. Who adds, that the earl meditated a benefaction of the same kind to Cambridge.

⁷ As the Greek language became fashionable in the course of erudition, we find the petty scholars affecting to understand Greek. This appears from the following passage in Barclay's SHIP OF FOOLS, written, as we have seen, about the end of the fifteenth century.

the Turkish emperors, now seated at Constantinople, particularly Bajazet II., freely imparted these treasures to the Italian emissaries, who availing themselves of the fashionable enthusiasm, traded in the cities of Greece for the purpose of purchasing books, which they

Another boasteth himself that hath bene
In Greece at scholes, and many other lande ;
But if that he were apposed¹ well, I wene
The Greekes letters he scant doth understand.

Edit. 1570. "With regard to what is here suggested, of our countrymen resorting to Greece for instruction, Rhenanus acquaints us, that Lily, the famous grammarian, was not only intimately acquainted with the whole circle of Greek authors, but with the domestic life and familiar conversation of the Greeks, he having lived some time in the island of Rhodes. PRÆFAT. ad T. MORI EPIGRAM. edit. Basle. 1520. 4to. He staid at Rhodes five years. This was about the year 1500. I have before mentioned a Translation of Vegetius's TACTICS, written at Rhodes, in the year 1450, by John Newton, evidently one of our countrymen, who perhaps studied Greek there. MSS. LAUD. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. K. 53. It must, however, be remembered, that the passion for visiting the holy places at Jerusalem did not cease among us till late in the reign of Henry VIII. *The pilgrymage of syr Richard Torkyngton, parson of Mulberton in Norfolk, to Jerusalem*, An. 1517. Catal. MSS. vol. 2. 183. vol. 2. William Wey, fellow of Eton college, celebrated mass *cum cantu organico*, at Jerusalem, in the year 1472. MSS. James, Bibl. Bodl. vi. 153. His 'Itineraries,' MSS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 2. 12. In which are also some of his English rhymes on *The Way to Hierusalem*. He went twice on that pilgrimage.

Barclay, in the same stanza, like a plain ecclesiastic, censures the prevailing practice of going abroad for instruction ; which, for a time at least, certainly proved of no small detriment to our English schools and universities.

But thou, vayne boaster, if thou wilt take in hand
To study² cunning, and ydelnes despise,
Th' royallme of England might for thee suffice :—
In England is sufficient discipline,
And noble men endowed with science, &c.

And in another place, *ibid.* fol. 54. a.

One runneth to Almayne, another into Fraunce,
To Paris,³ Padway, Lombardy, or Spayne ;
Another to ⁴Bonony, Rome, or Orleauce,
To Cayns, to ⁵Tholous, Athens, or ⁶Colayne :
And at the last returneth home agayne,
More ignoraunt. — —

Yet this practice was encouraged by some of our bishops, who had received their education in English universities. Pace, one of our learned countrymen, a friend of Erasmus, was placed for education in grammar and music in the family of Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester ; who kept a domestic school within the precincts of his palace, for training boys in these sciences. 'Humaniores literas (says my author) tanti estimabat, ut domestica schola 'pueros ac juvenes ibi erudiendos curavit, &c.' The bishop, who took the greatest pleasure in examining his scholars every evening, observing that young Pace was an extraordinary proficient in music, thought him capable of better things ; and sent him, while yet a boy, to the university of Padua. He afterwards studied at Bononia : for the same bishop, by Will, bequeaths to his scholar, Richard Pace, studying at Bononia, an exhibition of ten pounds annually for seven years. Pace's 'Tractatus' *de fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur*, edit. Basle. 1517, 4to. p. 27. 28. In which the author calls himself bishop Langton's Will, Cur. Prærog. Cant. Registr. BOONE. qu. 10. Bishop Langton had been provost of queen's college at Oxford, and died in 1501. At Padua Pace was instructed by Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards bishop of Durham, and the giver of many valuable Greek books to the university of Cambridge ; and by Hugh Latimer, the martyr. TRACTAT. ut supr. p. 6. 99. 103. Leland, COLL. iii. 14.

We find also archbishop Wareham, before the year 1520, educating at his own expense, for the space of twelve years, Richard Croke, one of the first restorers of the Greek language in England, at the universities of Paris, Louvain, and Leipsic : from which returning a most accomplished scholar, he succeeded Erasmus in the Greek professorship at Cambridge. Croke dedicated to archbishop Wareham his INTRODUCTIONES IN RUDIMENTA GRÆCA, printed in the shop of Eucharius Cervicornius, at Cologne, 1520.

With regard to what has been here said concerning the practice of educating boys in the

¹ Examined.

² Knowledge.

³ Padua.

⁴ Bononia.

⁵ Caen and Tholouse.

⁶ Cologne in Germany.

sold in Italy: and it was chiefly by means of this literary traffic, that Cosmo and Laurence of Medici, and their munificent successors the dukes of Florence, composed the famous Florentine library¹.

It is obvious to remark the popularity which must have accrued to these politer studies, while they thus paved the way to the most opulent and honourable promotions in the church: and the authority and estimation with which they must have been surrounded, in being thus cultivated by the most venerable ecclesiastics. It is indeed true, that the dignified clergy of the early and darker ages were learned beyond the level of the people². Peter de Blois, successively archdeacon of

families of our bishops, it appears that Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, educated in this manner most of the nobility in the kingdom, who were placed there in the character of pages: 'Filios Nobilium procerum regni, quos secum habuit DOMICELLOS.' Joh. de Athona. in 'Constit. Ottobon. Tit. 23. in 'Voc. Barones.' Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York, educated in his house many of the young nobility. Fiddes's WOLSEY, p. 100. See what is said above of the quality of pope Leo's 'Cubicularii,' p. 411. Fiddes cites a record remaining in the family of the earl of Arundel, written in 1620, which contains instructions how the younger son of the writer, the earl of Arundel, should behave himself in the family of the bishop of Norwich, whither he is sent for education as page: and in which his lordship observes, that his grandfather the duke of Norfolk, and his uncle the earl of Northampton, were both bred as *pages with bishops*. Fiddes, *ibid.* RECORDS. No. 6. c. 4. pag. 19. Sir Thomas More was educated as a page with cardinal Moreton, archbishop of Canterbury, about 1490, who was so struck with his genius, that he would often say at dinner, *This child here waiting at table is so very ingenious, that he will one day prove an extraordinary man.* MORI UTOPIA. cited by Stapleton, p. 157. 138. And Roper's MORE, p. 27. edit. ut sup.

² Many of them were sent into Italy by Laurence of Medicis, particularly John Lascaris. Varillas says, that Bajazet II. understood Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle. ANECDOT: de Florence, p. 183. P. Jovii ELOG. c. xxxi. p. 74. Lascaris also made a voyage into Greece by command of Leo X.; and brought with him some Greek boys, who were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on mount Quirinal, and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek tongue. Jovius ut sup. c. xxxi.

³ The inferior clergy were in the mean time extremely ignorant. About the year 1300, pope Boniface VIII. published an edict, ordering the incumbents of ecclesiastic benefices to quit their cures for a certain time, and to study at the universities. [See his ten 'Constitutiones,' in the 'Bullarium magnum' of Laertius Cherubinus. tom. i. p. 198. seq. Where are his *Erectiones studiorum generalium in civitate Firmana, Roma, et Avenione*, A.D. 1303.] Accordingly our episcopal registers are full of licences granted for this purpose. The rector of Bedhampton, Hants, being an accolite, is permitted to study for seven years from the time of his institution, 'in literarum scientia,' on condition that within one year he is made a sub-deacon, and after seven years a deacon and priest, Mar. 5. 1302. Registr. PONTISSAR. Winton. fol. 38. Another rector is allowed to study for seven years, *in loco quem eligit et ubi viget studium generale*, 16 kal. Octobr. 1303. *ibid.* fol. 40. Another receives the same privilege, to study at Oxford, Orleans, or Paris, A.D. 1304. *ibid.* fol. 42. Another, being desirous of study, and able to make a proficiency, is licenced to study in *aliquo studio transmarino*, A.D. 1291. *ibid.* fol. 84. This, however, was three years before Boniface became pope. Another is to study *per terminum constitutionis novellæ*, A.D. 1302. *ibid.* fol. 37. b. But these dispensations, the necessity of which proves the illiteracy of the priests, were most commonly procured for pretences of absence or neglect. Or, if in consequence of such dispensations, they went to any university, they seem to have mispent their time there in riot and idleness, and to have returned more ignorant than before. A grievance to which Gower alludes in the 'Vox Clamantis,' a poem which presents some curious pictures of the manners of the clergy, both secular and monastic. cap. xvii. lib. 3. MSS. Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon. xxix. *Hic loquitur de Rectoribus illis, qui sub episcopo licentiati fingunt se ire scholas, ut sub nomine virtutis vitia corporalia frequent.*

Et sic Ars nostrum Curatum reddit inertem, De longo studio fert nihil inde domum:
Stultus ibi venit, sed stultior inde redibit, &c.

By *Ars* we are here to understand the scholastic sciences, and by *Curatus* the benefited priest. But the most extraordinary anecdote of incompetency which I have seen, occurs so late as the year 1448. A rector is instituted by Waynflete bishop of Winchester, on the presentation of Merton priory in Surrey, to the parish of Sherfield in Hampshire. But previously he takes an oath before the bishop, that on account of his insufficiency in letters, and default of knowledge in the superintendence of souls, he will learn Latin for the two following years;

Bath and London, about the year 1160, acquaints us, that the palace of Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was perpetually filled with bishops highly accomplished in literature : who passed their time there, in reading, disputing, and deciding important questions of the state. He adds, that these prelates, although men of the world, were a society of scholars : yet very different from those who frequented the universities, in which nothing was taught but words and syllables, unprofitable subtleties, elementary speculations, and trifling distinctions¹. De Blois was himself eminently learned, and one of the most distinguished ornaments of Becket's attendants. He tells us, that in his youth, when he learned the *ARS VERSIFICATORIA*, that is, philological literature, he was habituated to an urbanity of style and expression : and that he was instituted, not in idle fables and legendary tales, but in Livy, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Josephus, Trogus Pompeius, Tacitus, and other classical historians. [EPIST. cii. fol. 49. b.] At the same time he censures with a just indignation, the absurdity of training boys in the frivolous intricacies of logic and geometry, and other parts of the scholastic philosophy : which, to use his own emphatical words, '*Nec domi, nec militiæ, nec in foro, nec in claustro, nec in ecclesia, nec in curia, nec alicubi prosunt alicui*.' The Latin

and at the end of the first year he will submit himself to be examined by the bishop, concerning his progress in grammar ; and that, if on a second examination he should be found deficient, he will resign the benefice. Registr. WAYNFLETE. Winton. fol. 7. In the statutes of New College at Oxford, given in the year 1386, one of the ten chaplains is ordered to learn grammar, and to be able to *write* ; in order that he may be qualified for the arduous task of assisting the treasurers of the society in transcribing their Latin evidences. STATUT. Coll. NOV. RUBRIC. 58. In the statutes of Bradgate college in Kent, given in 1398, it is required that the governor of the house, who is to be a priest, should read well, construe Latin well, and sing well, *sciat bene legere, bene construere, et bene cantare*. Dugd. MONAST. tom. iii. Eccles. Collegiat. p. 118. col. 2. At an episcopal visitation of St. Swithin's priory at Winchester, an ample society of Benedictines, bishop William of Wykeham orders the monastery to provide an INFORMATOR, or Latin preceptor, to teach the priests, who performed the service in the church without knowing what they were uttering and could not attend to the common stops, to read grammatically, Feb. 8. 1386. MSS. Harl. 328. These, indeed, were not secular priests : the instance, however, illustrates what is here thrown together.

Wickliffe says, that the beneficed priests of his age 'kunnen [know] not the ten commandments, ne read their sauter, ne understand a verse of it.' LIFE of Wickliffe, p. 38. Nor were even the bishops of the fourteenth century always very eminently qualified in literature of either sort. In the year 1387, the bishop of Worcester informed his clergy, that the Lollards, a sett of reformers whose doctrines, a few fanatical extravagancies excepted, coincided in many respects with the present rational principles of protestantism, were *followers of MAHOMET*. Wilkins, CONCIL. tom. iii. p. 202.

But at this time the most shameful grossness of manners, partly owing to their celibacy, prevailed among the clergy. In the statutes of the college of St. Mary Ottery in Devonshire, dated 1337, and given by the founder bishop Grandison, the following injunction occurs. 'Item statuimus, quod nullus Canonicus, Vicarius, vel Secundarius, pueros choristas [collegii] *secum pernoscere, aut in lectulo cum ipsis dormire, faciat seu permittat*.' Cap. 50. MSS. apud Archiv. Wulves. Winton. And what shall we think of the religious manners and practices of an age, when the following precautions were thought necessary, in a respectable collegiate church, consisting of a dean and six secular canons, amply endowed ? 'Statutum est quod si quis convictus fuerit de peccato Sodomitico, vel arte magica, &c.' From the statutes of Stoke-Clare college, in Suffolk, given by the dean Thomas Barnesley, in the year 1422. Dugd. MONAST. ut supr. p. 169. col. 1.

From these horrid pictures let us turn our eyes, and learn to set a just value on that pure religion, and those improved habits of life and manners, which we at present so happily enjoy.

¹ EPIST. Petr. Blesens. vi. fol. 3. a. OPERA. edit. Paris. 1519. fol.

² Ibid. That is, 'Which are of no real use or service, at home, in the camp, at the bar, in the cloyster, in the court, in the church, or indeed in any place or situation whatsoever.'

Epistles of De Blois, from which these anecdotes are taken, are full of good sense, observations on life, elegant turns, and ingenious allusions to the classics. He tells Jocelyne, bishop of Salisbury, that he had long wished to see the bishop's two nephews, according to promise : but that he feared he expected them as the Britons expected king Arthur, or the Jews the Messiah. [EPIST. ii. fol. 24. a.] He describes, with a liveliness by no means belonging to the archdeacons of the twelfth century, the difficulties, disappointments, and inconveniences, of paying attendance at court¹. In the course of his correspondence, he quotes Quintilian, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Seneca, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Ovid, Statius, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Horace, more frequently and familiarly than the fathers². Horace seems his favorite. In one of the letters, he quotes a passage concerning Pompey the Great, from the Roman history of Sallust, in six books, now lost, and which appears at present only in part among the fragments of that valuable historian³. In the NUGÆ CURIALIUM OF MAPES, or some other MSS. Latin tract written by one of the scholars of the twelfth century, I remember to have seen a curious and striking anecdote, which in a short compass shews Becket's private ideas concerning the bigotries and superstitious absurdities of his religion. The writer gives an account of a dinner in Becket's palace ; at which was present, among many other prelates, a Cistercian abbot. This abbot engrossed almost the whole conversation, in relating the miracles performed by Robert, the founder of his order. Becket heard him for some time with a patient contempt ; and at length could not help breaking out with no small degree of indignation. *And these are your miracles !*

We must however view the liberal ideas of these enlightened dignitaries of the twelfth century under some restrictions. It must be acknowledged, that their literature was clogged with pedantry, and depressed by the narrow notions of the times. Their writings shew, that they knew not how to imitate the beauties of the ancient classics. Exulting in an exclusive privilege, they certainly did not see the solid

¹ 'Ut ad ministeriales curiæ redeam, apud forinsecos janitores biduanam forte gratiam aliquis multiplici obsequio merebitur.—Regem dormire, aut ægrotare, aut esse in consiliis, mentientur.—Ostiariorum cameræ confundat altissimus ! Si nihil dederis ostiario actum est. Si nihil attuleris illis, Homere, foras. Post primum Cerberum, tibi superest, alius horribilior Cerbero, Briareo terribilior, nequior Pygmalione, crudelior Minotauro. Quancunque tibi mortis necessitas, aut discrimen exhæredationis incubat, non intrabis ad regem.' EPIST. xiv. fol. 8. b.

² Latin and French, the vernacular excepted, were the only languages now known. Foliot bishop of London, cotemporary with De Blois and Becket, was esteemed, both in secular and sacred literature, the most consummate prelate of his time. Becket, EPISTOL. lib. iii. 5. Walter Mapes, their cotemporary, giving Foliot the same character, says he was *TRIUM PERITISSIMUS LINGUARUM LATINE, GALlice, Anglice, et lucidissime disertus in singulis*. Apud. MSS. JAMES, xiv. p. 86. Bibl. Bodl. [EX NUGIS CURIAL.]

³ 'De magno Pompeio refert Sallustius, quod cum alacribus saltu, cum velocibus cursu, cum validis vecte certabat, &c.' EPIST. xciv. fol. 45. a. Part of this passage is cited by Vegetius, a favorite author of the age of Peter de Blois. DE RE MILIT. lib. i. c. ix. It is exhibited by the modern editors of Sallust, as it stands in Vegetius.

and proper use of these studies : at least they did not chuse, or would not venture, to communicate them to the people, who on the other hand were not prepared to receive them. Any attempts of that kind, for want of assistances which did not then exist, must have been premature ; and these lights were too feeble to dissipate the universal darkness. The writers who first appeared after Rome was ravaged by the Goths, such as Boethius, Prudentius, Orosius, Fortunatus, and Sedulius, and who naturally, from that circumstance, and because they were Christians, came into vogue at that period, still continued in the hands of common readers, and superseded the great originals. In the early ages of Christianity a strange opinion prevailed, in conformity to which Arnobius composed his celebrated book against the gentle superstitions, that pagan authors were calculated to corrupt the pure theology of the gospel. The prejudice however remained, when even the suspicions of the danger were removed. But I return to the progress of modern letters in the fifteenth century.

SECTION XXXVI.

SOON after the year 1500, Lillye, the famous grammarian, who had learned Greek at Rhodes, and had afterwards acquired a polished Latinity at Rome, under Johannes Sulpicius and Pomponius Sabinus, became the first teacher of Greek at any public school in England. This was at St. Paul's school in London, then newly established by dean Colet, and celebrated by Erasmus ; and of which Lillye, as one of the most exact and accomplished scholars of his age, was appointed the first master¹. And that ancient prejudices were now gradually wearing off, and a national taste for critical studies and the graces of composition began to be diffused, appears from this circumstance alone : that from the year one thousand five hundred and three to the reformation, there were more grammar schools, most of which at present are perhaps of little use and importance, founded and endowed in England, than had been for three hundred years before. The practice of educating our youth in the monasteries growing into disuse, near twenty new grammar schools were established within this period : and among these, Wolsey's school at Ipswich, which soon fell a sacrifice to

¹ Knight, LIFE of Colet, p. 19. Pace, above mentioned, in the Epistle dedicatory to Colet, before his Treatise *De fructu qui ex Doctrina precipitur*, thus compliments Lillye, edit. Basle. ut supr. 1517. p. 13. 'Ut politiores Latinitatem, et ipsam Romanam linguam, in Britanniam nostram introduxisse videatur.—Tanta [ei] eruditio, ut extrusa barbarie, in qua nostri adolescentes solebant fere ætatem consumere, &c.' Erasmus says, in 1514, that he had taught a youth, in three years, more Latin than he could have acquired in any school in England, *ne Liliiana quidam excepta*, EPISTOL. 165. p. 140. tom. iii.

the resentment or the avarice of Henry VIII. deserves particular notice, as it rivalled those of Winchester and Eton. To give splendour to the institution, beside the scholars, it consisted of a dean, twelve canons, and a numerous choir¹. So attached was Wolsey to the new modes of instruction, that he did not think it inconsistent with his high office and rank, to publish a general address to the schoolmasters of England, in which he orders them to institute their youth in the most elegant literature². It is to be wished that all his edicts had been employed to so liberal and useful a purpose. There is an anecdote on record, which strongly marks Wolsey's character in this point of view, Notwithstanding his habits of pomp, he once condescended to be a spectator of a Latin tragedy of DIDO, from Virgil, acted by the scholars of St. Paul's school, and written by John Right-wise, the master, an eminent grammarian. [Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 15.] But Wolsey might have pleaded the authority of Leo X., who more than once had been present at one of these classical spectacles.

It does not however appear, that the cardinal's liberal sentiments were in general adopted by his brother prelates. At the foundation of St. Paul's school above-mentioned, one of the bishops, eminent for his wisdom and gravity, at a public assembly, severely censured Colet the founder for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in the new structure, which he therefore styled a house of pagan idolatry³.

In the year 1517, Fox, bishop of Winchester, founded a college at Oxford, in which he constituted, with competent stipends, two professors for the Greek and Latin languages⁴. Although some slight idea of a classical lecture had already appeared at Cambridge in the system of collegiate discipline⁵, this philological establishment may justly be looked upon, as the first conspicuous instance of an attempt to depart from the narrow plan of education, which had hitherto been held sacred in the universities of England. The course of the Latin professor, who is expressly directed to expatiate BARBARISM from the new society⁶, is not confined to the private limits of the college, but open to the students of Oxford in general. The Greek lecturer is ordered to explain the best Greek classics ; and the poets, historians,

¹ Tanner, NOTIT. MON. p. 520.

² 'Elegantissima literatura.' Fiddes's WOLSEY. COLL. p. 195.

³ 'Episcopum quendam, et eum qui habetur a SAPIENTIORIBUS, in magno hominum Con-ventu, nostram scholam blasphemasse, dixisseque, me erexisse rem inutilem, imo malam, imo etiam, ut illius verbis utar. *Donum Idololatriae*, &c.' [Coletus Erasmo. Lond. 1517.] KNIGHT'S LIFE OF COLET, p. 319.

⁴ STATUT. C. C. C. Oxon. dat. Jun. 20, 1517. CAP. XX. fol. 51. Bibl. Bodleian MSS. LAUD. I. 56.

⁵ At Christ's college in Cambridge, where, in the statutes given in 1506, a lecturer is established ; who, together with logic and philosophy is ordered to read, 'vel ex poetarum, vel ex 'oratorum operibus.' Cap. xxxvii. In the statutes of King's at Cambridge, and New College at Oxford, both much more ancient, an instructor is appointed with the general name of IN-FORMATOR only, who taught all the learning then in vogue. ROTUL. COMPUT. vet. Coll. Nov. Oxon. 'Solut. Informatoribus, sociorum et scolarium, iv l. xii s. ii d.'

⁶ 'Lector seu professor artium humaniorum . . . BARBARIEM a nostro alveario exstirpct. STATUT. ut supr.

and orators, in that language, which the judicious founder, who seems to have consulted the most intelligent scholars of the times, recommends by name on this occasion, are the purest, and such as are most esteemed even in the present improved state of ancient learning. And it is at the same time worthy of remark, that this liberal prelate, in forming his plan of study, does not appoint a philosophy-lecturer in his college, as had been the constant practice in most of the previous foundations: perhaps suspecting, that such an endowment would not have coincided with his new course of erudition, and would have only served to encourage that species of doctrine, which had so long choked the paths of science, and had so obstructed the progress of useful knowledge.

These happy beginnings in favour of anew and rational system of academical education, were seconded by the auspicious munificence of cardinal Wolsey. About the year 1519, he founded a public chair at Oxford, for rhetoric and humanity, and soon afterwards another for teaching the Greek language; endowing both with ample salaries¹. About the year 1524, Henry VIII., who destroyed or advanced literary institutions from caprice, called Robert Wakefield, originally a student of Cambridge, but now a professor of humanity at Tübingen in Germany, into England, that one of his own subjects, a linguist of so much celebrity, might no longer teach the Greek and oriental languages abroad: and when Wakefield appeared before the king, his majesty lamented, in the strongest expressions of concern, the total ignorance of his clergy and the universities in the learned tongues; and immediately assigned him a competent stipend for opening a lecture at Cambridge, in this necessary and neglected department of letters². Wakefield was afterwards a preserver of many copies of the Greek classics, in the havoc of the religious houses. It is recorded by Fox, the martyrologist, as a memorable occurrence³, and very deservedly, that about that same time, Robert Barnes, prior of the Augustines at Cambridge, and educated at Louvain, with the assistance of his scholar Thomas Parnell, explained within the walls of his own monastery, Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, to those academics who saw the utility of philology, and were desirous of deserting the Gothic philosophy. It may seem at first surprising, that Fox, a prejudiced writer, should allow any merit to a catholic: but Barnes afterwards appears to have been one of Fox's martyrs, and was executed in Smithfield for a defence of Lutheranism.

But these innovations in the system of study were greatly discouraged and opposed by the friends of the old scholastic circle of sciences, and the bigoted partizans of the catholic communion, who

¹ Wood, *HIST. Univ. Oxon.* i. 245. 246. Fiddes's *WOLSEY*, p. 197.

² Wakefield's *ORATIO DE LAUDIBUS TRIUM LINGUARUM*, &c. Dated at Cambridge, 1524. Printed for W. de Worde, 4to. *Signat.* C. ii. *FAST. Acad. Lovan.* by Val. Andreas, p. 284. edit. 1659.

³ *ACT. MON.* fol. 1192, edit. 1583.

stigmatised the Greek language by the name of heresy. Even bishop Fox, when he founded the Greek lecture above-mentioned, that he might not appear to countenance a dangerous novelty, was obliged to cover his excellent institution under the venerable mantle of the authority of the church. For as a seeming apology for what he had done, he refers to a canonical decree of pope Clement V., promulgated in the year 1311, at Vienne in Dauphine, which enjoined, that professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, should be instituted in the universities of Oxford, Paris, Bononia, Salamanca, and in the court of Rome¹. It was under the force of this ecclesiastical constitution, that Gregory Typhernas, one of the learned Greek exiles, had the address to claim a stipend for teaching Greek in the university of Paris.² We cannot but wonder at the strange disagreement in human affairs between cause and effect, when we consider, that this edict of pope Clement, which originated from a superstitious reverence annexed to two of these languages, because they composed part of the superscription on the cross of Christ, should have so strongly counteracted its own principles, and proved to be an instrument in the reformation of our religion.

The university of Oxford was rent into factions on account of these bold attempts; and the advocates of the recent improvements, when the gentler weapons of persuasion could not prevail, often proceeded to blows with the rigid champions of the schools. But the facetious disposition of sir Thomas More had no small share in deciding this singular controversy, which he treated with much ingenious ridicule³. Erasmus, about the same time, was engaged in attempting these reformations at Cambridge: in which, notwithstanding the mildness of his temper and conduct, and the general lustre of his literary character, he met with the most obstinate opposition. He expounded the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras in the public schools without an audience⁴: and having, with a view to present the Grecian literature in the most specious and agreeable form by a piece of pleasantry, translated Lucian's lively dialogue called ICAROMENIPPUS, he could find no student

¹ 'Quem præterea in nostro Alveario collocavimus, quod SACROSANCTI CANONES commodissime pro bonis literis, et imprimis christianis, instituerunt ac jusserunt, eum in hac universitate Oxoniensi, perinde ab paucis aliis celeberrimis gymnasiis, nunquam desiderari.' STATUT. C. C. C. Oxon. ut supr. The words of this statute which immediately follow, deserve notice here, and require explanation. 'Nec tamen Eos hac ratione excusatos volumus, qui Græcam lectionem in eo suis IMPENSIS sustentare debent.' By Eos, he means the bishops and abbots of England, who are the persons particularly ordered in pope Clement's injunction to sustain these lectures in the university of Oxford. Bishop Fox, therefore, in founding a Greek lecture, would be understood, that he does not mean to absolve or excuse the other prelates of England from doing their proper duty in this necessary business. At the same time a charge on their negligence seems to be implied.

² Naud. i. 3. p. 234. This was in 1472.

³ See, among other proofs, his *EPISTOLA Scholasticis quibusdam Trojanos se appellantis*, published by Hearne, 1716, 8vo.

⁴ Erasmi *EPIST.* Ammonio, dat. 1512. Ep. 123. Op. tom. iii. p. 110.

in the university capable of transcribing the Greek with the Latin¹. His edition of the Greek testament, the most commodious that had yet appeared, was absolutely proscribed at Cambridge : and a programme was issued in one of the most ample colleges, threatening a severe fine to any member of the society, who should be detected in having so fantastic and impious a book in his possession². One Henry Standish, a doctor in divinity and a mendicant frier, afterwards bishop of St. Asaph, was a vehement adversary of Erasmus in the promotion of this heretical literature; whom he called in a declamation, by way of reproach, *Græculus iste*, which soon became a synonymous appellation for an heretic³. Yet it should be remembered, that many English prelates patronised Erasmus; and that one of our archbishops was at this time ambitious of learning Greek. [ERASM. EPIST. 301.]

Even the public diversions of the court took a tincture from this growing attention to the languages, and assumed a classical air. We have before seen, that a comedy of Plautus was acted at the royal palace of Greenwich in 1520. And when the French ambassadors with a most splendid suite of the French nobility were in England for the ratification of peace in the year 1514, amid the most magnificent banquets, tournaments, and masques, exhibited at the same palace, they were entertained with a Latin interlude; or, to use the words of a cotemporary writer, with such an 'excellent Interlude made in Latin, 'that I never heard the like; the actors apparel being so gorgeous, 'and of such strange devices, that it passes my capacitie to relate 'them.' [Cavendish MEM. Card. Wolsey, p. 94., edit. 1708, 8vo.]

Nor was the protection of Henry VIII., who notwithstanding he had attacked the opinions of Luther, yet, from his natural liveliness of temper and a love of novelty, thought favourably of the new improvements, of inconsiderable influence in supporting the restoration of the Greek language. In 1519, a preacher at the public church of the university of Oxford, harangued with much violence, and in the true spirit of the ancient orthodoxy, against the doctrines inculcated by the new professors: and his arguments were canvassed among the students with the greatest animosity. But Henry, being resident at the neighbouring royal manor of Woodstock, and having received a just detail of the merits of this dispute from Pace and More, interposed his uncontrovertible authority; and transmitting a royal mandate to the university, commanded that the study of the scriptures in their original languages should not only be permitted for the future, but received as

¹ Ibid. EPIST. 119. dat. 1512. p. 120. Henry Bullock, called Bovillus, one of Erasmus's friends, and much patronised by Wolsey, printed a Latin translation of Lucian, *ωπερ Διζαδων*, at Cambridge, 1521, quarto.

² Ibid. EPIST. 148. dat 1513. p. 126.

³ Erasmi OPERA, tom. ix. p. 1440. Even the priests, in their confessions of young scholars, cautioned against this growing evil. 'Cave a *Græcis* ne fias *hæreticus*.' ERASM. ADAG. Op. ii. 993.

a branch of the academical institution. [Erasm. EPIST. 380. tom. iii.] Soon afterwards, one of the king's chaplains preaching at court, took an opportunity to censure the genuine interpretations of the scriptures, which the Grecian learning had introduced. The king, when the sermon was ended, to which he had listened with a smile of contempt, ordered a solemn disputation to be held, in his own presence : at which the unfortunate preacher opposed, and sir Thomas More, with his usual dexterity, defended, the utility and excellence of the Greek language. The divine, who at least was a good courtier, instead of vindicating his opinion, instantly fell on his knees, and begged pardon for having given any offence in the pulpit before his majesty. However, after some slight altercation, the preacher, by way of making some sort of concession in form, ingenuously declared, that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. The king, astonished at his ridiculous ignorance, dismissed the chaplain, with a charge, that he should never again presume to preach at court. [Ibid. p. 408.] In the grammatical schools established in all the new cathedral foundations of this king, a master is appointed, with the uncommon qualification of a competent skill in both the learned languages¹. In the year 1523, Ludovicus Vives, having dedicated his commentary on Austin's DE CIVITATE DEI to Henry VIII., was invited into England, and read lectures at Oxford in jurisprudence and humanity, which were countenanced by the presence, not only of Henry, but of queen Catherine and some of the principal nobility². At length ancient absurdities universally gave way to these encouragements. Even the vernacular language began to be cultivated by the more ingenious clergy. Colet, dean of saint Paul's, a divine of profound learning, with a view to adorn and improve the style of his discourses, and to acquire the graces of an elegant preacher, employed much time in reading Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, and other English poets, whose compositions had embellished the popular diction³. The practice of frequenting Italy, for the purpose of acquiring the last polish to a Latin style both in eloquence and poetry, still continued in vogue ; and was greatly promoted by the connections, authority, and good taste, of cardinal Pole, who constantly resided at the court of Rome in a high character. At Oxford, in particular, these united endeavours for establishing a new course of liberal and manly science, were finally consummated in the magnificent foundation of Wolsey's

¹ Statuimus præterea, ut per Decanum, etc. unus [Archididascalus] 'eligatur, Latine et 'Græce doctus, bonæ famæ, &c.' STATUT. ECCLES. ROSS. cap. xxv. They were given June 30, 1545. In the same statute the second master is required to be only *Latine doctus*. All the statutes of the new cathedrals are alike. It is remarkable, that Wolsey does not order Greek to be taught in his school at Ipswich, founded 1528. STRYPE, ECCLES. MEM. i. Append. xxxv. p. 94. seq.

² Twyne, APOL. lib. ii. §. 210. seq. Probably he was patronised by Catherine as a Spaniard.

³ ERASM. EPISTOL. Jodoco Jonæ. Ibid. Jun. 1521.

college, to which all the accomplished scholars of every country in Europe were invited; and for whose library, transcripts of all the valuable manuscripts which now fill the Vatican, were designed¹.

But the progress of these prosperous beginnings was soon obstructed. The first obstacle I shall mention, was, indeed, but of short duration. It was however an unfavourable circumstance, that in the midst of this career of science, Henry, who had ever been accustomed to gratify his passions at any rate, sued for a divorce against his queen Catherine. The legality of this violent measure being agitated with much deliberation and solemnity, wholly engrossed the attention of many able philologists, whose genius and acquisitions were destined to a much nobler employment; and tended to revive for a time the frivolous subtleties of casuistry and theology.

But another cause which suspended the progression of these letters, of much more importance and extent, ultimately most happy in its consequences, remains to be mentioned. The enlarged conceptions acquired by the study of the Greek and Roman writers seem to have restored to the human mind a free exertion of its native operations, and to have communicated a certain spirit of enterprise in examining every subject: and at length to have released the intellectual capacity of mankind from that habitual subjection, and that servility to system, which had hitherto prevented it from advancing any new principle, or adopting any new opinion. Hence, under the concurrent assistance of a preparation of circumstances, all centering in the same period, arose the reformation of religion. But this defection from the catholic communion, alienated the thoughts of the learned from those pursuits by which it was produced: and diverted the studies of the most accomplished scholars, to inquiries into the practices and maxims of the primitive ages, the nature of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the authority of scripture and tradition, of popes, councils, and schoolmen: topics, which men were not yet qualified to treat with any degree of penetration, and on which the ideas of the times unenlightened by philosophy, or warped by prejudice and passion, were not calculated to throw just and rational illustrations. When the bonds of spiritual unity were once broken, this separation from an established faith ended in a variety of subordinate sects, each of which called forth its respective champions into the field of religious contention. The several princes of christendom were politically concerned in these disputes; and the courts in which poets and orators had been recently caressed and rewarded, were now filled with that most deplorable species of philosophers, polemical metaphysicians. The public entry of Luther into Worms, when he had been summoned before the diet of that city, was equally splendid with that of the emperor Charles V. [Luther,

¹ Wood, *HIST. UNIV. OXON.* i. 249.

Op. ii. 412. 414.] Rome in return, roused from her deep repose of ten centuries, was compelled to vindicate her insulted doctrines with reasoning and argument. The profound investigations of Aquinas once more triumphed over the graces of the Ciceronian urbanity; and endless volumes were written on the expediency of auricular confession, and the existence of purgatory. Thus the cause of polite literature was for awhile abandoned; while the noblest abilities of Europe were wasted in theological speculation, and absorbed in the abyss of controversy. Yet it must not be forgotten, that wit and raillery, drawn from the sources of elegant erudition, were sometimes applied, and with the greatest success, in this important dispute. The lively colloquies of Erasmus, which exposed the superstitious practices of the papists, with much humour, and in pure Latinity, made more protestants than the ten tomes of John Calvin. A work of ridicule was now a new attempt: and it should be here observed, to the honour of Erasmus, that he was the first of the literary reformers who tried that species of composition, at least with any degree of popularity. The polite scholars of Italy had no notion that the German theologians were capable of making their readers laugh: they were now convinced of their mistake, and soon found that the German pleasantry prepared the way for a revolution, which proved of the most serious consequence to Italy and the Italians.

Another great temporary check given to the general state of letters in England at this period, was the dissolution of the monasteries. Many of the abuses in civil society are attended with some advantages. In the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly: while the benefit arising from the change is the slow effect of time, and not immediately perceived or enjoyed. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable to the interests of mankind than the monastic. Yet these seminaries, although they were in a general view the nurseries of illiterate indolence, and undoubtedly deserved to be suppressed under proper restrictions, contained invitations and opportunities to studious leisure and literary pursuits. On this event therefore, a visible revolution and decline in the national state of learning succeeded. Most of the rising youth throughout the kingdom betook themselves to mechanical or other illiberal employments, the profession of letters being now supposed to be without support and reward. By the abolition of the religious houses, many towns and their adjacent villages were utterly deprived of their only means of instruction. At the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, Williams, speaker of the house of commons, complained to her majesty, that more than an hundred flourishing schools were destroyed in the demolition of the monasteries, and that ignorance had

prevailed ever since¹. Provincial ignorance, at least, became universal, in consequence of this hasty measure of a rapacious and arbitrary prince. What was taught in the monasteries, was not always perhaps of the greatest importance, but still it served to keep up a certain degree of necessary knowledge². Nor should it be forgot, that many of the abbots were learned, and patrons of literature; men of public spirit and liberal views. By their connections with parliament, and the frequent embassies to foreign courts in which they were employed, they became acquainted with the world, and the improvements of life: and, knowing where to chuse proper objects, and having no other use for the superfluities of their vast revenues, encouraged in their respective circles many learned young men. It appears to have been customary for the governors of the most considerable convents, especially those that were honoured with the mitre, to receive into their own private lodgings the sons of the principal families of the neighbourhood for education. About the year 1450, Thomas Bromele, abbot of the mitred monastery of Hyde near Winchester, entertained in his own abbatial house within that monastery, eight young gentlemen, or *gentiles pueri*, who were placed there for the purpose of literary instruction, and constantly dined at the abbot's table. I will not scruple to give the original words, which are more particular and expressive, of the obscure record which preserves this curious anecdote of monastic life. 'Pro octo gentilibus pueris apud dominum abbatem studii causa perhendinantibus, et ad mensam domini victitantibus, cum garcionibus suis ipsos comitantibus, hoc anno, xvii l. ix s. Capiendo pro'³ This, by the way, was more extraordinary, as William of Wykeham's celebrated seminary was so near. And this seems to have been an established practice of the abbot of Glastonbury: 'whose apartment in the abbey was a kind of well-disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and young gentlemen were wont to be sent for virtuous education, who returned thence home excel-

¹ Strype, ANN, REF. p. 292. sub ann. 1562. The greater abbies appear to have had the direction of other schools in their neighbourhood. In an abbatial Register of Bury abbey there is this entry. 'Memoranda. quod. A.D. 1418. 28 Jul. Gulielmus abbas contulit regi-
'men et magisterium scholarum grammaticalem in villa de Bury S. Edmundi magistro
'Johanni Somerset, artium et grammaticæ professori, et baccalaureo in medicina, cum annua
'pensiene xl. solidorum.' MSS. Cotton. TIBER. B. ix. 2. This John Somerset was tutor
and physician to Henry VI., and a man of eminent learning. He was instrumental in procuring duke Humphrey's books to be conveyed to Oxford. Registr. Acad. Oxon. EPIST. F. 179, 202, 211, 220. And in the foundation of King's college at Cambridge. MSS. Cott. JULIUS, F. vii. 43.

² I do not, however, lay great stress on the following passage, which yet deserves attention, in Rosse of Warwickshire, who wrote about the year 1480: 'To this day, in the cathedrals and some of the greater collegiate churches, or monasteries, [quibusdam nobilibus collegiis,] and in the houses of the four mendicant orders, useful lectures and disputations are kept up; and such of their members as are thought capable of degrees, are sent to the universities. And in towns where there are two or more fraternities of mendicants, in each of these are held, every week by turns, proper exercises of scholars in disputation.' HIST. REG. ANGL. edit. Hearne, p. 74.

³ From a fragment of the COMPUTUS CAMERARI Abbatis. Hidens. in Archiv. Wulves: apud Winton, ut supr.

'lently accomplished'. Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, who was cruelly executed by the king, during the course of his government, educated near 300 ingenuous youths, who constituted a part of his family: beside many others whom he liberally supported at the universities². Whitgift, the most excellent and learned archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was educated under Robert Whitgift his uncle, abbot of the Augustine monastery of black canons at Wellhow in Lincolnshire: 'who, says Strype, had several 'other young gentlemen under his care for education³.' That, at the restoration of literature, many of these dignitaries were eminently learned, and even zealous promoters of the new improvements, I could bring various instances. Hugh Farrington, the last abbot of Reading, was a polite scholar, as his Latin epistles addressed to the university of Oxford abundantly testify⁴. Nor was he less a patron of critical studies. Leonard Coxe, a popular philological writer in the reign of Henry VIII., both in Latin and English, and a great traveller, highly celebrated by the judicious Leland for his elegant accomplishments in letters, and honoured with the affectionate correspondence of Erasmus, dedicates to this abbot, his *ARTE OR CRAFT OF RHETORICKE*, printed in the year 1524, at that time a work of an unusual nature⁵. Wakefield above mentioned, a very capital Greek and oriental scholar, in his *DISCOURSE ON THE EXCELLENCY AND UTILITY OF THE THREE LANGUAGES*, written in 1524, celebrates William Fryssell, prior of the cathedral Benedictine convent at Rochester, as a distinguished judge and encourager of critical literature. Robert Shirwoode, an Englishman, but a professor of Greek and Hebrew at Louvaine, published a new Latin translation of *ECCLESIASTES*, with critical annotations on the Hebrew text, printed at Antwerp in 1523. This, in an elegant Latin epistle, he dedicates to John Webbe, prior of the Benedictine cathedral convent at Coventry; whom he styles, for his singular learning, and attention to the general cause of letters; *MONACHORUM DECUS*. John Batmanson, prior of the Carthusians in London, controverted Erasmus's commentary on the new Testament with a degree of spirit and erudition, which was unhappily misapplied, and would have done honour to the cause of his antagonist⁶. He wrote many other pieces; and was patronised by Lee, a learned archbishop of York, who opposed Erasmus, but allowed Ascham a pension⁷. Kederminster, abbot of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, a

¹ *HIST. and ANTIQ. of GLASTONBURY*, Oxon. 1722. 8vo. p. 93.

² Reyner, *APOSTOLAT. BENEDICT.* Tract i. sect. ii. p. 224. Sanders de *SCHISM.* p. 176.

³ Strype's *WHITGIFT*, b. i. ch. i. p. 3.

⁴ *Registr. Univ. Oxon.* F. F. fol. 101—125.

⁵ Leland, *COLLECTAN.* vol. 5. p. 118. vol. 6. p. 187. And *ENCOM.* p. 50. edit. 1589. *Erasm. EPISTOL.* p. 886.

⁶ Theodor. Petreus, *BIBL. CARTHUS.* edit. Col. 1609. p. 157.

⁷ Ascham, *EPISTOL.* lib. ii. p. 77. a. edit. 1581. On the death of the archbishop, in 1544, Ascham desires, that a part of his pension then due might be paid out of some of the archbishop's greek books: one of these he wishes may be Aldus's *DECEM RHETORES GRÆCI*, a book which he could not purchase or procure at Cambridge

traveller to Rome, and a celebrated preacher before Henry VIII., established regular lectures in his monastery, for explaining both scriptures in their original languages; which were so generally frequented, that his little cloister acquired the name and reputation of a new university¹. He was master of a terse and perspicuous Latin style, as appears from a fragment of the HISTORY OF WYNCHCOMB ABBEY, written by himself². His erudition is attested in an epistle from the university to Henry VIII³. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the most eloquent preacher of his time, in the dedication to Kederminster, of five quadragesimal sermons, delivered at court, and printed by Pinson, in the year 1517, insists largely on his SINGULARIS ERUDITIO, and other shining qualifications.

Before we quit the reign of Henry VIII., in this review of the rise of modern letters, let us turn our eyes once more on the universities; which yet do not always give the tone to the learning of a nation⁴. In the year 1531, the learned Simon Grynaeus visited Oxford. By the interest of Claymund, president of Corpus Christi college, an admirable scholar, a critical writer, and the general friend and correspondent of

¹ 'Non aliter quam si fuisset altera NOVA¹ UNIVERSITAS, tametsi exigua, claustrum Wynchelcombense tunc temporis se haberet.' From his own HISTORIA, as below. Wood, Hist. Univ. OXON. i. p. 248. There is an Epistle from Colet, the learned dean of St. Paul's, to this abbot, concerning a passage in St. Paul's EPISTLES, first printed by Knight, from the original MSS. at Cambridge. Knight's LIFE. p. 311.

² Printed by Dugdale, before the whole of the original was destroyed in the fire of London. MONAST. i. 188. But a transcript of a part remains in Dodsworth, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lxx. i. Compare A. Wood, ut supr. and ATHEN. OXON. i. 28.

³ Registr. Univ. Oxon. FF. fol. 46.

⁴ It ought not here to be unnoticed, that the royal library of the kings of England, originally subsisting in the old palace at Westminster, and lately transferred to the British Museum, received great improvements under the reign of Henry VIII. who constituted that elegant and judicious scholar, John Leland, his librarian, about the year 1530. Tanner, BIBL. pag. 475. Leland, at the dissolution of the monasteries, removed to this royal repository a great number of valuable MSS.: particularly from St. Austin's abbey at Canterbury. SCRIPT. BRIT. p. 299. One of these was a MSS. given by Athelstan to that convent, a HARMONY of the FOUR GOSPELS. Bibl. Reg. MSS. i. A. xviii. See the hexastich of Leland prefixed. SCRIPT. BRIT. ut supra. V. ATHELSTANUS. Leland says, that he placed in the PALATINE library of Henry VIII. the COMMENTARII IN MATTHEUM of Claudius, Bede's disciple. Ibid. V. CLAUDIUS. Many of the MSS. of this library appear to have belonged to Henry's predecessors; and if we may judge from the splendour of the decorations, were presents. Some of them bear the name of Humphrey duke of Gloucester. Others were written at the command of Edward IV. I have already mentioned the librarian of Henry VII. Bartholomew Traheron, a learned divine, was appointed the keeper of this library by Edward VI. with a salary of 20 marcs, in the year 1549. Rymer's FÆD. xv. p. 351. Under the reign of Elizabeth, Hentzner, a German traveller, who saw this library at Whitehall in 1598, says, that it was well furnished with Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books, all bound in velvet of different colours, yet chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; and that the covers of some were adorned with pearls and precious stones. ITINERAR. Germaniæ, Angliæ. &c. Noringb. 1629. 8vo. p. 188. It is a great mistake, that James I. was the first of our kings who founded a library in any of the royal palaces; and that this establishment commenced at St. James's palace, under the patronage of that monarch. This notion was first propagated by Smith in his life of Patrick Junius, Vit. QUORUND. etc. Lond. 1707. 4to. pp. 12. 13. 34. 35. Great part of the royal library, which indeed migrated to St. James's under James I. was partly sold and dispersed, at Cromwell's accession: together with another inestimable part of its furniture, 12000 medals, rings, and gems, the entire collection of Gorlaeus's DACTYLIOTHECA, purchased by prince Henry and Charles I. It must be allowed, that James I. greatly enriched this library with the books of lord Lumley and Casaubon, and sir Thomas Roe's MSS. brought from Constantinople. Lord Lumley's chiefly consisted of lord Arundel's, his father in law, a great collector at the dissolution of monasteries. James had previously granted a warrant to sir Thomas Bodley, in 1613, to chuse any books from the royal library at Whitehall, over the Queen's Chamber. [RELIQ. EODL. p. Hearne, p. 205, 286. 320.]

the literary reformers, he was admitted to all the libraries of the university : which, he says, were about twenty in number, and amply furnished with the books of antiquity. Among these he found numerous MSS. of Proclus on Plato, many of which he was easily permitted to carry abroad by the governors of the colleges, who did not know the value of these treasures¹. In the year 1535, the king ordered lectures in humanity, institutions which have their use for a time, and while the novelty lasts, to be founded in those colleges of the university, where they were yet wanting : and these injunctions were so warmly approved by the scholars in the largest societies, that they seized on the venerable volumes of Duns Scotus and other irrefragable logicians, in which they had so long toiled without the attainment of knowledge, and tearing them in pieces, dispersed them in great triumph about their quadrangles, or gave them away as useless lumber². The king himself also established some public lectures with large endowments³. Notwithstanding, the number of students at Oxford daily decreased ; insomuch, that in 1546, not because a general cultivation of the new species of literature was increased, there were only ten inceptors in arts, and three in theology and jurisprudence. [Wood, *ibid.* sub anno.]

As all novelties are pursued to excess, and the most beneficial improvements often introduce new inconveniences, so this universal attention to polite literature destroyed philosophy. The old philosophy was abolished, but a new one was not adopted in its stead. At Cambridge we now however find the ancient scientific learning in some degree reformed, by the admission of better systems.

In the injunctions given by Henry to that university in the year 1535, for the reformation of study, the dialectics of Rodolphus Agricola, the great favorite of Erasmus, and the genuine logic of Aristotle, are prescribed to be taught, instead of the barren problems of Scotus and Burlaeus⁴. By the same edict, theology and casuistry were freed from many of their old incumbrances and perplexities : degrees in the canon law were forbidden ; and heavy penalties were imposed on those academics, who relinquished the sacred text, to explain the tedious and unedifying commentaries on Peter Lombard's scholastic cyclopede of divinity, called the SENTENCES, which alone were sufficient to constitute a moderate library. Classical lectures were also directed, the study of words was enforced, and the books of Malancthon, and other solid and elegant writers of the reformed party, recommended. The

¹ During his abode in England, having largely experienced the bounty and advice of sir Thomas More, he returned home, fraught with materials which he had long sought in vain, and published his *PLATO*, viz., '*Platonis Opera, cum commentariis Procli in Timæum et Politicā, Basil. 1534.*' fol. *EPISTOLA DEDICATORY* to sir Thomas More. He there mentions other pieces of Proclus, which he saw at Oxford.

² Dr. Layton's letter to Cromwell. *Strype's ECCL. MEM.* i. 210.

³ Wood, *HIST. Univ. Oxon.* i. 26. ii. 36.

⁴ Collier, *ECCLES. HIST.* vol. ii. p. 110.

politer studies, soon afterwards, seem to have risen into a flourishing state at Cambridge. Bishop Latimer complains, that there were now but few who studied divinity in that university¹. But this is no proof of a decline of learning in that seminary. Other pursuits were now gaining ground there; and such as in fact were subservient to theological truth, and to the propagation of the reformed religion. Latimer himself, whose discourses from the royal pulpit appear to be barbarous beyond their age, in style, manner, and argument, is an example of the necessity of the ornamental studies to a writer in divinity. The Greek language was now making considerable advances at Cambridge, under the instruction of Cheke and Smith; notwithstanding the interruptions and opposition of bishop Gardiner, the chancellor of the university, who loved learning but hated novelties, about the proprieties of pronunciation. But the controversy which was agitated on both sides with much erudition, and produced letters between Cheke and Gardiner equal to large treatises, had the good effect of more fully illustrating the point in debate, and of drawing the general attention to the subject of the Greek literature². Perhaps bishop Gardiner's intolerance in this respect was like his persecuting spirit in religion, which only made more heretics. Ascham observes, with no small degree of triumph, that instead of Plautus, Cicero, Terence, and Livy, almost the only classics hitherto known at Cambridge, a more extensive field was opened; and that Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and Isocrates, were universally and critically studied³. But Cheke being soon called away to the court, his auditors relapsed into dissertations on the doctrines of original sin and predestination; and it was debated with great obstinacy and acrimony, whether those topics had been most successfully handled by some modern German divines or St. Austin. [Ascham. *EPIST.* lib. ii.] Ascham observes, that at Oxford, a decline of taste in both languages was indicated, by a preference of Lucian, Plutarch, and Herodian, in Greek, and of Seneca, Gellius, and Apuleius, in Latin, to the more pure, ancient, and original writers, of Greece and Rome⁴. At length, both universities seem to have been reduced to the same deplorable condition of indigence and illiteracy.

It is generally believed, that the reformation of religion in England, the most happy and important event of our annals, was immediately succeeded by a flourishing state of letters. But this was by no means

¹ SERMONS, &c. p. 63. Lond. 1524. 4to. Sermon before Edward VI., in the year 1550. His words are, 'It would pitty a man's heart to hear that I hear of the state of Cambridge: what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that study divinity but so many as of necessitie must furnish the colledges.'

² Ascham. *EPISTOL.* ut modo infr. p. 65. a. Ascham calls Gardiner, 'omnibus literarum, prudentiæ, consilii, authoritatis, prædiis ornatissimus, absque hac una re esset, literarum et academici nostræ patronus amplissimus.' But he says, that Gardiner took this measure, 'quorundam invidorum hominum precibus victus,' *ibid.* p. 64. b.

³ Strype's *CRANMER*, p. 170. Ascham. *EPISTOL.* L. ii. p. 64. b. 1581.

⁴ *EPISTOL.* lib. i. p. 18. b. Dat. 1550. edit. 1561.

the case. For a long time afterwards an effect quite contrary was produced. The reformation in England was completed under the reign of Edward VI. The rapacious courtiers of this young prince were perpetually grasping at the rewards of literature ; which being discouraged or despised by the rich, was neglected by those of moderate fortunes. Avarice and zeal were at once gratified in robbing the clergy of their revenues, and in reducing the church to its primitive apostolical state of purity and poverty¹. The opulent see of Winchester was lowered to a bare title : its amplest estates were portioned out to the laity ; and the bishop, a creature of the protector Somerset, was contented to receive an inconsiderable annual stipend from the exchequer. The bishoprick of Durham, almost equally rich, was entirely dissolved. A favorite nobleman of the court occupied the deanery and treasurership of a cathedral with some of its best canonries. [Burnet, REF. P. ii. 8.] The ministers of this abused monarch, by these arbitrary, dishonest, and imprudent measures, only proved instruments, and furnished arguments, for restoring in the succeeding reign that superstitious religion, which they professed to destroy. By thus impoverishing the ecclesiastical dignities, they countenanced the clamours of the catholics ; who declared, that the reformation was apparently founded on temporal views, and that the protestants pretended to oppose the doctrines of the church, solely with a view that they might share in the plunder of its revenues. In every one of these sacrilegious robberies the interest of learning also suffered. Exhibitions and pensions were, in the mean time, substracted from the students in the universities². Ascham, in a letter to the marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar schools throughout England ; and predicts the speedy extinction of the universities from this growing calamity³. At Oxford the public schools were neglected by the professors and pupils, and allotted to the lowest purposes. [Wood, ut supr. p. 273.] Academical degrees were abrogated as antichristian⁴. Reformation was soon turned into fanaticism. Absurd refinements, concerning the inutility of human learning, were superadded to the just and rational purgation of christianity from the papal corruptions. The spiritual reformers of these enlightened days, at a visitation of the last-mentioned university, proceeded so far in their ideas of a superior rectitude, as totally to strip the public library, established by that munificent patron Humphrey duke of Gloucester, of all its books and MSS.

¹ Collier's ECCL. HIST. Records, lxvii. p. 80.

² Wood, sub ann. 1550. See also Strype's CRANMER, Append. N. xciii. p. 220. viz. A Letter to secretary Cecil, dat. 1552.

³ EPISTOL. lib. un. COMMENDAT. p. 194. a. Lond. 1581. 'Ruina et interitum publicarum scholarum, &c.'—Quam gravis hæc universa scholarum calamitas, &c.' See p. 62. p. b. 210. a.

⁴ Catal. MSS. ANGEL. fol. edit. 1697. in Hist. Bibl. Bodl. Prefat.

I must not, however, forget, as a remarkable symptom of an attempt now circulating to give a more general and unreserved diffusion of science, that in this reign, Thomas Wilson, originally a fellow of King's college in Cambridge, preceptor to Charles and Henry Brandon dukes of Suffolk, dean of Durham, and chief secretary to the king, published a system a rhetoric and of logic, in English¹. This display of the venerable mysteries of the latter of these arts in a vernacular language, which had hitherto been confined within the sacred pale of the learned tongues, was esteemed an innovation almost equally daring with that of permitting the service of the church to be celebrated in English : and accordingly the author, soon afterwards happening to visit Rome, was incarcerated by the inquisitors of the holy see, as a presumptuous and dangerous heretic.

It is with reluctance I enter on the bloody reign of the relentless and unamiable Mary ; whose many dreadful martyrdoms of men eminent for learning and piety, shock our sensibility with a double degree of horror, in the present softened state of manners, at a period of society when no potentate would inflict executions of so severe a nature, and when it would be difficult to find devotees hardy enough to die for difference of opinion. We must, however, acknowledge, that she enriched both universities with some considerable benefactions : yet these donations seem to have been made, not from any general or liberal principle of advancing knowledge, but to repair the breaches of reformation, and to strengthen the return of superstition. It is certain, that her restoration of popery, together with the monastic institution, its proper appendage, must have been highly pernicious to the growth of polite erudition. Yet although the elegant studies were now beginning to suffer a new relapse, in the midst of this reign, under the discouragement of all these inauspicious and unfriendly circumstances, a college was established at Oxford, in the constitution of which, the founder principally inculcates the use and necessity of classical literature ; and recommends it as the most important and leading object in that system of academical study, which he prescribes to the youth of the new society. [In the year 1554.] For, beside a lecturer in philosophy appointed for the ordinary purpose of teaching the scholastic sciences, he establishes in this seminary a teacher of humanity. The business of this preceptor is described with a particularity not usual in the constitutions given to collegiate bodies of this kind, and he is directed to exert his utmost diligence, in tincturing his auditors with a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin language² : and to explain critically, in the public hall, for the space of

¹ First printed in the reign of Edward VI. Preface to the second edition of the RHETORIC, in 1560. He translated the three Olynthiads, and the four Philippics, of Demosthenes, from the Greek into English. Lond. 1570. 4to.

² 'Latini sermonis ornatu et elegantia imbuendos diligenter curabit, &c. Statut. Coll.

the case. For a long time afterwards an effect quite contrary was produced. The reformation in England was completed under the reign of Edward VI. The rapacious courtiers of this young prince were perpetually grasping at the rewards of literature ; which being discouraged or despised by the rich, was neglected by those of moderate fortunes. Avarice and zeal were at once gratified in robbing the clergy of their revenues, and in reducing the church to its primitive apostolical state of purity and poverty¹. The opulent see of Winchester was lowered to a bare title : its amplest estates were portioned out to the laity ; and the bishop, a creature of the protector Somerset, was contented to receive an inconsiderable annual stipend from the exchequer. The bishoprick of Durham, almost equally rich, was entirely dissolved. A favorite nobleman of the court occupied the deanery and treasurership of a cathedral with some of its best canonries. [Burnet, REF. P. ii. 8.] The ministers of this abused monarch, by these arbitrary, dishonest, and imprudent measures, only proved instruments, and furnished arguments, for restoring in the succeeding reign that superstitious religion, which they professed to destroy. By thus impoverishing the ecclesiastical dignities, they countenanced the clamours of the catholics ; who declared, that the reformation was apparently founded on temporal views, and that the protestants pretended to oppose the doctrines of the church, solely with a view that they might share in the plunder of its revenues. In every one of these sacrilegious robberies the interest of learning also suffered. Exhibitions and pensions were, in the mean time, substracted from the students in the universities². Ascham, in a letter to the marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar schools throughout England ; and predicts the speedy extinction of the universities from this growing calamity³. At Oxford the public schools were neglected by the professors and pupils, and allotted to the lowest purposes. [Wood, ut supr. p. 273.] Academical degrees were abrogated as antichristian⁴. Reformation was soon turned into fanaticism. Absurd refinements, concerning the inutility of human learning, were superadded to the just and rational purgation of christianity from the papal corruptions. The spiritual reformers of these enlightened days, at a visitation of the last-mentioned university, proceeded so far in their ideas of a superior rectitude, as totally to strip the public library, established by that munificent patron Humphrey duke of Gloucester, of all its books and MSS.

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³ EPISTOL. lib. un. COMMENDAT. p. 194. a. Lond. 1581. 'Ruina et interitum publicarum scholarum, &c.'—Quam gravis hæc universa scholarum calamitas, &c.' See p. 62. p. b. 210. a.

⁴ Catal. MSS. ANGEL. fol. edit. 1697. in Hist. Bibl. Bodl. Prefat.

I must not, however, forget, as a remarkable symptom of an attempt now circulating to give a more general and unreserved diffusion of science, that in this reign, Thomas Wilson, originally a fellow of King's college in Cambridge, preceptor to Charles and Henry Brandon dukes of Suffolk, dean of Durham, and chief secretary to the king, published a system a rhetoric and of logic, in English¹. This display of the venerable mysteries of the latter of these arts in a vernacular language, which had hitherto been confined within the sacred pale of the learned tongues, was esteemed an innovation almost equally daring with that of permitting the service of the church to be celebrated in English : and accordingly the author, soon afterwards happening to visit Rome, was incarcerated by the inquisitors of the holy see, as a presumptuous and dangerous heretic.

It is with reluctance I enter on the bloody reign of the relentless and unamiable Mary ; whose many dreadful martyrdoms of men eminent for learning and piety, shock our sensibility with a double degree of horror, in the present softened state of manners, at a period of society when no potentate would inflict executions of so severe a nature, and when it would be difficult to find devotees hardy enough to die for difference of opinion. We must, however, acknowledge, that she enriched both universities with some considerable benefactions : yet these donations seem to have been made, not from any general or liberal principle of advancing knowledge, but to repair the breaches of reformation, and to strengthen the return of superstition. It is certain, that her restoration of popery, together with the monastic institution, its proper appendage, must have been highly pernicious to the growth of polite erudition. Yet although the elegant studies were now beginning to suffer a new relapse, in the midst of this reign, under the discouragement of all these inauspicious and unfriendly circumstances, a college was established at Oxford, in the constitution of which, the founder principally inculcates the use and necessity of classical literature ; and recommends it as the most important and leading object in that system of academical study, which he prescribes to the youth of the new society. [In the year 1554.] For, beside a lecturer in philosophy appointed for the ordinary purpose of teaching the scholastic sciences, he establishes in this seminary a teacher of humanity. The business of this preceptor is described with a particularity not usual in the constitutions given to collegiate bodies of this kind, and he is directed to exert his utmost diligence, in tincturing his auditors with a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin language² : and to explain critically, in the public hall, for the space of

¹ First printed in the reign of Edward VI. Preface to the second edition of the RHETORIC, in 1560. He translated the three Olynthiads, and the four Philippics, of Demosthenes, from the Greek into English. Lond. 1570. 4to.

² 'Latini sermonis ornatu et elegantia imbuendos diligenter curabit, &c. Statut. Coll.

two hours every day, the Offices, De Oratore, and rhetorical treatises of Cicero, the institutes of Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Plautus, Terence. Virgil, Horace, Livy, and Lucan; together with the most excellent modern philological treatises then in vogue, such as the ELEGANCIES of Laurentius Valla, and the MISCELLANIES of Politian, or any other approved critical tract on oratory or versification¹. In the mean time, the founder, permits it to the discretion of the lecturer, occasionally to substitute Greek authors in the place of these². He moreover requires, that the candidates for admission into the college be completely skilled in Latin poetry; and in writing Epistles, then a favorite mode of composition. [Ibid. cap. vii.] and on which Erasmus³, and Conradus Celtes the restorer of letters in Germany⁴, had each recently published a distinct systematical work. He enjoins, that the students shall be exercised every day, in the intervals of vacation, in composing declamations, and Latin verses both lyric and heroic⁵: and in his prefatory statute, where he describes the nature and design of his foundation, he declares, that he destines the younger part of his establishment, not only to dialectics and philosophy, but to the more polite literature⁶. The statutes of this college were submitted to the inspection of cardinal Pole, one of the chief protectors of the revival of polite letters in England, as appears from a curious passage in a letter written by the founder, now remaining; which not only displays the cardinal's ideas of the new erudition, but shows the state of the Greek language at this period. 'My lord Cardinalls grace has had the overseeing of my statutes. He much lykes well, that I have therein ordered the Latin tonge [Latin classics] to be redde to my schollers. But he advyses me to order the Greeke to be more taught there than I have provyded. This purpose I well lyke: but I fear *the tymes will not bear it now*. I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton [About the year 1520] the Greeke tonge was growing apace; the studie of which is now alate much decayd⁷.' Queen Mary was her-

Trin. Oxon. cap. iv. Again, 'Cupiens et ego Collegii mei juventutem in primis Latini sermonis Puritate ac ingenurarum artium rudimentis, convenienter erudiri, &c.' Ibid. cap. xv.

¹ Ibid. cap. xv. A modern writer in dialectics, Rodolphus Agricola, is also recommended to be explained by the reader in philosophy, together with Aristotle.

² Ibid. cap. xv. It may be also observed here, that the philosophy reader is not only ordered to explain Aristotle, but Plato. Ibid. cap. xv. It appears by implication in the close of this statute, that the public lectures of the university were now growing useless, and dwindling into mere matters of form, viz. 'Ad hunc modum Domi meos LECTIONIBUS erudiri cupiens, eos a publicis in Academia lectionibus avocare nolui.—Verum, si temporis tractu, et magistratum incuria, adeo a primario instituto degenerent Magistrorum regentium Lectiones ordinariæ, ut inde nulla, aut admodum exigua, auditoribus accedat utilitas, &c.' Ibid. cap. xv.

³ DE RATIONE CONSCRIBENDI EPISTOLAS.

⁴ About the year 1500. At Basle, 1522. It was reprinted at Cambridge by Siberch, and dedicated to archbishop Fisher, 1521. 4to.

⁵ Ibid. cap. xv. Every day after dinner 'Aliquis scholarium, a Præsidente aut Lectore Rhetorico jussus, de themate quodam proposito, ad edendum ingenii ac profectus sui specimen, diligenter, ornate, ac breviter, dicat, &c.' Ibid. cap. x.

⁶ 'Cæteri autem, scholares nuncupati, POLITORIBUS Literis, &c.' Ibid. cap. i.

⁷ Dated 1556. LIFE of sir Thomas Pope, p. 226.

self eminently learned. But her accomplishments in letters were darkened or impeded by religious prejudices. At the desire of queen Catharine Parr, she translated in her youth Erasmus's paraphrase on St. John. The preface is written by Udall, master of Eton school : in which he much extolls her distinguished proficience in literature. [Lond. 1548. fol.] It would have been fortunate, if Mary's attention to this work had softened her temper, and enlightened her understanding. She frequently spoke in public with propriety, and always with prudence and dignity.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, which soon followed, when the return of protestanism might have been expected to produce a speedy change for the better, puritanism began to prevail; and, as the first fervours of a new sect are always violent, retarded for some time the progress of ingenuous and useful knowledge. The scriptures being translated into English, and every man assuming a right to dictate in matters of faith, and to chuse his own principles, weak heads drew false conclusions, and erected an infinite variety of petty religions. Such is the abuse which attends the best designs, that the meanest reader of the new Testament thought he had a full comprehension of the most mysterious metaphysical doctrines in the christian faith; and scorned to acquiesce in the sober and rational expositions of such difficult subjects, which he might have received from a competent and intelligent teacher, whom it was his duty to follow. The bulk of the people, who now possessed the means of discussing all theological topics, from their situation and circumstances in life, were naturally adverse to the splendour, the dominion, and the opulence of an hierarchy, and disclaimed the yoke of episcopal jurisdiction. The new deliverance from the numerous and burthensome superstitions of the papal communion, drove many pious reformers into the contrary extreme, and the rage of opposition ended in a devotion entirely spiritual and abstracted. External forms were abolished, as impediments to the visionary reveries of a mental intercourse with heaven; and because the church of Rome had carried ceremonies to an absurd excess, the use of any ceremonies was deemed unlawful. The love of new doctrines and a new worship, the triumph of gaining proselytes, and the persecutions which accompanied these licentious zealots, all contributed to fan the flame of enthusiasm. The genius of this refined and false species of religion, which defied the salutary checks of all human authority, when operating in its full force, was attended with consequences not less pernicious to society, although less likely to last, than those which flowed from the establishment of the ancient superstitions. During this unsettled state of things, the English reformed clergy who had fled into Germany from the menaces of queen Mary, returned home in great numbers; and in consideration of their sufferings and learning, and their abilities to

These, indeed, were the classics of a reforming bishop : but the well-meaning prelate would have contributed much more to the success of his intended reformation, by directing books of better taste and less piety. That classical literature, and the public institution of youth, were now in the lowest state, we may collect from a provision in archbishop Parker's foundation of three scholarships at Cambridge, in the year 1567. He orders that the scholars, who are appointed to be elected from three of the most considerable schools in Kent and Norfolk, shall be 'the *best* and *aptest* schollers, well instructed in the grammar, and, *if it may be*, such as *can make a verse*¹.' The maids of honour indulged their ideas of sentimental affection in the sublime contemplations of Plato's *Phaedo* : and the queen, who understood Greek better than the canons of Windsor, and was certainly a much greater pedant than her successor James I., translated Isocrates². But this passion for the Greek language soon ended where it began : nor do we find that it improved the national taste, or influenced the writings, of the age of Elizabeth.

All changes of rooted establishments, especially of a national religion, are attended with shocks and convulsions, unpropitious to the repose of science and study. But these unavoidable inconveniences last not long. When the liberal genius of protestantism had perfected its work, and the first fanaticisms of well-meaning but misguided zealots had subsided, every species of useful and elegant knowledge recovered its strength, and arose with new vigour. Acquisitions, whether in theology or humanity, were no longer exclusively confined to the clergy : the laity eagerly embraced those pursuits from which they had long been unjustly restrained : and, soon after the reign of Elizabeth, men attained that state of general improvement, and filled those situations with respect to literature and life, in which they have ever since persevered.

But it remains to bring home, and to apply, this change in the sentiments of mankind, to our main subject. The customs, institutions, traditions, and religion, of the middle ages, were favorable to poetry. Their pageants, processions, spectacles, and ceremonies, were friendly to imagery, to personification and allegory. Ignorance and superstition, so opposite to the real interests of human society, are the parents of imagination. The very devotion of the Gothic times was romantic. The catholic worship, besides that its numerous exterior appendages were of a picturesque and even of a poetical nature, disposed the mind to a state of deception, and encouraged, or rather authorised, every species of credulity : its visions, miracles, and legends, propa-

¹ Wlomefield's 'Norfolk,' ii. 224.

² Ascham's 'Scholemaster,' p. 19, b. edit. 1589: *EPISTOL.* lib. i. p. 19. ut *supr.*

gated a general propensity to the Marvellous, and strengthened the belief of spectres, demons, witches, and incantations. These illusions were heightened by churches of a wonderful mechanism, and constructed on such principles of inexplicable architecture as had a tendency to impress the soul with every false sensation of religious fear. The savage pomp and the capricious heroism of the baronial manners, were replete with incident, adventure, and enterprise: and the intractable genius of the feudal policy, held forth those irregularities of conduct, discordancies of interest, and dissimilarities of situation, that framed rich materials for the minstrel-muse. The tacit compact of fashion, which promotes civility by diffusing habits of uniformity, and therefore destroys peculiarities of character and situation, had not yet operated upon life: nor had domestic convenience abolished unwieldy magnificence. Literature, and a better sense of things, not only banished these barbarities, but superseded the mode of composition which was formed upon them. Romantic poetry gave way to the force of reason and inquiry; as its own enchanted palaces and gardens instantaneously vanished, when the christian champion displayed the shield of truth, and baffled the charm of the necromancer. The study of the classics, together with a colder magic and a tamer mythology, introduced method into composition: and the universal ambition of rivalling those new patterns of excellence, the faultless models of Greece and Rome, produced that bane of invention, IMITATION. Erudition was made to act upon genius. Fancy was weakened by reflection and philosophy. The fashion of treating every thing scientifically, applied speculation and theory to the arts of writing. Judgment was advanced above imagination, and rules of criticism were established. The brave eccentricities of original genius, and the daring hardiness of native thought, were intimidated by metaphysical sentiments of perfection and refinement. Setting aside the consideration of the more solid advantages, which are obvious, and are not the distinct object of our contemplation at present, the lover of true poetry will ask, what have we gained by this revolution? It may be answered, much good sense, good taste, and good criticism. But, in the mean time, we have lost a set of manners, and a system of machinery, more suitable to the purposes of poetry, than those which have been adopted in their place. We have parted with extravagancies that are above propriety, with incredibilities that are more acceptable than truth, and with fictions that are more valuable than reality.

SECTION XXXVII.

OUR communications and intercourse with Italy, which began to prevail about the beginning of the sixteenth century, not only introduced the studies of classical literature into England, but gave a new turn to our vernacular poetry. At this period, Petrarch still continued the most favorite poet of the Italians; and had established a manner, which was universally adopted and imitated by his ingenious countrymen. In the mean time, the courts both of France and England were distinguished for their elegance, Francis I. had changed the state of letters in France, by mixing gallantry with learning, and by admitting the ladies to his court in company with the ecclesiastics. His carousals were celebrated with a brilliancy and a festivity unknown to the ceremonious shows of former princes. Henry VIII. vied with Francis in these gaieties. His ambition, which could not bear a rival even in diversions, was seconded by liberality of disposition and a love of ostentation. For Henry, with many boisterous qualities, was magnificent and affable. Had he never murdered his wives, his politeness to the fair sex would remain unimpeached. His martial sports were unincumbered by the barbaric pomp of the ancient chivalry, and softened by the growing habits of more rational manners. He was attached to those spectacles and public amusements, in which beauty assumed a principal share; and his frequent masques and tournaments encouraged a high spirit of romantic courtesy. Poetry was the natural accompaniment of these refinements. Henry himself was a leader and a chief character in these pageantries, and at the same time a reader and a writer of verses. The language and the manners of Italy were esteemed and studied. The sonnets of Petrarch were the great models of composition. They entered into the genius of the fashionable manners: and in a court of such a complexion, Petrarch of course became the popular poet. Henry Howard earl Surrey, with a mistress perhaps as beautiful as Laura, and at least with Petrarch's passion if not his taste, led the way to great improvements in English poetry, by a happy imitation of Petrarch, and other Italian poets, who had been most successful in painting the anxieties of love with pathos and propriety.

Lord Surrey's life throws so much light on the character and subjects of his poetry, that it is almost impossible to consider the one, without exhibiting a few anecdotes of the other. He was the son and grandson of two lords-treasurers dukes of Norfolk; and in his early childhood discovered the most promising marks of lively parts and an active mind.

While a boy, he was habituated to the modes of a court at Windsor-castle ; where he resided, yet under the care of proper instructors, in the quality of a companion to Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, a natural son of Henry VIII., and of the highest expectations.

This young nobleman, who also bore other titles and honours, was the child of Henry's affection : not so much on account of his hopeful abilities, as for a reason insinuated by lord Herbert, and at which those who know Henry's history and character will not be surprised, because he equally and strongly resembled both his father and mother.

A friendship of the closest kind commencing between these two illustrious youths, about the year 1530, they were both removed to cardinal Wolsey's college at Oxford, then universally frequented, as well for the excellence as the novelty of its institution ; for it was one of the first seminaries of an English university, that professed to explode the pedantries of the old barbarous philosophy, and to cultivate the graces of polite literature. Two years afterwards, for the purpose of acquiring every accomplishment of an elegant education, the earl accompanied his noble friend and fellow-pupil into France, where they received king Henry, on his arrival at Calais to visit Francis I., with a most magnificent retinue. The friendship of these two young noblemen was soon strengthened by a new tie ; for Richmond married the lady Mary Howard, Surrey's sister. Richmond, however, appears to have died in the year 1536, about the age of seventeen, having never cohabited with his wife. [Wood, *ATH. OXON.* i. 68.] It was long, before Surrey forgot the untimely loss of this amiable youth, the friend and associate of his childhood, and who nearly resembled himself in genius, refinement of manners, and liberal acquisitions.

The FAIR GERALDINE, the general object of lord Surrey's passionate sonnets, is commonly said to have lived at Florence, and to have been of the family of the Gheraldi of that city. This is a mistake, yet not entirely without grounds, propagated by an easy misapprehension of an expression in one of our poet's odes, and a passage in Drayton's heroic epistles. She was undoubtedly one of the daughters of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare. But it will be necessary to transcribe what our author himself has said of this celebrated lady. The history of one who caused so memorable and so poetical a passion naturally excites curiosity, and will justify an investigation, which, on many a similar occasion, would properly be censured as frivolous and impertinent

From Tuskane came my ladies worthy race ;
 Faire Florence was sumtyme her [their] auncient seat :
 The westernne yle, whose plesant shore doth face
 Wild Camber's cliffs, did gyve her lively heate :
 Fostred she was with milke of Irishe brest ;
 Her sire an earle : her dame of princes blood :
 From tender yeres in Britain she doth rest

With kinges child, where she tasteth costly food.
 Hunsdon did first present her to mine yien :
 Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine she hight.
 Hampton me taught to wish her first mine,
 And Windsor alas ! doth chase me from her sight¹.

These notices, it must be confessed, are obscure and indirect. But a late elegant biographer has, with the most happy sagacity, solved the difficulties of this little enigmatical ode, which had been before either neglected and unattempted as inexplicable, or rendered more unintelligible by false conjectures. I readily adopt Mr. Walpole's key to the genealogy of the matchless Geraldine².

Her poetical appellation is almost her real name. Gerald Fitzgerald, above-mentioned, earl of Kildare in the reign of Henry VIII., married a second wife, Margaret daughter of Thomas Gray, marquis of Dorset : by whom he had three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cicely. Margaret was born deaf and dumb ; and a lady who could neither hear nor answer her lover, and who wanted the means of contributing to the most endearing reciprocations, can hardly be supposed to have been the cause of any vehement effusions of amorous panegyric. We may therefore safely pronounce Elizabeth or Cicely to have been Surrey's favorite. It was probably Elizabeth, as she seems always to have lived in England.

Every circumstance of the sonnet evidently coincides with this state of the case. But, to begin with the first line, it will naturally be asked, what was lady Elizabeth Gerald's connection with Tuscany ? The beginnings of noble families, like those of nations, often owe somewhat to fictitious embellishment : and our genealogists uniformly assert, that the family of Fitzgerald derives its origin from Otho, a descendant of the dukes of Tuscany : that they migrated into England under the reign of king Alfred, whose annals are luckily too scanty to contradict such an account, and where from England speedily translated into Ireland. Her father was an Irish earl, resident at his earldom of Kildare ; and she was consequently born and nursed in Ireland. Her mother, adds the sonnet, was of princely parentage. Here is a no less exact correspondence with the line of the lady's pedigree : for Thomas, marquis of Dorset, was son of queen Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the duchess of Bedford, descended from the royal house of Luxemburgh. The poet acquaints us, that he first saw her at Hunsdon. This notice, which seems of an indifferent nature and quite extraneous to the question, abundantly corroborates our conjecture. Hunsdon-house in Hertfordshire was a new palace built by Henry VIII., and chiefly for the purpose of educating his children. The lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was second cousin to Henry's daughters the princess Mary and Eliza-

¹Fol. 5. edit. 1557.

²CATAL. Roy. and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 105. edit. 1759.

beth, who were both educated at Hunsdon¹. At this royal nursery she therefore *tasted of costly foode with kinges childe*, that is, lived while a girl with the young princesses her relations, as a companion in their education. At the same time, and on the same plan, our earl of Surrey resided at Windsor-castle, as I have already remarked, with the young duke of Richmond. It is natural to suppose, that he sometimes visited the princess at Hunsdon, in company with the young duke their brother, where he must have also seen the fair Geraldine : yet by the nature of his situation at Windsor, which implied a degree of confinement, he was hindered from visiting her at Hunsdon so often as he wished. He therefore pathetically laments,

Windsor, alas, doth chase me from her sight !

But although the earl first beheld this lady at the palace of Hunsdon, yet, as we further learn from the sonnet, he was first struck with her incomparable beauty, and his passion commenced, at Hampton-court.

Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine !

That is, and perhaps on occasion of some splendid masque or carousal, when the lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, with the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and their brother Richmond, with the young lord Surrey, were invited by the king to Hampton-court.

In the mean time we must remember, that the lord Leonard Gray, uncle to lord Gerald Fitzgerald, was deputy of Ireland for the young duke of Richmond : a connection, exclusive of all that has been said, which would alone account for Surrey's acquaintance at least with this lady. It is also a reason, to say no more, why the earl should have regarded her from the first with a particular attention, which afterwards grew into the most passionate attachment. She is supposed to have been maid of honour to queen Catherine. But there are three of Henry's queens of that name. For obvious reasons, however, we may venture to say, that queen Catharine Howard was Geraldine's queen.

It is not precisely known at what period the earl of Surrey began his travels. They have the air of a romance. He made the tour of Europe in the true spirit of chivalry, and with the ideas of an Amadis ; proclaiming the unparalleled charms of his mistress, and prepared to defend the cause of her beauty with the weapons of knight-errantry. Nor was this adventurous journey performed without the intervention of an enchanter. The first city in Italy which he proposed to visit was Florence, the capital of Tuscany, and the original seat of the ancestors of his Geraldine. In his way thither, he passed a few days at the emperor's court ; where he became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa,

¹ Strype, ECCL. MEM. vol. i. APPEND. Numb. 71.

a celebrated adept in natural magic. This visionary philosopher shewed our hero, in a mirror of glass, a living image of Geraldine, reclining on a couch, sick, and reading one of his most tender sonnets by a waxen taper¹. His imagination, which wanted not the flattering representations and artificial incentives of illusion, was heated anew by this interesting and affecting spectacle. Inflamed with every enthusiasm of the most romantic passion, he hastened to Florence : and, on his arrival, immediately published a defiance against any person who could handle a lance and was in love, whether Christian, Jew, Turk, Saracen, or Canibal, who should presume to dispute the superiority of Geraldine's beauty. As the lady was pretended to be of Tuscan extraction, the pride of the Florentines was flattered on this occasion : and the grand duke of Tuscany permitted a general and unmolested ingress into his dominions of the combatants of all countries, till this important trial should be decided. The challenge was accepted, and the earl victorious. The shield which he presented to the duke before the tournament began, is exhibited in Vertue's valuable plate of the Arundel family, and was actually in the possession of the late duke of Norfolk².

These heroic vanities did not, however, so totally engross the time which Surrey spent in Italy, as to alienate his mind from letters : he studied with the greatest success a critical knowledge of the Italian tongue, and, that he might give new lustre to the name of Geraldine, attained a just taste for the peculiar graces of the Italian poetry.

He was recalled to England for some idle reason by the king, much sooner than he expected : and he returned home, the most elegant traveller, the most polite lover, the most learned nobleman, and the most accomplished gentleman, of his age. Dexterity in tilting, and gracefulness in managing a horse under arms, were excellencies now viewed with a critical eye, and practised with a high degree of emulation. In 1540, at a tournament held in the presence of the court at Westminster, and in which the principal of the nobility were engaged, Surrey was distinguished above the rest for his address in the use and exercise of arms. But his martial skill was not solely displayed in the parade and ostentation of these domestic combats. In 1542, he marched into Scotland, as a chief commander in his father's army ; and was conspicuous for his conduct and bravery at the memorable battle of Flodden-field, where James IV. of Scotland was killed. The next year, we find the career of his victories impeded by an obstacle which no valour could resist. The censures of the church have humiliated the greatest heroes : and he was imprisoned in Windsor-castle for eating flesh in Lent. The prohibition had been renewed or

¹ Drayton, *HER. EPIST.*—HOWARD to GERALDINE, v. 57.

² Walpole, *ANECD. PAINT.* i. 76.

strengthened by a recent proclamation of the king. I mention this circumstance, not only as it marks his character, impatient of any controul, and careless of very serious consequences which often arise from a contempt of petty formalities, but as it gave occasion to one of his most sentimental and pathetic sonnets. [Fol. 6. 7.] In 1544, he was field-marshal of the English army in the expedition to Bologne, which he took. In that age, love and arms constantly went together : and it was amid the fatigues of this protracted campaign, that he composed his last sonnet called the *FANSIE of a wearied Lover*. [Fol. 18. Dudg. BARONAG. ii. p. 275.]

But as Surrey's popularity increased, his interest declined with the king ; whose caprices and jealousies grew more violent with his years and infirmities. The brilliancy of Surrey's character, his celebrity in the military science, his general abilities, his wit, learning, and affability, were viewed by Henry with disgust and suspicion. It was in vain that he possessed every advantageous qualification, which could adorn the scholar, the courtier, and the soldier. In proportion as he was amiable in the eyes of the people, he became formidable to the king. His rising reputation was misconstrued into a dangerous ambition, and gave birth to accusations equally groundless and frivolous. He was suspected of a design to marry the princess Mary ; and, by that alliance, of approaching to a possibility of wearing the crown. It was insinuated, that he conversed with foreigners, and held a correspondence with cardinal Pole.

The addition of the escocheon of Edward the Confessor to his own, although used by the family of Norfolk for many years, and justified by the authority of the heralds, was a sufficient foundation for an impeachment of high treason. These motives were privately aggravated by those prejudices, with which Henry remembered the misbehaviour of Catharine Howard, and which were extended to all that lady's relations. At length, the earl of Surrey fell a sacrifice to the peevish injustice of a merciless and ungrateful master. Notwithstanding his eloquent and masculine defence, which even in the cause of guilt itself would have proved a powerful persuasive, he was condemned by the prepared suffrage of a servile and obsequious jury, and beheaded on Tower-hill in the year 1547¹. In the meantime we should remember, that Surrey's public conduct was not on all occasions quite unexceptionable. In the affair of Bologne he had made a false step. This had offended the king. But Henry, when once offended, could never forgive. And when Hertford was sent into France to take the command, he could not refrain from dropping some reproachful expressions against a measure which seemed to impeach his personal courage. Conscious of his high birth and capacity, he was above the little

¹ See Stowe, CHRON. p. 592. Challoner, de REPUBL, ANGL, INSTAURAND. lib. ii. p. 45.

attentions of caution and reserve ; and he too frequently neglected to consult his own situation, and the king's temper. It was his misfortune to serve a monarch, whose resentments, which were easily provoked, could only be satisfied by the most severe revenge. Henry VIII. brought those men to the block, whom other monarchs would have only disgraced.

Among these anecdotes of Surrey's life, I had almost forgot to mention what became of his amour with the fair Geraldine. We lament to find, that Surrey's devotion to this lady did not end in a wedding, and that all his gallantries and verses availed so little? No memoirs of that incurious age have informed us, whether her beauty was equalled by her cruelty ; or whether her ambition prevailed so far over her gratitude, as to tempt her to prefer the solid glories of a more splendid title and ample fortune, to the challenges and the compliments, of so magnanimous, so faithful, and so eloquent a lover. She appears, however, to have been afterwards the third wife of Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln. Such also is the power of time and accident over amorous vows, that even Surrey himself outlived the violence of his passion. He married Frances, daughter of John earl of Oxford, by whom he left several children. One of his daughters, Jane countess of Westmoreland, was among the learned ladies of that age, and became famous for her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages. [Dugd. BARON. i. 533. ii. 275.]

Surrey's poems were in high reputation with his cotemporaries, and for many years afterwards. He is thus characterised by the author of the old ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, whose opinion remained long as a rule of criticism. 'In the latter end of the same kinges [Henry] 'raigne, spronge up a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir 'Thomas Wyat the elder and Henry earl of Surrey were the two 'CHIEFTAINES, who having travailed into Italie, and there tasted the 'swete and stately measures and stile of the Italian poesie, as novices 'newly crept out of the schooles of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they 'greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie from 'that it had bene before, and for that cause may justly be sayd the 'first reformers of our English meeter and stile.' And again, towards the close of the same chapter. 'Henry earle of Surrey, and Sir 'Thomas Wyat, between whom I finde very little difference, I repute 'them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that 'have since employed their pennes upon English poesie: their conceits 'were loftie, their stiles stately, their conveyance cleanly, their termes 'proper, their meetre sweete and well-proportioned, in all imitating 'very naturally and studiously their maister Francis Petrarcha². I forbear to recite the testimonies of Leland, Sydney, Tuberville,

¹ Lib. i. ch. xxxi. p. 48. edit. 1589.

² By Sewell 1717. Reprinted by Curl, ib.

Churchyard, and Drayton. Nor have their pieces, although scarcely known at present, been without the panegyric of more recent times. Surrey is praised by Waller, and Fenton; and he seems to have been a favorite with Pope. Pope, in WINDSOR-FOREST, having compared his patron lord Granville with Surrey, he was immediately reprinted, but without attracting many readers. It was vainly imagined, that all the world would eagerly wish to purchase the works of a neglected ancient English poet, whom Pope had called *the GRANVILLE of a former age*. So rapid are the revolutions of our language, and such the uncertainty of literary fame, that Philips, Milton's nephew, who wrote about the year 1674, has remarked, that in his time Surrey's poetry was antiquated and totally forgotten. [THEATR. POETAR. p. 67. edit. 1674. 12mo.]

Our authors SONGES AND SONNETTES, as they have been styled, were first collected and printed at London by Tottell, in 1557¹. As it happens in collections of this kind, they are of various merit. Surrey is said, by the ingenious author of the MUSES LIBRARY, to have been the first who broke through the fashion of stanzas, and wrote in the heroic couplet. But all Surrey's poems are in the alternate rhyme; nor, had this been true, is the other position to be granted. Chaucer's Prologues and most of the Canterbury Tales are written in long verse: nor was the use of the couplet resumed, till late in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

In the sonnets of Surrey, we are surprised to find nothing of that metaphysical cast which marks the Italian poets, his supposed masters, especially Petrarch. Surrey's sentiments are for the most part natural and unaffected; arising from his own feelings, and dictated by the present circumstances. His poetry is alike unembarrassed by learned allusions, or elaborate conceits. If our author copies Petrarch, it is Petrarch's better manner: when he descends from his Platonic abstractions, his refinements of passion, his exaggerated compliments, and his play upon opposite sentiments, into a track of tenderness, simplicity, and nature. Petrarch would have been a better poet had he been a worse scholar. Our author's mind was not too much overlaid by learning.

The following is the poem above mentioned, in which he laments his imprisonment in Windsor Castle. But it is rather an elegy than a sonnet.

So cruel prison, how coulde betyde, alas,
As proude Windsor²! where I, in lust and joye³,

¹ In quarto. It is extraordinary, that A. Wood should not have known this edition. Another edition appeared in 1565. Others, in 1574.—1585,—1587.—Others appeared afterwards.

² How could the stately castle of Windsor become so miserable a prison.

³ In unrestrained gait and pleasure.

With a kynges sonne¹ my childishe yeres did passe,
In greater feast than Priam's sonnes of Troye.

Where eche swete place returnes a taste full sower:
The large grene courtes where we were wont to hove²,
With eyes cast up into the mayden's tower³,
And easie sighes, such as men drawe in love:

The stately seates, the ladies bright of hewe,
The daunces shorte, long tales of great delight,
With wordes and lookes that tigers could but rewe; [pity]
Where ech of us did pleade the others right.

The palme-play [at ball] where, dispoyled for the game⁴,
With dazed yies⁵, oft we by gleames of love,
Have mist the ball, and got sight of our dame,
To bayte⁶ her eyes which kept the leads above⁷.

The gravell ground⁸, with sleeves tied on the helme⁹,
On somyng horse, with swordes and frendly hartes;
With cheare [looks] as though one should another whelme, [destroy]
Where we have fought and chased oft with dartes.—

The secret groves, which ofte we made resounde
Of pleasaunt playnt, and of our ladies praise,
Recording ofte what grace¹⁰ ech one had founde,
What hope of speede, what drede of long delays.

The wilde forest, the clothed holtes with grene¹¹,
With raynes avayled¹², and swift ybreathed horse,
With crie of houndes, and merry blastes betwene
Where we did chase the fearful harte of force.

¹ With the young duke of Richmond.

² To hover, to loiter in expectation. Chaucer, *TROIL. CRESS. B. 5. ver. 33.*

But at the yate there she should outride With certain folk he lov'd her t' abide.

³ Swift's joke about the Maids of honour being lodged at Windsor in the round tower, in queen Anne's time, is too well known and too indelicate to be repeated here. But in the present instance, Surrey speaks loosely and poetically in making the MAIDEN-TOWER, the true reading, the residence of the women. The maiden-tower was common in other castles, and means the principal tower, of the greatest strength and defence. MAIDEN is a corruption of the old French *Magne* or *Mayne*, great. Thus Maidenhead (properly Maydenhithe) in Berkshire, signifies the great port or wharf on the river Thames. So also, *Mayden-Bradley* in Wiltshire is the great Bradley. The old Roman camp near Dorchester in Dorsetshire, a noble work, is called *Maiden castle*, the capital fortress in those parts. We have Maiden-down in Somersetshire with the same signification. A thousand other instances might be given. Hearne, not attending to this etymology, absurdly supposes, in one of his Prefaces, that a strong bastion in the old walls of the city of Oxford, called the MAIDEN-TOWER, was a prison for confining the prostitutes of the town.

⁴ Rendered unfit, or unable, to play.

⁵ Dazzled eyes.

⁶ To tempt, to catch.

⁷ The ladies were ranged on the leads, or battlements, of the castle to see the play.

⁸ The ground, or area, was strown with gravel, where they were trained in chivalry.

⁹ At tournaments they fixed the sleeves of their mistresses on some part of their armour.

¹⁰ Favour with his mistress.

¹¹ The holtes, or thick woods, clothed in green. So in another place he says, fol. 3

My speckled cheeks with Cupid's hue.

That is, 'Cheeks speckled with, &c.'

¹² With loosened reins. So, in his fourth *Aeneid*, the fleet is 'ready to *avale*.' That is, to *loosen* from shore. So again, in Spenser's *FEBRUARIE*.

The wide vales¹ eke, that harbourd us ech night,
 Wherewith, alas, reviveth in my brest
 The sweete accorde! Such slepes as yet delight:
 The pleasant dreames, the quiet bed of rest.

The secret thoughtes imparted with such trust;
 The wanton talke, the divers change of play;
 The friendship sworne, eche promise kept so just,
 Wherewith we past the winter night away.

And with this thought the bloud forsakes the face;
 The teares berayne my chekes of deadly hewe,
 The whych as sone as sobbing sighes, alas,
 Upsupped have, thus I my plaint renewe!

'O place of blisse, renewer of my woes!

'Give me accompt, where is my noble fere, [companion]

'Whom in thy walles thou dost² ech night enclose,

'To other leefe³, but unto me most dere!

Eccho, alas, that doth my sorrow rew, [pity]
 Returnes thereto a hollow sounde of playnte.

Thus I alone, where all my fredom grewe,
 In prison pine, with bondage and restraunte.

And with remembrance of the greater greefe

To banish th' lesse, I find my chief releefe. [Fol. 6. 7.]

In the poet's situation, nothing can be more natural and striking than the reflection with which he opens his complaint. There is also much beauty in the abruptness of his exordial exclamation. The superb palace, where he had passed the most pleasing days of his youth with the son of a king, was now converted into a tedious and solitary prison! This unexpected vicissitude of fortune awakens a new and interesting train of thought. The comparison of his past and present circumstances recalls their juvenile sports and amusements;

They wont in the wind wagge their wriggle tayles
 Pearke as a peacocke, but now it AVAYLES.

'Avayle their tayles,' to drop or lower. So also in his DECEMBER.

By that the welked Phebus gan AVAYLE
 His wearie waine. —

And in the Faerie Queene, with the true spelling. i. i. 21. Of Nilus,

But when his latter ebbe gins to AVALE.

To VALE, or *avale*, the bonnet, was a phrase for lowering the bonnet, or pulling off the hat. The word occurs in Chaucer, Tr. CRESS. iii. 627.

That such a raine from heaven gan AVAILE.

And in the fourth book of his BOETHIUS, 'The light fire ariseth into height, and the hevie yerthes AVAYLEN by their weightes,' pag. 394. col. 2. edit. Urr. From the French verb AVALER, which is from their adverb AVAL, downward. See also Hearne's GLOSS. ROB. BR. p. 524. Drayton uses this word, where perhaps it is not properly understood. ECL. iv. p. 1404. edit. 1753.

With that, she gan to VALE her head, Her cheeks were like the roses red,
 But not a word she said, &c.

That is, she did not veil, or cover, but valed, held down her head for shame.

¹ Probably the true reading is *vales* or *walis*. That is, lodgings, apartments, &c. These poems were very corruptly printed by Tottel.

² We should read, *diddst*.

³ Dear to others, to all.

which were more to be regretted, as young Richmond was now dead. Having described some of these with great elegance, he recurs to his first idea by a beautiful apostrophe. He appeals to the place of his confinement, once the source of his highest pleasures: 'O place of bliss, renewer of my woes! And where is now my noble friend, my companion in these delights, who was once your inhabitant! Echo alone either pities or answers my question, and returns a plaintive hollow sound!' He closes his complaint with an affecting and pathetic sentiment, much in the style of Petrarch. 'To banish the miseries of my present distress, I am forced on the wretched expedient of remembering a greater!' This is the consolation of a warm fancy. It is the philosophy of poetry.

Some of the following stanzas, on a lover who presumed to compare his lady with the divine Geraldine, have almost the ease and gallantry of Waller. The leading compliment, which has been used by later writers, is in the spirit of an Italian fiction. It is very ingenious, and handled with a high degree of elegance.

Give place, ye Lovers, here before
That spent your bostes and bragges in vaine:
My Ladie's bewty passeth more
The best of yours, I dare wel saine,
Than doth the sunne the candle light,
Or brightest day the darkest night.

And thereto hath a troth as just
As had Penelope the faire;
For what she sayth, ye may it trust,
As it by writing sealed were:
And vertues hath she many moe
Than I with pen have skill to showe.

I could reherse, if that I would,
The whole effect of NATURE's plaint,
When she had lost the perfite mould,
The like to whom she could not paint.
With wringyng handes how she did cry!
And what she said, I know it, I.

I knowe, she swore with ragyng minde,
Her kingdom only set apart,
There was no losse, by lawe of kinde,
That could have gone so near her hart:
And this was chefely all her paine
She could not make the like againe.—[Fol. 10.]

The versification of these stanzas is correct, the language polished, and the modulation musical. The following stanzas, of another ode, will hardly be believed to have been produced in the reign of Henry VIII.

Spite drave me into Boreas' raigne⁴,
 Where hory frostes the frutes do bite ;
 When hilles were spred and every plaine
 With stormy winter's mantle white,

In an Elegy on the elder sir Thomas Wyat's death, his character is delineated in the following nervous and manly quatrains.

A visage, sterne and mylde ; where both did grow,
 Vice to contemne, in vertue to rejoyce ;
 Amid great stormes, whom grace assured so,
 To live upright, and smile at fortune's choyce.—

A tounge that serv'd in forein realmes his king,
 Whose courteous talke to vertue did enflame
 Eche noble hart ; and worthy guide to bring
 Our English youth by travail unto fame.

An eye whose judgment none affect [passion] could blind,
 Friends to allure, and foes to reconcile ;
 Whose persing [piercing] looke did represent a minde
 With virtue fraught, reposed, voyd of gile.

A hart, where dreade was never so imprest
 To hide the thought that might the truth advance ;
 In neither fortune lost, nor yet repress,
 To swell in welth, or yeld unto mischance.—

The following lines on the same subject are remarkable.

Divers thy deth do diversly bemone :
 Some that in presence of thy livelyhede
 Lurked, whose brestes envy with hate had swolne,
 Yeld Cesar's teares upon Pompeius head.

There is great dignity and propriety in the following Sonnet on Wyat's PSALMS.

The Macedon, that out of Persia chased
 Darius, of whose power all Asia rong,
 In the riche arke [Chest] Dan Homer's rimes he placed,
 Who fained gestes of heathen princes song.
 What holy grave, what worthy sepulture,
 To Wyat's Psalmes should Christians then purchase ?
 Where he doth paint the lively faith and pure :
 The stedfast hope, the swete returne to grace
 Of just David by perfite penitence.
 Where rulers may see in a mirrour clere
 The bitter fruite of false concupiscence :
 How Jewry bought Uria's deth ful dere.
 In princes hartes God's scourge imprinted depe
 Ought them awake out of their sinful slepe.

Probably the last lines may contain an oblique allusion to some of the king's amours.

¹ Her anger drove me into a colder climate.

Some passages in his *Description of the restless state of a Lover*, are pictures of the heart, and touched with delicacy.

I wish for night, more covertly to plaine,
And me withdrawe from every haunted place ;
Lest by my chere¹ my chance appeare too plaine.
And in my mynde I mesure, pace by pace,
To seke the place where I myself had lost,
That day, when I was tangled in the lace,
In seming slack that knitteth ever most.—
Lo, if I seke, how I do finde my sore !
And if I flee, I carry with me still
The venom'd shaft, which doth its force restore
By haste of flight. And I may plaine my fill
Unto myself, unlesse this careful song
Print in your hart some parcel of my tene. [Sorrow.]
For I, alas, in silence all to long,
Of mine old hurt yet fele the wound but grene.

Surrey's talents, which are commonly supposed to have been confined to sentiment and amorous lamentation, were adapted to descriptive poetry and the representations of rural imagery. A writer only that viewed the beauties of nature with poetic eyes, could have selected the vernal objects which compose the following exquisite ode.

The soote season, that bud and blome forth brings,
With grene hath clad the hill, and eke the vale ;
The nightingale with fethers new she sings ;
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale ;
Somer is come, for every spray now springs.
The hart hath hong his old hed on the pale :
The buck in brake his winter coate he flings :
The fishes flete with new repayred scale :
The adder all her slough away she flings :
The swift swallow pursueth the flies smale :
The busy bee her hony now she mings.
Winter is worne that was the flowers bale [Destruction]

I do not recollect a more faithful and finished version of Martial's HAPPY LIFE than the following.

MARTIAL, the thinges that doe attain
The happy life, be these I finde.
The richesse left, not got with pain,
The fruitfull ground, the quiet minde.
The equall frend, no grudge, no strife,
No charge of rule, nor governaunce ;
Without disease, the healthful life :
The household of continuance.
The diet meane, [Moderate] no delicate fare,
Trew wisdom joynde with simplenesse :

¹ Behaviour. Looks.

The night discharged of all care,
 Where wine the wit may not oppresse.
 The faithful wife without debate
 Such slepes as may begile the night :
 Contented with thine owne estate,
 Ne wish for death, ne feare his might.

But Surrey was not merely the poet of idleness and gallantry. He was fitted both from nature and study, for the more solid and laborious parts of literature. He translated the second and fourth books of Virgil into blank verse¹ : and it seems probable, that his active situations of life prevented him from completing a design of translating the whole Eneid.

This is the first composition in blank verse, extant in the English language. Nor has it merely the relative and accidental merit of being a curiosity. It is executed with great fidelity, yet not with a prosaic servility. The diction is often poetical, and the versification varied with proper pauses. This is the description of Dido and Eneas going to the field, in the fourth book.

—At the threshold of her chaumber-dore,
 The Carthage lords did on the Queene attend :
 The trampling steed, with gold and purple trapt.
 Chawing the foming bit ther fiercely stood.
 Then issued she, awayted with great train,
 Clad in a cloke of Tyre embrowdered riche.
 Her quyver hung behinde her backe, her tresse
 Knotted in gold, her purple vesture eke
 Buttnd with gold. The Trojans of her train
 Before her go, with gladsom Iulus.
 Aeneas eke, the goodliest of the route,
 Makes one of them, and joyneth close the throng.
 Lyke when Appollo leaveth Lycia,
 His wintring place, and Xanthus' stood likewise,
 To visit Delos, his mother's mansion.
 Repairing eft and furnishing her quire :
 The Candians, and the folke of Driopes,
 With painted Agathysies, shoute and crye,
 Environing the altars round about ;
 When that he walks upon mount Cynthus' top,
 His sparkled tresse repressed with garlands softe
 Of tender leaves, and trussed up in golde :
 His quivering² dartes clattering behind his back.
 So fresh and lustie did Aeneas seme.—
 But to the hils and wilde holtes when they came,
 From the rockes top the driven savage rose.
 Loe from the hills above, on thother side,
 Through the wide lawns they gan to take their course.

¹ They were first printed in 1557. 12mo.

² Perhaps the true reading is, instead of *quivering*, '*quiver and darts.*'

The harts likewise, in troupes taking their flight,
 Raising the dust, the mountain-fast forsake.
 The childe Iulus, blithe of his swift steede¹
 Amids the plaine, now pricks by them, now these ;
 And to encounter, wisheth oft in mind,
 The foming bore, in steede of fearfull beasts,
 Or lion brown, might from the hill descend.

The first stages of Dido's passion, with its effects on the rising city, are thus rendered.

—And when they al were gone
 And the dimme moone doth eft withhold her light ;
 And sliding [Falling] starres provoked unto slepe :
 Alone she mournes within her palace voide,
 And sits her downe on her forsaken bed :
 And absent him she heares, when he is gone,
 And seeth eke. Oft in her lappe she holdes
 Ascanius, trapped by his father's forme.
 So to begile the love cannot be told² !
 The turrets now arise not, erst begonne :
 Neither the youth welde armes, nor they avance
 The portes, nor other mete defence for warr.
 Broken there hang the workes, and mighty frames
 Of walles high raised, threatening the skie.

The introduction of the wooden horse into Troy, in the same book, is thus described.

We cleft the walles, and closures of the towne,
 Whereto all helpe : and underset the feet
 With sliding rolles, and bound his neck with ropes.
 The fatal gin thus overclambe our walles,
 Stuff with armd men : about the which there ran
 Children and maides³, that holy carolles sang.
 And well were they whoes hands might touch the cordes !
 With thretning chere, thus slided through our town
 The subtill tree, to Pallas temple-ward.
 O native land, Ilion, and of the goddes
 The mansion placce ! O warlik walles of Troy !
 Four times it stopt in the nether of our gate,
 Four times the harnessse [arms] clatterd in the wombe.

The shade of Hector, in the same book, thus appears.

Ah me ! What one ? That Hector how unlike,
 Which erst, returnd clad with Achilles spoiles !

¹ So Milton in *COMUS*, v. 59.

—Frolick of his full-grown age.

² Which cannot, &c.

³ That is, Boys and girls, *pueri innuptaque pullae*. Antiently *Child* (or *Children*) was restrained to the young of the male sex. Thus, above, we have, 'the *Child* Iulus,' in the original *Puer* Ascanius. So the *Children* of the chapel, signifies the *Boys* of the king's chapel. And in the royal kitchen, the *Children*, i. e. the *Boys* of the Scullery. In the western counties, to this day, *Maid* simply and distinctly means *Girl*: as, 'I have got a Boy and a *Maid*.'—'My wife is brought to bed of a *Maid*, &c. &c.'

Or when he threw into the Grekish shippes
 The Trojan flame ! So was his beard defiled,
 His crisped lockes al clustred with his blood :
 With al such woundes as many he received,
 About the walles of this his native towne !
 Whom franckly thus, methought, I spake unto,
 With bitter teres, and dolefull deadly voice.
 ' O Trojan light ! O only hope of thine !
 ' What lettes so long thee staid ? Or from what costes,
 ' Our most desired Hector, dost thou come ?
 ' Whom, after slaughter of our many frends,
 ' And travail of thy people, and thy towne,
 ' Alweried, (lord !) how gladly we behold !
 ' What sory chaunce hath stained thy lively face ?
 ' Or why see I these woundes, alas so wide !
 He answerd nought, nor in my vain demaundes
 Abode : but from the bottom of the brest
 Sighing he sayd : ' Flee, flee, O goddesse son !
 ' And save thee from the furie of this flame !'

This was a noble attempt to break the bondage of rhyme. But blank verse was now growing fashionable in the Italian poetry, the school of Surrey. Felice Figlinei, a Sanese, and Surrey's cotemporary, in his admirable Italian commentary on the ETHICS of Aristotle, entitled *FILOSOFIA MORALE SOPRA IL LIBRO D' ETHICA D'ARISTOTILE*, declaims against the barbarity of rhyme, and strongly recommends a total rejection of this Gothic ornament to his countrymen. He enforces his precept by his own example ; and translates all Aristotle's quotations from Homer and Euripides into verse without rhyme. Gonsalvo Perez, the learned secretary to Philip of Spain, had also recently translated Homer's *Odyssey* into Spanish blank-verse. How much the excellent Roger Ascham approved of Surrey's disuse of rhyme in this translation from Virgil, appears from the following passage in his *SCHOLEMASTER*, written about the year 1566¹. ' The noble lord Thomas earle of Surrey, FIRST OF ALL ENGLISHMEN, in translating the fourth [and second] booke of Virgill : and Gonsalvo Perez, that excellent learned man, and secretarie to king Philip of Spayne², in translating the *ULYSSES* of Homer out of the Greeke into Spanish, have both by good judgement avoyded the *FAULT OF RYMING*.—The spying of this fault now is not the curiositie of English eyes, but even the good judgement also of the best that write in these dayes in Italie. —And you, that be able to understand no more than ye find in the Italian tong : and never went further than the schoole of *PETRARCH*

¹ I know of no English critic besides, who has mentioned Surrey's Virgil, except Bolton, a great reader of old English books. *HYPERCRIT.* p. 237. Oxon. 1772.

² Among Ascham's *Epistles*, there is one to Perez, inscribed *Clarissimo viro D. Gonsalvo Perisio Regis Catholici Secretario primario et Consiliario intimo, Amico meo carissimo*. In which Ascham recommends the ambassador sir William Cecil to his acquaintance and friendship. *EPISTOL. LIB. UN.* p. 228. b. edit. Lond. 1587.

'and ARIOSTO abroad, or else of CHAUCER at home, though you
'have pleasure to wander blindlie still in your foule wronge way, envie
'not others, that seeke, as wise men have done before them, the
'FAYREST and RYGHTEST way.—And therefore, even as Virgill and
'Horace deserve most worthie prayse, that they, spying the unperfit-
'ness in Ennius and Plautus, by trewe imitation of Homer and Euri-
'pides, brought poetrie to the same perfectnes in Latin as it was in
'Greeke, even so those, that by the same way would BENEFIT
'THEIR TONG and country, deserve rather thankses than dispraise¹.'

The revival of the Greek and Roman poets in Italy, excited all the learned men of that country to copy the Roman versification, and consequently banished the old Leonine Latin verse. The same classical idea operated in some degree on the vernacular poetry of Italy. In the year 1528, Trissino published his *ITALIA LIBERATA DI GOTI*, or, *ITALY DELIVERED FROM THE GOTHS*, an heroic poem, professedly written in imitation of the *Iliad*, without either rhyme, or the usual machineries of the Gothic romance. Trissino's design was to destroy the *TERZA RIMA* of Dante. We do not, however, find, whether it be from the facility with which the Italian tongue falls into rhyme, or that the best and established Italian poets wrote in the stanza, that these efforts to restore blank-verse, produced any lasting effects in the progress of the Italian poetry. It is very probable, that this specimen of the *Eneid* in blank-verse by Surrey, led the way to Abraham Fleming's blank-verse translation of Virgil's *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, although done in Alexandrines, published in the year 1589. [London, 4to.]

Lord Surrey wrote many other English poems which were never published, and are now perhaps entirely lost. He translated the *ECCLESIASTES* of Solomon into English verse. This piece is cited in the Preface to the Translation of the Psalms, printed at London in 1567. He also translated a few of the Psalms into metre. These versions of Scripture shew that he was a friend to the reformation. Among his works are also recited, a Poem on his friend the young duke of Richmond, an Exhortation to the citizens of London, a Translation of Boccace's Epistle to Pinus, and a sett of Latin epistles. Aubrey has preserved a poetical Epitaph, written by Surrey on sir Thomas Clere, his faithful retainer and constant attendant, which was once in Lambeth-church; and which, for its affection and elegance, deserves to be printed among the earl's poems. I will quote a few lines.

Shelton for love, Surrey for lord thee chase [chose]:
(Aye me, while life did last that league was tender!)
Tracing whose steps, thou sawest Kelsall blase,
Laundersey burnt, and batterd Bulleyn's render. [Surrender.]
At Mörtrell gates², hopeless of all recure,

B. ii. p. 54. b. 55. a. edi 1587.
² Towns taken by lord Surrey in the Bologne expedition.

Thine earle halfe dead gave in thy hand his Will ;
 Which cause did thee this pining death procure,
 Ere summers foure tymes seven thou couldst fulfill.
 Ah, Clere ! if love had bootéd care or cost,
 Heaven had not wonne, nor earth so timely lost¹ !

John Clerc, who travelled into Italy with Pace, an eminent linguist of those times, and secretary to Thomas duke of Norfolk father of lord Surrey, in a dedication to the latter, prefixed to his *TRETISE OF NOBILITIE* printed at London in 1543², has mentioned, with the highest commendations, many translations done by Surrey, from the Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages. But these it is probable were nothing more than juvenile exercises.

Surrey, for his justness of thought, correctness of style, and purity of expression, may justly be pronounced the first English classical poet. He unquestionably is the first polite writer of love-verses in our language. It must, however, be allowed, that there is a striking native beauty in some of our love-verses written much earlier than Surrey's. But in the most savage ages and countries, rude nature has taught elegance to the lover.

SECTION XXXVIII.

WITH Surrey's Poems, Tottel has joined, in his editions of 1557 and 1565, the *SONGES* and *SONNETTES* of sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, and of Uncertain Auctours.

Wyat was of Allington-castle in Kent, which he magnificently repaired, and was educated in both our universities. But his chief and most splendid accomplishments were derived from his travels into various parts of Europe, which he frequently visited in the quality of an envoy. He was endeared to Henry VIII., who did not always act from caprice, for his fidelity and success in the execution of public business, his skill in arms, literature, familiarity with languages, and lively conversation. Wood, who degrades every thing by poverty of style and improper representations, says, that 'the king was in a high manner delighted 'with his *witty jests*.' [ATH. OXON. i. 51.] It is not perhaps improbable, that Henry was as much pleased with his repartees as his politics. He is reported to have occasioned the reformation by a joke, and to have planned the fall of cardinal Wolsey by a seasonable story³. But he had almost lost his popularity, either from an intimacy with

¹ He died in 1545. Stowe's CHRON. p. 586, 588. ed. 1615.

² Lond. 12mo. A translation from the French.

³ MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES. Numb. ii. p. 16. Printed at Strawberry-hill, 1772. 4to.

queen Anne Boleyn, which was called a connection, or the gloomy cabals of bishop Bonner, who could not bear his political superiority. Yet his prudence and integrity, no less than the powers of his oratory, justified his innocence. He laments his severe and unjust imprisonment on that trying occasion, in a sonnet addressed to sir Francis Bryan : insinuating his solicitude, that although the wound would be healed, the scar would remain, and that to be acquitted of the accusation would avail but little, while the thoughts of having been accused were still fresh in remembrance. It is a common mistake, that he died abroad of the plague in an embassy to Charles V. Being sent to conduct that emperor's ambassador from Falmouth to London, from too eager and a needless desire of executing his commission with dispatch and punctuality, he caught a fever by riding in a hot day, and in his return died on the road at Shirburn, where he was buried in the great conventual church, in the year 1541. The next year, Leland published a book of Latin verses on his death, with a wooden print of his head prefixed, probably done by Holbein¹. It will be superfluous to transcribe the panegyrics of his cotemporaries, after the encomium of lord Surrey, in which his amiable character owes more to truth, than to the graces of poetry, or to the flattery of friendship.

We must agree with a critic above quoted, that Wyatt co-operated with Surrey, in having corrected the roughness of our poetic style. But Wyatt, although sufficiently distinguished from the common versifiers of his age, is confessedly inferior to Surrey in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology. Nor is he equal to Surrey in elegance of sentiment, in nature and sensibility. His feelings are disguised by affectation, and obscured by conceit. His declarations of passion are embarrassed by wit and fancy ; and his style is not intelligible, in proportion as it is careless and unadorned. His compliments, like the modes of behaviour in that age, are ceremonious and strained. He has too much art as a lover, and too little as a poet. His gallantries are laboured, and his versification negligent. The truth is, his genius was of the moral and didactic species : and his poems abound more in good sense, satire, and observations on life, than in pathos or imagination. Yet there is a degree of lyric sweetness in the following lines to his lute, in which, *The lover complaineth of the unkindness of his love*.

My Lute awake, performe the last
Labour, that thou and I shall wast ;
And end that I have now begonne :
And when this song is sung and past,
My lute be still, for I have done.

As to be heard where care is none,
As leade to grave in marble stone ;

¹ *NÆNIÆ in mortem T. Viati*, Lond. 1542. 4to. Leland's ENCOM. p. 358.

My song, now pearse her hart as sone.
Should we then sigh, or sing, or mone?
No, no, my lute, for I have done.

The rockes do not so cruelly
Repulse the waves continually,
As she my sute and affection :
So that I am past remedy.
Whereby [wherefore] my lute and I have done.

Proude of the spoile which thou has gotte
Of simple hartes, through Loves shotte,
By whom unkinde thou hast them wonne ;
Thinke not he hath his bowe forgotte,
Although my lute and I have done.

Vengeance shall fall on thy disdaine,
That makest but game on earnest paine :
Thinke not alone under the sunne
Unquit {free} to cause thy lovers plaine :
Although my lute and I have done.

May chaunce thee¹ lie withered and olde
In winter nightes that are so colde,
Plaining in vaine unto the mone [moon] :
Thy wishes then dare not be tolde :
Care then who list, for I have done.

And then may chaunce thee to repent
The time that thou hast lost and spent,
To cause thy lovers sighe and swowne ;
Then shalt thou know beautie but lent,
And wish and want as I have done.

Now cease my lute, this is the last
Labour, that thou and I shall wast ;
And ended is that that we begonne.
Now is this song both song and past,
My lute be still, for I have done.

Our author has more imitations, and even translations, from the Italian poets than Surrey : and he seems to have been more fond of their conceits. Petrarch has described the perplexities of a lover's mind, and his struggles betwixt hope and despair, a subject most fertile of sentimental complaint, by a combination of contrarieties, a species of wit highly relished by the Italians. I am, says he, neither at peace nor war. I burn, and I freeze. I soar to heaven, and yet grovel on the earth. I can hold nothing, and yet grasp every thing. My prison is neither shut, nor is it opened. I see without eyes, and I complain without a voice. I laugh, and I weep. I live, and am dead. Laura, to what a condition am I reduced, by your cruelty !

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra ;
E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son en un ghiaccio :
E volo sopra'l cielo, e ghiaccio in terra :

¹ It may chance you may, &c.

E nulla stringo, e tutto l'mondo abraiccio.
 Tal m'ha in prigion, che non m'apre ne ferra¹;
 Ne per suo mi rittien, ne scioglie il laccio;
 E non m'uccide Amor, e non mi sferra;
 Ni mi vuol vivo, ni mi trae d'impaccio.
 Veggio senz' occhi, e non ho lingua, e grido;
 E bramo di perir, e cheggio aita:
 Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui:
 Pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido.
 Egualmente mi spiace morte, e vita:
 In questo stato son, Donna, per vui².

Wyat has thus copied this sonnet of epigrams.

I finde no peace, and all my warre is done:
 I fear and hope, I burne and frese likewyse:
 I flye aloft, and yet cannot aryse;
 And nought I have, and at the world I season;
 That lockes³ nor loseth, [nor] holdeth me in prison.
 And holdes me not, yet can I scape no wise;
 Nor lettes me live, nor dye, at my devise,
 And yet of death it giveth me occasion.
 Without eye I se, without tong I playne:
 I wish to perish, yet I aske for helth;
 I love another, and I hate myselfe;
 I fede me in sorow, and laugh in all my paine.
 Lo thus displeaseth me both death and life
 And my delight is causer of this strife.

It was from the capricious and over-strained invention of the Italian poets, that Wyatt was taught to torture the passion of love by prolix and intricate comparisons, and unnatural allusions. At one time his love is a galley steered by cruelty through stormy seas and dangerous rocks; the sails torn by the blast of tempestuous sighs, and the cordage consumed by incessant showers of tears: a cloud of grief envelops the stars, reason is drowned, and the heaven is at a distance [fol. 22.] At another [fol. 25.] it is a spring trickling from the summit of the Alps, which gathering force in its fall, at length overflows all the plain beneath [fol. 25.] Sometimes, it is a gun, which being overcharged, expands the flame within itself, and bursts in pieces [fol. 29.] Sometimes it is like a prodigious mountain, which is perpetually weeping in copious fountains, and sending forth sighs from its forests: which bears more leaves than fruits: which breeds wild-beasts, the proper emblems of rage, and harbours birds that are always singing [fol. 36.] In another of his sonnets, he says, that all nature sympathises with his passion. The woods resound his elegies, the rivers

¹ This passage is taken from Messen Jordi, a Provencal poet of Valencia.

² Sonn. ciii. There is a Sonnet in imitation of this, among those of the UNCERTAIN AUCTIONEERS at the end of Surrey's Poems, fol. 107. And in Davison's POEMS, B. ii CANZON. viii. p. 108. 4th edit. Lond. 1621. 12mo.

³ That which locks, i. e. a key.

stop their course to hear him complain, and the grass weeps in dew. These thoughts are common and fantastic. But he adds an image which is new, and has much nature and sentiment, although not well expressed.

The huyg okes have rored in the winde,
Eche thing, methought, complaining in theyr kinde.

This is a touch of the pensive. And the apostrophe which follows is natural and simple.

Ah stony hart, who hath thus framed thee
So cruel, that are clothed with beautie ! [fol. 24.]

And there is much strength in these lines of the lover to his bed.

The place of slepe, wherein I do but wake,
Besprent with tears, my bed, I thee forsake ! [fol. 25.]

But such passages as these are not the general characteristics of Wyatt's poetry. They strike us but seldom, amidst an impracticable mass of forced reflections, hyperbolical metaphors, and complaints that move no compassion.

But Wyatt appears a much more pleasing writer, when he moralises on the felicities of retirement, and attacks the vanities and vices of a court, with the honest indignation of an independent philosopher, and the freedom and pleasantry of Horace. Three of his political epistles are professedly written in this strain, two to John Paines¹, and the other to sir Francis Bryan : and we must regret, that he has not left more pieces in a style of composition for which he seems to have been eminently qualified. In one of the epistles to Paines on the life of a courtier, are these spirited and manly reflections.

Myne owne John Paines, since ye delite to know
The causes why that homewarde I me drawe,
And flee the prease [press] of courtes, where so they go²;
Rather than to live thrall under the awe
Of lordly looks, wrapped within my cloke ;
To will and lust learning to set a law :
It is not that, because I scorne or mocke
The power of them, whom Fortune here hath lent
Charge over us, of Right [justice] to strike the stroke
But true it is, that I have alwayes ment
Lesse to esteeme them, (than the common sort)
Of outwarde thinges that judge, in their entent,
Without regarde what inward doth resort.
I graunt sometime of glory that the fire
Doth touch my heart. Me list not to report³
Blame by honour, nor honour to desire.
But how can I this honour now attaine,

¹ He seems to have been a person about the court. LIFE of Sir Tho. Pope, p. 46.

² The court was perpetually moving from one palace to another.

³ To speak favourably of what is bad.

That cannot die the colour black a liar?
 My Poines, I cannot frame my tune to faine,
 To cloke the truth, &c.

In pursuit of this argument, he declares his indisposition and inability to disguise the truth, and to flatter, by a variety of instances. Among others, he protests he cannot prefer Chaucer's *TALE* of *SIR THOPAS* to his *PALAMON AND ARCITE*.

Praise *SIR THOPAS* for a noble tale,
 And scorne the *STORY* that the *KNIGHT* tolde;
 Praise him for counsell that is dronke of ale:
 Grinne when he laughes, that beareth all the sway;
 Frowne when he frownes, and grone when he is pale:
 On others lust to hang both night and day, &c.

I mention this circumstance about Chaucer, to shew the esteem in which the *KNIGHT'S TALE*, that noble epic poem of the dark ages, was held in the reign of Henry VIII., by men of taste.

The poet's execration of flatterers and courtiers is contrasted with the following entertaining picture of his own private life and rural enjoyments at Allingham-castle in Kent.

This is the cause that I could never yet
 Hang on their sleeves, that weigh, as thou maist se,
 A chippe of chaunce more than a pounce of wit:
 This maketh me at home to hunt and hawke,
 And in fowle wether at my booke to sit;
 In frost and snowe then with my bow to stalke;
 No man doth marke whereso I ride or go:
 In lusty leas¹ at liberty I walke:
 And of these newes I fele no weale nor wo:
 Save that a clogge doth hange yet at my heele²;
 No force for that, for it is ordered so,
 That I may leape both hedge and dike ful wele.
 I am not now in Fraunce, to judge the wine, &c.
 But I am here in Kent and Christendome,
 Among the Muses, where I reade and rime;
 Where if thou list, mine owne John Poines to come,
 Thou shalt be judge how do I spende my time. [Fol. 47.]

In another epistle to John Poines, on the security and happiness of a moderate fortune, he versifies the fable of the *City and Country Mouse* with much humour.

My mother's maides, when they do sowe and spinne,
 They sing a song made of the feldishe mouse, &c.

This fable appositely suggests a train of sensible and pointed observations on the weakness of human conduct, and the delusive plans of life.

¹ In large fields. Over fruitful grounds.

² Probably he alludes to some office which he still held at court; and which sometimes he called him, but not too frequently, from the country.

Alas, my Paines, how men do seke the best,
 And inde the worse by error as they stray :
 And no marvell, when sight is so opprest,
 And blindes the guide : anone out of the way
 Goeth guide and all, in seking quiet lyfe.
 O wretched myndes ! There is no golde that may
 Graunt that you seke : no warre, no peace, no strife :
 No, no, although thy head were hoopt with golde :
 Serjaunt at mace, with hawbert¹, sworde, nor knife,
 Cannot repulse the care that folow shoulde.
 Eche kinde of life hath with him his disease :
 Live in delites, even as thy lust would,
 And thou shalt finde, when lust doth most thee please,
 It irketh strait, and by itself doth fade.
 A small thing is it, that may thy minde appease ?
 None of you al there is that is so madde,
 To seke for grapes on brambles or on breeres ;
 Nor nonne, I trowe, that hath a wit so badde,
 To sett his hay for conneyes oer riveres.
 Nor yet set not a drag net for a hare :
 And yet the thing that most is your desire
 You do misseke, with more travell and care.
 Make plaine thine hart, that it be not knotted
 With hope or dreade : and se thy will be bare [free]
 From all affects [passions], whom vice hath never spotted.
 Thyself content with that is thee assinde ; [assigned]
 And use it wel that is to the allotted.
 Then seke no more out of thyself to fynde,
 The thing that thou hast sought so long before,
 For thou shalt feele it sticking in thy mynde.—

These Platonic doctrines are closed with a beautiful application of virtue personified, and introduced in her irresistible charms of visible beauty. For those who deviate into vain and vicious pursuits,

None other paine pray I for them to be,
 But when the rage doth leade them from the right,
 That, loking backwarde, VIRTUE they may se
 Even as she is, so goodly faire and bright ! [Fol. 45, 46,]

With these disinterested strains we may join the following single stanza, called THE COURTIER'S LIFE.

In court to serve, decked with freshe aray,
 Of sugred meates feeling the swete repaste ;
 The life in bankets, and sundry kindes of play,
 Amid the prease of worldly lookes to waste :
 Hath with it joinde oft times such bitter taste,
 That whoso joyes such kind of life to hold,
 In prison joyes, fettered with chaines of gold. [Fol. 44.]

Wyat may justly be deemed the first polished English satirist. I

¹ Halbert A parade of guards, &c. The classical allusion is obvious.

am of opinion, that he mistook his talents when, in compliance with the mode, he became a sonneteer ; and, if we may judge from a few instances, that he was likely to have treated any other subject with more success than that of love. His abilities were seduced and misapplied in fabricating fine speeches to an obdurate mistress. In the following little ode, or rather epigram, on a very different occasion, there is great simplicity and propriety, together with a strain of poetic allusion. It is on his return from Spain into England.

Tagus farewell, that westward with thy stremes
Turnes up the graines of gold al redy tride ! [Pure gold]
For I with spurre and sayle go seke the Temes, [Thames]
Gainward the sunne that shewes her welthy pride :
And to the town that Brutus sought by dremes¹,
Like bended moone² that leanes her lusty³ side ;
My king, my countrey I seke, for whom I live :
O mighty Jove, the windes for this me give. [Fol. 44.]

Among Wyatt's poems is an unfinished translation, in Alexandrine verse, of the Song of Iopas in the first book of Virgil's Eneid. [Fol. 49.] Wyatt's and Surrey's versions from Virgil are the first regular translations in English of an ancient classic poet : and they are symptoms of the restoration of the study of the Roman writers, and of the revival of elegant literature. A version of David's Psalms by Wyatt is highly extolled by lord Surrey and Leland. But Wyatt's version of the PENITENTIAL PSALMS seems to be a separate work from his translation of the whole Psalter, and probably that which is praised by Surrey, in an ode above quoted, and entitled, *Praise of certain Psalmes of David, translated by Sir T. Wyatt the elder*. [Fol. 16.] They were printed with this title, in 1549. 'Certaine Psalmes chosen out of the ' Psalmes of David commonly called vij penytentiaill Psalmes, drawen ' into Englishe meter by sir Thomas Wyatt knyght, wherunto is ' added a prolog of the authore before every Psalme very pleasant ' and profettable to the godly reader. Imprinted at London in Paules ' Churchyarde at the sygne of the starre by Thomas Raynald and ' John Harryngton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, MDXLIX.' Leland seems to speak of the larger version.

Trāstulit in nostram Davidis carmina linguam,
Et numeros magna reddidit arte pares.
Non morietur OPUS tersum, SPECTABILE, sacrum.

But this version, with that of Surrey mentioned above, is now lost⁴ : and the pious Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins are the only immortal translators of David's Psalms.

A similarity, or rather sameness of studies, as it is a proof, so per-

¹A tradition in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

²The old city from the river appeared in the shape of a crescent.

³Strong, flourishing, populous, &c.

⁴Hollinshed CHRONICLE iii. p. 978. col. 2.

haps it was the chief cement, of that inviolable friendship which is said to have subsisted between Wyatt and Surrey. The principal subject of their poetry was the same : and they both treated the passion of love in the spirit of the Italian poets, and as professed disciples of Petrarch. They were alike devoted to the melioration of their native tongue, and an attainment of the elegancies of composition. They were both engaged in translating Virgil, and in rendering select portions of Scripture into English metre.

SECTION XXXIX.

TO the poems of Surrey and Wyatt are annexed, as I have before hinted, in Tottel's editions, those of uncertain authors¹. This latter collection forms the first printed poetical miscellany in the English language : although very early MSS. miscellanies of that kind are not uncommon. Many of these pieces are much in the manner of Surrey and Wyatt, which was the fashion of the times. They are all anonymous ; but probably, sir Francis Bryan, George Boleyn earl of Rochford, and lord Vaulx, all professed rhymers and sonnet-writers, were large contributors.

Drayton, in his elegy *To his dearly loved friend HENRY REYNOLDS OF POETS AND POESIE*, seems to have blended all the several collections of which Tottell's volume consists. After Chaucer he says,

They with the Muses who conversed, were
That princely Surrey, early in the time
Of the eighth Henry, who was then the prime
Of England's noble youth. With him there came
Wyat, with reverence whom we still do name
Amongst our poets : Bryan had a share
With the two former, which accounted are
That time's best Makers, and the authors were
Of those small poems which the title bear
Of Songes and Sonnetts, wherein oft they hit
On many dainty passages of wit².

Sir Francis Bryan was the friend of Wyatt, as we have seen ; and served as a commander under Thomas earl of Surrey in an expedition into Brittany, by whom he was knighted for his bravery. [Dugd. BAR. ii. 273. a.] Hence he probably became connected with lord Surrey the poet. But Bryan was one of the brilliant ornaments of the court of Henry VIII. which at least affected to be polite : and from

¹ They begin at fol. 50.

² WORKS, vol. iv. p. 1235. edit. Lond. 1759. 8vo.

his popular accomplishments as a wit and a poet, he was made a gentleman of the privy-chamber to that monarch, who loved to be entertained by his domestics. [Rymer, FOED. xiv. 380.] Yet he enjoyed much more important appointments in that reign, and in the first year of Edward VI.; and died chief justiciary of Ireland, at Waterford, in the year 1548¹. On the principle of an unbiassed attachment to the king, he wrote epistles on Henry's divorce, never published; and translated into English from the French, Antonio de Guevara's Spanish Dissertation on the life of a courtier, printed at London in the year last mentioned². He was nephew to John Bouchier, lord Berners, the translator of Froissart; who, at his desire, translated at Calais from French into English, the GOLDEN BOKE, or Life of Marcus Aurelius, about 1533³. Which are sir Francis Bryan's pieces I cannot ascertain.

George Boleyn, viscount Rochford, was son of sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; and at Oxford discovered an early propensity to polite letters and poetry. He was appointed to several dignities and offices by Henry VIII. and subscribed the famous declaration sent to Pope Clement VII. He was brother to queen Anne Boleyn, with whom he was suspected of a criminal familiarity. The chief accusation against him seems to have been, that he was seen to whisper with the queen one morning while she was in bed. As he had been raised by the exaltation, he was involved in the misfortunes of that injured princess, who had no other fault but an unguarded and indiscrete frankness of nature; and whose character has been blackened by the bigoted historians of the catholic cause, merely because she was the mother of queen Elizabeth. To gratify the ostensible jealousy of the king, who had conceived a violent passion for a new object, this amiable nobleman was beheaded on May 1, 1536. [See Dugb. BARON. iii. p. 306. a.] His elegance of person, and spritely conversation, captivated all the ladies of Henry's court. Wood says, that at the 'royal court he was much *adored*, especially by the *female sex*, for his *admirable* discourse, and *symmetry* of body. [Ath. Oxon. i. 44.] From these irresistible allurements his enemies endeavoured to give a plausibility to their infamous charge of an incestuous connection. After his commitment to the Tower, his sister the queen, on being sent to the same place, asked the lieutenant, with a degree of eagerness, 'Oh! where is my sweet brother?' [Strype, MEM. i. p. 280.] Here was a specious confirmation of his imagined guilt: this stroke of natural tenderness was too readily interpreted into a licentious attach-

¹ Hollinshed CHRONICLE i. 61. Hooker's CONTIN. tom. ii. P. ii. pag. 110. Fox, MARTYR. p. 991.

² Cod. Impress. A. Wood, Mus. Ashmol. Oxon.

³ See the COLOPHON. It was printed by Thomas Berthelett, in 1536. Often afterwards. Lord Berners was, deputy-general of Calais, and its Marches.

ment. Bale mentions his RHYTHMI ELEGANTISSIMI, which Wood calls, 'Songs and Sonnets, with other things of the like nature.' These are now lost, unless some, as I have insinuated, are contained in the present collection; a garland, in which it appears to have been the fashion for every FLOWERY COURTIER to leave some of his blossoms. Boleyn's poems cannot now be distinguished.

The lord Vaux, whom I have supposed, and on surer proof, to be another contributor to this miscellany, could not be the Nicholas lord Vaux, whose gown of purple velvet, plated with gold, eclipsed all the company present at the marriage of prince Arthur; who shines as a statesman and a soldier with uncommon lustre in the history of Henry VII., and continued to adorn the earlier annals of his successor, and who died in the year 1523. Lord Vaux the poet, was probably Thomas lord Vaux, the son of Nicholas, and who was summoned to parliament in 1531, and seems to have lived till the latter end of the reign of queen Mary¹. All our old writers mention the poetical lord Vaux, as rather posterior to Wyat and Surrey; neither of whom was known as a writer till many years after the death of lord Nicholas. George Gascoyne, who wrote in 1575, in his panegyric on the ENGLISH POETS, places Vaux after Surrey.

Piers Plowman was full playne,
And Chaucer's spreet was greate;
Earle Surrey had a goodly vane,
LORD VAUX the marke did beate.

Puttenham, author of the ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, having spoken of Surrey and Wyat, immediately adds, 'In the SAME TIME, or NOT 'LONG AFTER, was the lord Nicholas² Vaux, a man of much facilitie in vulgar making. Webbe, in his DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE, published in 1586, has a similar arrangement. Great numbers of Vaux's poems are extant in the PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES; and, instead of the rudeness of Skelton, they have a smoothness and facility of manner, which does not belong to poetry written before the year 1523, in which lord Nicholas Vaux died an old man. [Percy's BALL. ii. 49. ed. 1775.] The PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES was published in 1578, and he is there simply styled *Lord Vaulx the elder*: this was to distinguish him from his son lord William, then living. If lord Nicholas was a writer of poetry, I will venture to assert, that none of his performances now remain; notwithstanding the testimony of Wood, who says, that Nicholas, 'in his juvenile years was sent to Oxon, 'where by reading humane and romantic, rather than philosophical authors, he advanced his genius very much in poetry and history.' [ATH. OXON. i. 19.] This may be true of his son Thomas, whom I

¹ See what I have said of his son lord William, in the 'Life of sir Tho. Pope,' p. 211. In 1558, sir Tho. Pope leaves him a legacy of one hundree pounds, by the name of lord Vaulx.

² The christian name is a mistake, into which it was easy to fall.

suppose to be the poet. But such was the celebrity of lord Nicholas's public and political character, that he has been made to monopolise every merit which was the property of his successors. All these difficulties, however, are at once adjusted by a manuscript in the British Museum : in which we have a copy of Vaux's poem, beginning *I lothe that I did love*, with this title: 'A dyttye or sonet made by the lord Vaus, in the time of the noble quene Marye, representing the image 'of Death.' [MSS. HARL. 1703. 25.] This sonnet, or rather ode, entitled, *The aged lover renounceth love*, which was more remembered for its morality than its poetry, and which is idly conjectured to have been written on his death-bed¹, makes a part of the collection which I am now examining. [Fol. 72.] From this ditty are taken three of the stanzas, yet greatly disguised and corrupted, of the Grave-digger's Song in Shakespeare's HAMLET. [Act V.] Another of lord Vaux's poems in the volume before us, is the ASSAULT OF CUPIDE UPON THE FORT IN WHICH THE LOVER'S HEART LAY WOUNDED. [Fol. 71.] These two are the only pieces in our collection, of which there is undoubted evidence, although no name is prefixed to either, that they were written by lord Vaux. From palpable coincidences of style, subject, and other circumstances, a slender share of critical sagacity is sufficient to point out many others.

These three writers were cotemporaries with Surrey and Wyatt : but the subjects of some of the pieces will go far in ascertaining the date of the collection in general. There is one on the death of sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, who died, as I have remarked, in 1541. [Fol. 89.] Another on the death of lord chancellor Audley, who died in 1544. [Fol. 69.] Another on the death of *master* Devereux, a son of lord Ferrers, who is said to have been a *Cato for his counsel* ; [Fol. 51.] and who is probably Richard Devereux, buried in Berkyng church, [Stowe, SURV. LOND. p. 131. fol. ed.] the son of Walter lord Ferrers, a distinguished statesman and general under Henry VIII. Another on the death of a lady Wentworth². Another on the death of sir Antony Denny, the only person of the court who dared to inform Henry VIII.³ of his approaching dissolution, and who died in 1551⁴. Another on the death of Phillips, an eminent musician, and without his rival on the lute⁵. Another on the death of a countess of Pembroke, who is

¹ George Gascoyne says, 'The L. Vaux his dittie, beginning thus *I loath*, was thought by some 'to be made upon his death-bed,' &c. 'Epistle to the young Gentlemen,' prefixed to his Poems.

² Who died in 1558. Dugd. BAR. ii. 177.

³ Fol. 73. Margaret. See Dugd. BAR. ii. 310.

⁴ Fol. 78. There is sir John Cheek's EPITAPHIUM in *Anton. Denneium*. Lond. 1551. 4to.

⁵ Fol. 71. One Philips is mentioned among the famous English musicians, in *Mere's Wits Treasury*, 1598. fol. 288. I cannot ascertain who this Phillips, a musician, was. But one Robert Phillips, or Phelipp, occurs among the gentlemen of the royal chapel under Edward VI. and queen Mary. He was also one of the singing-men of St. George's chapel at Windsor: and Fox says, 'he was so *notable* a singing-man, wherein he *gloried*, that wheresoever he 'came, the longest song with most *counterverses* in it should be set up against him.' Fox

celebrated for learning, and *her perfect virtues linked in a chaine* : [Fol. 85.] probably Anne, who was buried magnificently at St. Paul's, in 1551, the first lady of sir William Herbert the first earl of Pembroke, and sister to Catharine Parr, the sixth queen of Henry VIII. [Strype. MEM. ii. p. 317.] Another on *master* Henry Williams, son of sir John Williams, afterwards lord Thame, and a great favorite of Henry VIII.¹ On the death of sir James Wilford, an officer in Henry's wars, we have here an elegy, [Fol. 36.] with some verses on his picture. [Fol. 62.] Here is also a poem on a treasonable conspiracy, which is compared to the stratagem of Sinon, and which threatened immediate extermination to the British constitution, but was speedily discovered. [Fol. 94. 95.] I have not the courage to explore the formidable columns of the circumstantial Hollingshed for this occult piece of history, which I leave to the curiosity and conjectures of some more laborious investigator. It is certain that none of these pieces are later than the year 1557, as they were published in that year by Richard Tottell the printer. We may venture to say, that almost all of them were written between the years 1530 and 1550². Most of them perhaps within the first part of that period.

The following nameless stanzas have that elegance which results from simplicity. The compliments are such as would not disgrace the gallantry or the poetry of a polished age. The thoughts support themselves, without the aid of expression, and the affectations of language. This is a negligence, but it is a negligence produced by art. Here is an effect obtained, which it would be vain to seek from the studied ornaments of style.

Give place, ye ladies, and be gone,
Boast not yourselves at all :

For here at hand approacheth one
Whose face will staine you all.

The vertue of her lively lokes
Excels the precious stone :

I wish to have none other bokes
To reade or loke upon.

In eche of her two cristall eyes
Smileth a naked boye : It would you all in hart suffice
To se that lampe of joye.

I thinke Nature hath lost the moulde
Where she her shape did take ; Or els I doubt if Nature could

adds, that while he was singing on one side of the choir of Windsor chapel, *O Redemptrix et Salvatrix*, he was answered by one Testwood a singer on the other side, *Non Redemptrix nec Salvatrix*. For this irreverence, and a few other slight heresies, Testwood was burnt at Windsor. ACTS and MONUM. vol. ii. p. 543. 544. I must add, that sir Tho. Phelyppis, or Philips, is mentioned as a musician before the reformation. Hawkins, HIST. MUS. ii. 533.

¹ Fol 99. 'Life of sir Tho. Pope, p. 232.

² There is an epitaph by W. G. made on himself, with an answer, fol. 98, 99. I cannot explain those initials. At fol. 111. a lady, called Arundel, is highly celebrated for her incomparable beauty and accomplishments : perhaps of lord Arundel's family.

Thus ARUNDEL sits throned still with Fame, &c.

So faire a creature make.	In life she is Diana chaste,
In truth Penelopey ;	In worde and eke in dede stedfast.
What would you more we sey ?	
If all the worlde	were sought so farre,
Who could finde such a wight ?	Her beuty twinkleth like a starre
Within the frosty night.	Her rosial colour comes and goes
With such a comely grace,	(More ruddy too than is the rose)
Within her lively face.	
At Bacchus feaste none shall her mete,	
Ne at no wanton play,	Nor gazing in an open strete,
Nor gadding as astray.	The modest mirth that she doth use
Is mixt with shamefastnesse ;	Al vice she doth wholly refuse,
And hateth ydlennesse.	O lord, it is a world to see
How vertue can repaire	And decke in her such honestie,
Whom nature made so faire !—	Howe might I do to get a graffe
Of this unspotted tree ?	
For all the rest are plaine but chaffe,	
Which seme good corn to be. [Fol 67.]	

Of the same sort is the following stanza on Beauty.

Then BEAUTY slept before the barre,
 Whose breast and neck was bare ;
 With haire trust up, and on her head
 A caule of golde she ware. Fol. 84.]

We are to recollect, that these compliments were penned at a time, when the graces of conversation between the sexes were unknown, and the dialogue of courtship was indelicate ; when the monarch of England, in a style, which the meanest gentleman would now be ashamed to use, pleaded the warmth of his affection, by drawing a coarse allusion from a present of venison, which he calls flesh, in a love-letter to his future queen, Anne Boleyn, a lady of distinguished breeding, beauty, and modesty. [Hearne's AVESEURY, APPENDIX p. 354.]

In lord Vaux's ASSAULT OF CUPIDE, above mentioned, these are the most remarkable stanzas.

When Cupide scaled first the fort,
 Wherin my hart lay wounded sore ;
 The batry was of such a sort,
 That I must yelde, or die therfore.

There sawe I Love upon the wall
 How he his baner did display ;
 Alarme, Alarme, he gan to call,
 And bade his souldiours kepe away.

The armes the which that Cupid bare,
 Were pearced hartes, with teares besprent.—

And even with the trumpettes sowne
 The scaling ladders were up set ;
 And BEAUTY walked up and downe,
 With bow in hand, and arrowes whet.

Then first DESIRE began to scale,
And shrouded him under his targe, &c. [Fol. 71. 72.]

Puttenham speaks more highly of the contrivance of the allegory of this piece, than I can allow. 'In this figure [counterfait action] the 'lord Nicholas Vaux, a noble gentleman, and much delighted in vulgar 'making¹, and a man otherwise of no great learning, but having herein 'a marvelous facilitie, made a dittie representing the Battayle and 'Assault of Cupid so excellently well, as for the gallant and propre 'aplication of his fiction in every part, I cannot choose but set downe 'the greatest part of his ditty, for in truth it cannot be amended: '*When Cupid scaled, &c.*' [P. 200.] And in another part of the same book. 'The lord Vaux his commendation lyeth chiefly in the facilitie 'of his meetre, and the aptnesse of his descriptions, suche as he taketh 'upon him to make, namely in sundry of his songes, wherein he 'sheweth the COUNTERFAIT ACTION very lively and pleasantly.' [P. 51.] By *counterfait action* the critic means fictitious action, the action of imaginary beings expressive of fact and reality. There is more poetry in some of the old pageants described by Hollingshed, than in this allegory of Cupid. Vaux seems to have had his eye on Sir David Lyndsey's GOLDEN TERGE.

In the following little ode, much pretty description of imagination is built on the circumstance of a lady being named Bayes. So much good poetry could hardly be expected from a pun.

In Bayes I boast, whose braunch I beare:
Such joye therein I finde,
That to the death I shall it weare,
To ease my carefull minde.

In heat, in cold, both night and day,
Her vertue may be sene;
When other frutes and flowers decay,
The Bay yet grows full greene.

Her berries feede the birdes ful oft
Her leaves swete water make;
Her bowes be set in every loft,
For their swete favour's sake.

The birdes do shrowd them from the cold
In her we dayly see:
And men make arbers as they wold,
Under the pleasant tree. [Fol. 109.]

From the same collection, the following is perhaps the first example in our language now remaining, of the pure and unmixed pastoral and in the erotic species, for ease of numbers, elegance of rural allusion, and simplicity of imagery, excels everything of the kind in Spenser, who is erroneously ranked as our earliest English bucolic. I therefore hope to be pardoned for the length of the quotation.

¹ English poetry.

Phyllida was a faire mayde, As fresh as any flour;
 Whom Harpalus the herdman prayde
 To be her paramour.
 Harpalus and eke Corin Were herdmen both yfere¹:
 And Phyllida could twist and spin,
 And therto sing full clere.
 But Phyllida was all too coy For Harpalus to winne;
 For Corin was her only joy Who forst her not a pinne².
 How often would she flowers twine?
 How often garlandes make
 Of couslips and of columbine? And al for Corin's sake.
 But Corin he had hawkes to lure,
 And forced more the filde³;
 Of lovers lawe he toke no cure, For once he was begilde⁴.
 Harpalus prevailed nought, His labour all was lost;
 For he was fardest from her thought,
 And yet he loved her most.
 Therefore waxt he both pale and leane,
 And drye as clot [clod] of clay;
 His fleshe it was consumed cleane,
 His colour gone away.
 His beard it had not long be shave,
 His heare hong all unkempt;
 A man fit even for the grave, Whom spitefull love had spent.
 His eyes were red, and all forewatched⁵,
 His face besprent with teares;
 If semde Vnhap had him long hatched
 In mids of his dispaire.
 His clothes were blacke and also bare,
 As one forlorne was he:
 Upon his head alwayes he ware A wreath of wyllow tree,
 His beastes he kept upon the hyll
 And he sate in the dale;
 And thus with sighes and sorowes shryll
 He gan to tell his tale.
 'O Harpalus, thus would he say,
 'Unhappiest under sunne!
 'The cause of thine unhappy day 'By love was first begunne!
 'For thou wentst first by sute to seke
 'A tigre to make tame,
 'That settes not by thy love a leeke,
 'But makes thy grief her game.
 'As easy it were to convert 'The frost into the flame,
 'As for to turne a froward hert
 'Whom thou so faine wouldst frame.
 'Corin he liveth carelesse, 'He leapes among the leaves;
 'He eates the frutes of thy redresse, [pain]
 'Thou reapes, he takes the sheaves.

¹ Together.² Loved her not in the least.³ More engaged in field-sports⁴ Deceived. Had once been in love.⁵ Over-watched. That is, his eyes were always awake, never closed by sleep.

'My beastes, awhile your foode refraine,
 'And hark your herdsman's sounde;
 'Whom spitefull love, alas, hath slaine
 'Through-girt¹ with many a wounde!
 'O happy ye be, beastes wilde 'That here your pastures takes!
 'I see that ye be not begilde
 'Of these your faithfull makes. [Mates.]
 'The hart he fedeth by the hinde,
 'The buck hard by the doe:
 'The turtle dove is not unkinde 'To him that loves her so.—
 'But, welaway, that nature wrought,
 'Thee, Phyllida, so faire;
 'For I may say, that I have bought
 'Thy beauty all too deare! &c.'

The illustrations in the two following stanzas, of the restlessness of a lover's mind, deserve to be cited for their simple beauty, and native force of expression.

The owle with feeble sight	Lyes lurking in the leaves;
The sparrow in the frosty night	May shroud her in the eaves.
But wo to me, alace!	In sunne, nor yet in shade,
I cannot finde a resting place	My burden to unlade. [Fol. 55.]

Nor can I omit to notice the sentimental and expressive metaphor contained in a single line.

Walking the path of pensive thought. [Fol. 73.]

Perhaps there is more pathos and feeling in the Ode, in which *The Lover in despaire lamenteth his Case*, than in any other piece of the whole collection.

Adieu desert, how art thou spent!
 Ah dropping tears, how do ye waste!
 Ah scalding sighes, how ye be spent,
 To pricke Them forth that will not haste.
 Ah! pained hart, thou gapst for grace, [favour]
 Even there, where pitie hath no place.
 As easy tis the stony rocke
 From place to place for to remove,
 As by thy plaint for to provoke
 A frozen hart from hate to love.
 What should I say? Such is thy lot
 To fawne on them that force [pity] thee not!
 Thus mayst thou safely say and sweare,
 That rigour raignes where ruth [assigned] doth faile,
 In thanklesse thoughts thy thoughts do weare:
 Thy truth, thy faith, may nought availe
 For thy good will: why shouldst thou so
 Still graft, where grace it will not grow?
 Alas! poor hart, thus hast thou spent

¹ Pierce through.

His entrails with a lance *through-girded* quite.

Thy flowring time, thy pleasant yeres?
 With sighing voice wepe and lament,
 For of thy hope no frute apperes!
 Thy true meaning is paide with scorne,
 That ever soweth and repeth no corne.

And where thou sekis a quiet port,
 Thou dost but weigh against the winde:
 For where thou gladdest woldst resort,
 There is no place for thee assinde. [Assigned.]
 Thy destiny hath set it so,
 That thy true hart should cause thy wo. [Fol. 109.]

These reflections, resulting from a retrospect of the vigorous and active part of life, destined for nobler pursuits, and unworthily wasted in the tedious and fruitless anxieties of unsuccessful love, are highly natural, and are painted from the heart: but their force is weakened by the poet's allusions.

This miscellany affords the first pointed English epigram that I remember; and which deserves to be admitted into the modern collections of that popular species of poetry. Sir Thomas More was one of the best jokers of that age: and there is some probability, that this might have fallen from his pen. It is on a scholar, who was pursuing his studies successfully, but in the midst of his literary career, married unfortunately.

A student, at his boke so plast¹
 That welth he might have wonne,
 From boke to wife did flete in hast,
 From welth to wo to run.
 Now, who hath plaid a feater cast,
 Since jugling first begonne?
 In *knitting* of himself so *fast*,
 Himself he hath *undonne*. [Fol. 64.]

But the humour does not arise from the circumstances of the character. It is a general joke on an unhappy match.

These two lines are said to have been written by Mary queen of Scots with a diamond on a window in Fotheringay castle, during her imprisonment there, and to have been of her composition.

From the toppe of all my trust
 Mishap hath throwen me in the dust².

But they belong to an elegant little ode of ten stanzas in the collection before us, in which a lover complains that he is caught by the snare which he once defied. [Fol. 53.] The unfortunate queen only quoted a distich applicable to her situation, which she remembered in a fashionable set of poems, perhaps the amusement of her youth.

¹ So pursuing his studies. *Plast*, so spelled for the rhyme, is *placed*.

² See Ballard's *LEARN. LAD.* p. 161.

The ode, which is the comparison of the author's *faithful and painful* passion with that of Troilus [fol. 81], is founded on Chaucer's poem, or Boccace's, on the same subject. This was the most favorite love-story of our old poetry, and from its popularity was wrought into a drama by Shakespeare. Troilus's sufferings for Cressida were a common topic for a lover's fidelity and assiduity. Shakespeare, in his *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, compares a night favorable to the stratagems or the meditation of a lover, to such a night as Troilus might have chosen, for stealing a view of the Grecian camp from the ramparts of Troy.

And sigh'd his soul towards the Grecian tents
Where Cressid lay that night. [Act V. Sc. i.]

Among these poems is a short fragment of a translation into Alexandrines of Ovid's epistle from Penelope to Ulysses. [Fol 87.] This is the first attempt at a metrical translation of any part of Ovid into English, for Caxton's Ovid is a loose paraphrase in prose. Nor were the heroic epistles of Ovid translated into verse till the year 1582, by George Tuberville. It is a proof that the classics were studied, when they began to be translated.

It would be tedious and intricate to trace the particular imitations of the Italian poets, with which these anonymous poems abound. Two of the sonnets [fol 74.] are panegyrics on Petrarch and Laura, names at that time familiar to every polite reader, and the patterns of poetry and beauty. The sonnet on *The diverse and contrarie passions of the lover* [fol. 104], is formed on one of Petrarch's sonnets, and which, as I have remarked before, was translated by sir Thomas Wyat. So many of the nobility, and principal persons about the court, writing sonnets in the Italian style, is a circumstance which must have greatly contributed to circulate this mode of composition, and to encourage the study of the Italian poets. Beside lord Surrey, sir Thomas Wyat, lord Boleyn, lord Vaux, and sir Francis Bryan, already mentioned, Edmund lord Sheffield, created a baron by Edward VI., and killed by a butcher in the Norfolk insurrection, is said by Bale to have written sonnets in the Italian manner. [Tanner BIBL. p. 688. Dugd. BAR. iii. 386.]

I have been informed, that Henry lord Berners translated some of Petrarch's sonnets. [MSS. Oldys.] But this nobleman otherwise deserved notice here, for his prose works, which co-operated with the romantic genius and the gallantry of the age. He translated, and by the king's command, Froissart's chronicle, which was printed by Pinson in 1523. Some of his other translations are professed romances. He translated from the Spanish, by desire of the lady of sir Nicholas Carew, *THE CASTLE OF LOVE*. From the French he translated, at the request of the earl of Huntingdon, *SIR HUGH OF BOURDEAUX*,

which became exceedingly popular. And from the same language, THE HISTORY OF ARTHUR an Armorican knight. Bale says, [Cent. ix. p. 706.] that he wrote a comedy called *Ite in Vinean*, or the PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD, which was frequently acted at Calais, where lord Berners resided, after vespers¹. He died in 1532.

I have also been told, that the late lord Eglintoun had a genuine book of manuscript sonnets, written by Henry VIII. There is an old madrigal, set to music by William Bird, supposed to be written by Henry, when he first fell in love with Anne Boleyn². It begins,

The eagles force subdues eche byrde that flies,
What metal can resyste the flaming fyre?
Doth not the sunne dazle the clearest eyes,
And melt the yce, and makethe froste retyre?

It appears in Bird's PSALMES, SONGS, AND SONNETS, printed with musical notes, in 1611. [NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ, ii. 248.] Poetry and music are congenial; and it is certain, that Henry was skilled in musical composition. Erasmus attests, that he composed some church services [Hawkin's HIST. MUS. ii. 533]: and one of his anthems still continues to be performed in the choir of Christ-Church at Oxford, of his foundation. It is in an admirable style, and is for four voices. Henry, although a scholar, had little taste for the classical elegancies which now began to be known in England. His education seems to have been altogether theological: and, whether it best suited his taste or his interest, polemical divinity seems to have been his favorite science. He was a patron of learned men, when they humoured his vanities; and were wise enough, not to interrupt his pleasures, his convenience, or his ambition.

SECTION XL.

TO these SONGES and SONNETTS of UNCERTAIN AUCTOURS, in Tottell's edition are annexed SONGES WRITTEN BY N. G¹. By the initials N. G. we are to understand Nicholas Grimoald, a name which never appeared yet in the poetical biography of England. But I have before mentioned him incidentally. He was a native of Huntingdonshire, and received the first part of his academical institution at Christ's college in Cambridge. Removing to Oxford

¹ ATH. OXON. i. 33. It is not known, whether it was in Latin or English. Stowe says, that in 1528, at Greenwich, after a grand tournament and banquet, there was the 'most goodliest Disguising or Interlude in Latine, &c.' CHRON. p. 539. edit. fol. 1615. But possibly this may be Stowe's way of naming and describing a comedy of Plautus.

² I must not forget, that a song is ascribed to Anne Boleyn, but with little probability, called her COMPLAINT. Hawkins, HIST. MUS. iii. 32. v. 480.

³ They begin with fol. 113.

in the year 1542, he was elected fellow of Merton : but about 1547, having opened a rhetorical lecture in the refectory of Christ-church, then newly founded, he was transplanted to that society, which gave the greatest encouragement to such students as were distinguished for the proficiency in criticism and philology. The same year, he wrote a Latin tragedy, which probably was acted in the college, entitled *ARCHIPROPHETA, sive JOHANNES BAPTISTA, TRAGÆDIA*, That is, *The Arch-prophet, or Saint John Baptist*, a tragedy, and dedicated to the dean Richard Cox. [Printed, Colon. 1548, 8vo.] In the year 1548, he explained all the four books of Virgil's Georgics in a regular prose Latin paraphrase, in the public hall of his college. [Printed at London in 1591, 8vo.] He wrote also explanatory commentaries or lectures on the *Andria* of Terence, the *Epistles* of Horace, and many pieces of Cicero, perhaps for the same auditory. He translated Tully's *Offices* into English. This translation, which is dedicated to the learned Thirlby bishop of Ely, was printed at London, 1553. [Again, 1574.—1596] He also familiarised some of the purest Greek classics by English versions, which I believe were never printed. Among others was the *CYROPÆDIA*. Bale the biographer and bishop of Ossory, says, that he turned Chaucer's *TROILUS* into a play : but whether this piece was in Latin or English, we are still to seek : and the word *Comedia*, which Bale uses on this occasion, is without precision or distinction. The same may be said of what Bale calls his *FAME, a comedy*. Bale also recites his *System of Rhetoric* for the use of Englishmen¹, which seems to be the course of the rhetorical lectures I have mentioned. It is to be wished, that Bale, who appears to have been his friend², and therefore possessed the opportunities of information, had given us a more exact and full detail, at least of such of Grimoald's works as are now lost, or, if remaining, are unprinted³. Undoubtedly this is the same person, called by Strype *one Grimbold*, who was chaplain to bishop Ridley, and who was employed by that prelate, while in prison, to translate into English, Laurentio Valla's book against the fiction of Constantine's *DONATION*, with some other popular Latin pieces against the papists⁴. In the ecclesiastical history of Mary's reign, he appears to have been imprisoned for heresy, and to have saved his life, if not his credit, by a recantation. But theology does not seem to have been his talent, nor the glories of martyrdom to have made any part of his ambition. One of his plans, but which never took effect, was to print a new edition of Josephus Iscanus's poem on the *TROJAN WAR*, with emendations from the most correct manuscripts.

¹ *Rhetorica in usum Britannorum*,

² Bale cites his comment, or paraphrase on the first Eclogue of Virgil, addressed *ad Amicum Joannem Baleum*, viii. 99.

³ Titles of many others of his pieces may be seen in Bale, *ubi supr.*

⁴ Strype's *CRANMER*, B. iii. c. ii. p. 343. And GRINDAL, 8. Fox. edit. i. 1047. And Wood, *ATH. OXON.* i. 178.

I have taken more pains to introduce this Nicholas Grimoald to the reader's acquaintance, because he is the second English poet after lord Surrey, who wrote in blank-verse. Nor is it his only praise, that he was the first who followed in this new path of versification. To the style of blank-verse exhibited by Surrey, he added new strength, elegance, and modulation. In the disposition and conduct of his cadencies, he often approaches to the legitimate structure of the improved blank-verse : but we cannot suppose, that he is entirely free from those dissonancies and asperities, which still adhered to the general character and state of our diction.

In his poem on the DEATH OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO are these lines. The assassins of Cicero are said to relent,

—When

They his bare neck behelde, and his hore heares,
 Scant could they hold the teares that forth gan burst,
 And almost fell from bloody handes the swoordes.
 Onely the sterne Herennius, with grym looke;
 Dastardes, why stande ye still? he saith: and straight
 Swapt off the head with his presumptuous yrone.
 Ne with the slaughter yet is he not filled:
 Fowle shame on shame to hepe, is his delite.
 Wherefore the handes also he doth off-smyte,
 Which durst Antonius' life so lively paint.
 Him, yelding strained ghoste¹, from welkin hie
 With lothly chere lord Phebus gan beholde;
 And in black clowde, they say, long hid his hed.
 The Latine Muses, and the Grayes², they wept,
 And for his fall eternally shall wepe,
 And lo! hart-persing PITHO³, strange to tell,
 Who had suffisde to him both sence and wordes,
 When so he spake, and drest with nectar soote
 That flowyng tounge, when his windpipe disclosde,
 Fled with her fleeing friend⁴; and, out, alas!
 Hath left the earth, ne will no more returne.

Nor is this passage unsupported by a warmth of imagination, and the spirit of pathetic poetry. The general cast of the whole poem shows, that our author was not ill qualified for dramatic composition.

Another of Grimoald's blank-verse poems, is on the death of Zoroas an Egyptian astronomer, who was killed in Alexander's first battle with the Persians. It was opened with this nervous and animated exordium.

Now clattering armes, now ragyng broyls of warre,
 Gan passe the noyes of dredfull trumpets clang⁵

¹ His constrained spirit.

² Peitho, the goddess of persuasion.

³ The reader must recollect Shakespeare's,

⁴ *Graia*. Greek.

⁵ Fol. 117.

Shrowded with shafts the heaven, with clowd of darts
 Covered the ayre. Against full-fatted bulls
 As forceth kindled yre the lyons keene,
 Whose greedy gutts the gnawing hunger pricks,
 So Macedonians' gainst the Persians fare. [Fol. 115.]

In the midst of the tumult and hurry of the battle, appears the sage philosopher Zoroas : a classical and elegant description of whose skill in natural science, forms a pleasing contrast amidst images of death and destruction ; and is inserted with great propriety, as it is necessary to introduce the history of his catastrophe.

Shakyng her bloody hands Bellone, among
 The Perses, sowth all kynde of cruel deth.—
 Him smites the club ; him wounds far-strikyng bow ;
 And him the slyng, and him the shining sword.—
 Right over stood, in snow-white armour brave¹,
 The Memphite Zoroas, a cunning clarke,
 To whom the heaven lay open as his boke
 And in celestiall bodies he could tell
 The moving, meting, light, aspect, eclips.
 And influence, and constellacions all.
 What earthly chances would betide : what yere
 Of plenty² stord : what signe forwarned derth :
 How winter gendreth snow : what temperature
 In the prime tide³ doth season well the soyl.
 Why sommer burnes : why autumn hath ripe grapes :
 Whether the circle quadrate may become :
 Whether our tunes heavens harmony can yeld⁴ :—
 What star doth let⁵ the hurtfull fire⁶ to rage,
 Or him more milde what opposition makes :
 What fire doth qualify Mavorses⁷ fire, &c.

Our astronomer, finding by the stars that he is destined to die speedily, chuses to be killed by the hand of Alexander, whom he endeavours to irritate to an attack, first by throwing darts, and then by reproachful speeches.

— — — Shameful stain
 Of mothers bed ! Why loseth thou thy strokes
 Cowards among ? Turne thee to me, in case
 Manhode there be so much left in thy hart :
 Come, fight with me, that on my helmet weare
 Apolloes laurel, both for learnings laude,
 And eke for martial praise : that in my shielde
 The sevenfold sophie of Minerve contain.
 A match more mete, sir king, than any here.

Alexander is for a while unwilling to revenge this insult on a man eminent for wisdom.

¹ Brave, is richly decked.

² With plenty.

³ Spring. *Printemps.*

⁴ Whether any music made by man can resemble that of the Spheres.

⁵ Hinder

⁶ Saturn.

⁷ Of Mavors, or the planet Mars.

The noble prince amoved takes ruthe upon
 The wilful wight ; and with soft wordes, ayen :
 O monstrous man, quoth he, What so thou art !
 I pray thee live, ne do not with thy death
 This lodge of lore¹, the Muses mansion mar,
 That treasure-house this hand shall never spoyl.
 My sword shall never bruse that skilfull braine,
 Long-gathered heapes of Science sone to spill.
 O how faire frutes may you to mortal man
 From WISDOM'S garden give ! How many may,
 By you, the wiser and the better prove !
 What error, what mad moode, what frensy, thee
 Perswades, to be downe sent to depe Avene,
 Where no arts flourish, nor no knowledge 'vails
 For all these sawes² ? When thus the sovereign sayd,
 Alighted Zoroas, &c. [Fol. 115, 116.]

I have a suspicion, that these two pieces in blank verse, if not fragments of larger works, were finished in their present state, as prologues, or illustrative practical specimens, for our author's course of lectures in rhetoric. In that case, they were written so early as the year 1547. There is positive proof, that they appeared not later than 1557, when they were first printed by Tottell.

I have already mentioned lord Surrey's Virgil : and for the sake of juxtaposition, will here produce a third specimen of early blank-verse, little known. In the year 1590, William Vallans published a blank-verse poem, entitled, A TALE OF TWO SWANNES, which, under a poetic fiction, describes the situation and antiquities of several towns in Hertfordshire. The author, a native or inhabitant of Hertfordshire, seems to have been connected with Camden and other ingenious antiquaries of his age. I cite the exordium.

When Nature, nurse of every living thing,
 Had clad her charge in brave and new array ;
 The hills rejoist to see themselves so fine :
 The fields and woods grew proud thereof also :
 The meadowes with their partie-colour'd coates,
 Like to the rainebow in the azurd skie,
 Gave just occasion to the cheerfull birdes
 With sweetest note to singe their nurse's praise.
 Among the which, the merrie nightingale
 With swete and swete, her breast against a thorne,
 Ringes out all night, &c.³

Vallans is probably the author of a piece much better known, a history, by many held to be a romance, but which proves the writer a

¹ His head.

² Lessons of wisdom.

³ London, Printed by Roger Ward for Robert Sheldrake, MDXC. 4to. 3. Sheets. He mentions most of the Seats in Hertfordshire then existing, belonging to the queen and the nobility. Hearne's LEL. ITIN. V. Pr. p. iv. seq. ed. 2.

diligent searcher into ancient records, entitled, 'The HONOURABLE PRENTICE, Shewed in the Life and Death of Sir JOHN HAWKEWOOD sometime Prentice of London, interlaced with the famous History of the noble FITZWALTER Lord of Woodham in Essex¹, and of the poisoning of his faire daughter. Also of the merry Customes of DUNMOWE, &c. Whereunto is annexed the most lamentable murther of Robert Hall at the High Altar in Westminster Abbey².'

The reader will observe, that what has been here said about early specimens of blank-verse, is to be restrained to poems not written for the stage. Long before Vallans's TWO SWANNES, many theatrical pieces in blank-verse had appeared; the first of which is, The TRAGEDY OF GORDOBUCKE, written in 1561. The second is George Gascoigne's JOCASTA, a tragedy, acted at Grays-inn, in 1566. George Peele had also published his tragedy in blank-verse of DAVID and BETHSABE, about the year 1579³. HIERONYMO, a tragedy also without rhyme, was acted before 1590. But this point, which is here only transiently mentioned, will be more fully considered hereafter, in its proper place. We will now return to our author Grimoald.

Grimoald, as a writer of verses in rhyme, yields to none of his contemporaries, for a masterly choice of chaste expression, and the concise elegancies of didactic versification. Some of the couplets, in his poem, IN PRAISE OF MODERATION, have all the smartness which marks the modern style of sententious poetry, and would have done honour to Pope's ethic epistles.

The auncient Time commended not for nought
The Mean. What better thing can there be sought?
In meane is virtue placed: on either side,
Both right and left, amisse a man may slide.
Icar, with sire⁴ hadst thou the midway flown,
Icarian beak⁵ by name no man known.
If middle path kept had proud Phaeton,
No burning brande this earth had false upon.
Ne cruel power, ne none too soft can raig:
That kepes⁶ a meane, the same shal stil remain.
Thee, Julie⁷, once did too much mercy spill:
Thee, Nero sterne, rigor exreme did kill.
How could August⁸ so many yeres wel passe?
Nor overmeke, nor overfierce, he was.
Worship not Jove with curious fancies vain,
Nor him despise: hold right atween these twain.

¹ The founder of Dunmowe Priory, afterwards mentioned, in the reign of Henry III.

² There are two old editions, at London, in 1615, and 1616, both for Henry Gesson, in 5 sh. 4to. They have only the author's initials W. V. Hearne, ut modo supr. iii. p. v. ii. p. xvi.

³ Shakespeare did not begin writing for the stage till 1591. Jonson, about 1592.

⁴ Icarus, with thy father.

⁵ Strait. Sea.

⁶ That which.

⁷ Julius Cesar.

⁸ Augustus Cesar.

No wastefull wight, no greedy groom is praizd :
 Stands Largesse just in equal ballance praizd. [Poised]
 So Catoes meat surmountes Antonius chere,
 And better fame his sober fare hath here.
 Too slender building bad, as bad too grosse : [Massy]
 One an eye sore, the other falls to losse.
 As medcines help in measure, so, god wot.
 By overmuch the sick their bane have got.
 Unmete, mesemes, to utter this mo waies ;
 Measure forbids unmeasurablepraise. [Fol. 113.]

The maxim is enforced with great quickness and variety of illustration : nor is the collision of opposite thoughts, which the subject so naturally affords, extravagantly pursued, or indulged beyond the bounds of good sense and propriety. The following stanzas on the NINE MUSES are more poetical, and not less correct. [Fol. 113.]

Imps [daughters] of king JOVE and queen REMEMBRANCE, lo,
 The sisters nyne, the poets pleasant feres, [companions
 Calliope doth stately stile below,
 And worthy praises paintes of princely peres.

Clion in solem songs reneweth all day,
 With present yeres conjoining age bypast.
 Delightful talke loues comicall Thaley ;
 In fresh grene youth who doth like lawrell last.

With voyces tragicall soundes Melpomen,
 And, as with cheins, thallured eare she bindes.
 Her stringes when Terpsechor doth touche, euen then
 She toucheth hartes, and raigneth in mens mindes.

Fine Erato, whose looke a liuely chere
 Presents, in dauncing keeps a comely grace.
 With semely gesture doth Polymnie sterc,
 Whose wordes whole routes of ranks do rule in place.

Uranie, her globes to view all bent,
 The ninefold heauen obserues with fixed face.
 The blastes Euterpe tunes of instrument,
 With solace sweete, hence heauie dumps to chase.

Lord Phebus in the mids, (whose heauenly sprite
 These ladies doth inspire) embraceth all.
 The graces in the Muses weed, delite
 To lead them forth, that men in maze they fall.

It would be unpardonable to dismiss this valuable miscellany, without acknowledging our obligations to its original editor Richard Tottell : who deserves highly of English literature, for having collected at a critical period, and preserved in a printed volume, so many admirable specimens of ancient genius, which would have mouldered in MSS. or perhaps from their detached and fugitive state of existence, their want of length, the capriciousness of taste, the general depreda-

tions of time, inattention, and other accidents, would never have reached the present age. It seems to have given birth to two favorite and celebrated collections of the same kind, *THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVISES*, and *ENGLAND'S HELICON*, which appeared in the reign of queen Elizabeth¹.

SECTION XLI.

It will not be supposed, that all the poets of the reign of Henry VIII. were educated in the school of Petrarch. The graces of the Italian muse, which had been taught by Surrey and Wyat, were confined to a few. Nor were the beauties of the classics yet become general objects of imitation. There are many writers of this period who still rhymed on, in the old prosaic track of their immediate predecessors, and never ventured to deviate into the modern improvements. The strain of romantic fiction was lost : in the place of which, they did not substitute the elegancies newly introduced.

I shall consider together, yet without an exact observation of chronological order, the poets of the reign of Henry VIII. who form this subordinate class, and who do not bear any mark of the character of the poetry which distinguishes this period. Yet some of these have their degree of merit ; and, if they had not necessarily claimed a place in our series, deserve examination.

Andrew Borde, who writes himself *ANDREAS PERFORATUS*, with about as much propriety and as little pedantry as Buchanan calls one *Wisehart SOPHOCARDIUS*, was educated at Winchester and Oxford² ; and is said, I believe, on very slender proof, to have been physician to king Henry VIII. His *BREVIARY OF HEALTH*, first printed in 1547³, is dedicated to the college of physicians, into which he had been incorporated. The first book of this treatise

¹ The reader will observe, that I have followed the paging and arrangement of Tottell's second edition in 1565. 12mo. In his edition of 1557, there is much confusion. A poem is there given to Grimoald, on the death of Lady Margaret Lee, in 1555. Also among Grimoald's is a poem on Sir James Wilford, mentioned above, who appears to have fought under Henry VIII. in the wars of France and Scotland. This edn. of 1557, is not in quarto, as I have called it by an oversight, but in small duodecimo, and only with signatures. It is not mentioned by Ames, and I have seen it only among Tanner's printed books at Oxford. It has this colophon. 'Imprinted at London in Flete strete within Temple barre, at the sygne 'of the hand and starre by' Richard Tottel, the fiftē day of June. An. 1557. *Cum privilegio 'ad imprimendum solum.'*

² See his *INTRODUCTION TO KNOWLEDGE*.

³ 'Compyled by Andrewe Boorde of Physicke Doctoure an Englysshe man.' It was reprinted by William Powell in 1552, and again in 1557. There was an impression by T. East, 1587. 4to. Others also in 1548, and 1575, which I have never seen. The latest is by East in 1598, 4to.

is said to have been examined and approved by the University of Oxford in 1546¹. He chiefly practiced in Hampshire; and being popishly affected, was censured by Poynt, a Calvinistic bishop of Winchester, for keeping three prostitutes in his house, which he proved to be his patients². He appears to have been a man of great superstition, and of a weak and whimsical head: and having been once a Carthusian, continued ever afterwards to profess celibacy, to drink water, and to wear a shirt of hair. His thirst of knowledge, dislike of the reformation, or rather his unsettled disposition, led him abroad into various parts of Europe, which he visited in the medical character. Wood says, that he was 'esteemed a noted poet, a witty and ingenious person, and an excellent physician.' Hearne, who has plainly discovered the origin of Tom Thumb, is of opinion, that this facetious practitioner in physic gave rise to the name of MERRY ANDREW, the Fool on the mountebank's stage. The reader will not perhaps be displeased to see that antiquary's reasons for this conjecture: which are at the same time a vindication of Borde's character, afford some new anecdotes of his life, and shew that a Merry Andrew may be a scholar and an ingenious man. 'It is observable, that the author [Borde] was as fond of the word *DOLENTYD*, as of many other hard and uncooth words, as any Quack can be. He begins his *BREVIARY OF HEALTH*, *Egregious doctours and Maysters of the eximious and archane science of Physicke, of your urbanite exasperate not your selve, &c.* But notwithstanding this, will any one from hence infer or assert, that the author was 'either a *pedant* or a *superficial* scholar? I think, *upon due consideration*, he will judge the contrary. Dr. Borde was an *ingenious* man, and knew how to humour and please his patients, readers, and auditors. In his travells and visits, he often appeared and spoke in public: and would often frequent markets and fairs where a conflux of people used to get together, to whom he prescribed: and to induce them to flock thither the more readily, he would make *humorous* speeches, couched in such language as *caused mirth*, and *wonderfully* propagated his fame: and 'twas for the same end that he made use of such expressions in his Books, as would otherwise (the *circumstances* not considered) be very justly pronounced *bombast*. As he was *versed in antiquity*, he had words at command from old writers with which to amuse his hearers, which could not fail of *pleasing*, provided he added at the same time some *remarkable explication*. For instance, if he told them that *Δακδης* was an old brass medal among the Greeks, the *oddness* of the word, would, *without doubt*, gain *attention*; tho nothing

¹ At the end of which is this Note. 'Here endeth the first booke Examined in Oxforde in the yere of our Lorde MCCCCXLVI, &c.'

² See *Against Martin*, &c. p. 48.

'near so much, as if *withall* he *signified*, that 'twas a brass medal a *little bigger* than an Obolus, that used to be put in the mouths of persons that were dead. ———And *withall*, 'twould *affect them the more*, if when he spoke of such a brass medal, he signified to them, that brass was in old time looked upon as *more honourable than other metals*, which he might *safely enough do*, from *Homer* and his *scholiast*. Homer's words are, &c. A passage, which *without doubt* HIERONYMUS MAGIUS would have taken notice of in chapter xiv. of his Book DE TINTINNABULIS, had it occurred to his memory when in prison he was writing, without the help of books before him, *that curious Discourse*. 'Twas from the Doctor's method of using such speeches at markets and fairs, that in *aftertimes*, those that imitated the like *humorous, jocose* language, were styled MERRY ANDREWS, a term *much in vogue* on our stages.¹

He is supposed to have compiled or composed the MERRY TALES of the mad man of Gotham, which, as were told by Wood, 'in the reign of Henry VIII., and after, was accounted a book full of wit and mirth by scholars and gentlemen.'² This piece, which probably was not without its temporary ridicule, and which yet maintains a popularity in the nursery, was, I think, first printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Hearne was of opinion, that these idle pranks of the men of Gotham, a town in Lincolnshire, bore a reference to some customary law-tenures belonging to that place or its neighbourhood, now grown obsolete; and that Blount might have enriched his book on ANCIENT TENURES with these ludicrous stories. He is speaking of the political design of REYNARD THE FOX, printed by Caxton. It was an *admirable Thing*. And the design, being political, and to represent a wise government, was equally good. So little reason is there to look upon this as a *poor despicable* book. Nor is there more reason to esteem THE MERRY TALES OF THE MAD MEN OF GOTHAM (which was much *valued* and *cried up* in Henry VIII. time, tho now sold at ballad-singers stalls) as *altogether a romance*: a certain *skill-full* person having told me more than once, that he was *assured by one of Gotham*, that they formerly held lands there, by such Sports and Customs as are touched upon in this book. For which reason, I think particular notice should have been taken of it in Blount's TENURES, as I do not doubt but there would, had that *otherwise curious* author been apprised of the *matter*. But 'tis *strange* to see the changes that have been made in the book of REYNARD THE FOX, 'from the original editions'³!

¹ Hearne's BENEDICT. ABB. Tom. i. PRÆFAT. p. 50. edit. Oxon. 1735.

² ATH. OXON. i. 74. There is an edition in 12mo. by Henry Wilkes, without date, but about 1568, entitled, MERIE TALES of the madmen of Gotam, gathered together by A. B. of physicke doctour. The oldest I have seen, is London, 1630, 12mo.

³ Hearne's NOT. ET. SPICILEG. ad Gul. Neubrig. vol. iii. p. 744. Also Hearne's BENEDICT. ABB. ut supr. p. 54.

Borde's chief poetical work is entitled, 'The first Boke of the INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE, the which doth teach a man to speake 'part of al maner of languages, and to knowe the usage and fashion of 'al maner of cuntryes : and for to knowe the most parte of al maner of 'coynes of money, the whych is currant in every region. Made by 'Andrew Borde of phisyk doctor.' It was printed by the Coplands, and is dedicated to the king's daughter the princess Mary. The dedication is dated from Montpelier, in the year 1542. The book, containing twenty-nine chapters, is partly in verse and partly in prose ; with wooden cuts prefixed to each chapter. The first is a satire, as it appears, on the fickle nature of an Englishman : the symbolical print prefixed to this chapter, exhibiting a naked man, with a pair of shears in one hand and a roll of cloth in the other, not determined what sort of a coat he shall order to be made, has more humour, than any of the verses which follow¹. Nor is the poetry destitute of humour only ; but of every embellishment, both of metrical arrangement and of expression. Borde has all the baldness of allusion, and barbarity of versification, belonging to Skelton, without his strokes of satire and severity. The following lines, part of the Englishman's speech, will not prejudice the reader in his favour.

What do I care, if all the world me faile ?
 I will have a garment reach to my taile.
 Then am I a minion, for I wear the new guise,
 The next yeare after I hope to be wise,
 Not only in wearing my gorgeous aray,
 For I will go to learning a whole summers day.

In chapter VII. he gives a fantastic account of his travels², and owns, that his meter deserves no higher appellation than *ryme dogrell*. But this delineation of the fickle Englishman is perhaps to be restricted to the circumstances of the author's age, without a respect to the national character : and, as Borde was a rigid catholic, there is a probability, notwithstanding in other places he treats of natural dispositions, that a satire is designed on the laxity of principle, and revolutions of opinion, which prevailed at the reformation, and the easy compliance of many of his changeable countrymen with their new religion for lucrative purposes.

I transcribe the character of the Welshman, chiefly because he speaks of his harp.

¹ Harrison, in his *Description of England*, having mentioned this work by Borde, adds, 'Suche is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none [equal] to the *Spanish* guise, to morrow 'the *French* toies are most fine and delectable, yer [ere] long no such apparel as that which 'is after the *Almaine* fashion : by and by the Turkish maner otherwise the *Morisco* gowns, the *Barbarian* sleeves, the mandilion worne to Collie Weston word, and the shorte *French* breeches, &c.' B. ii. ch. 9. p. 172.

² Prefixed to which, is a woodcut of the author Borde, standing in a sort of pew or stall, under a canopy, habited in an academical gown, a laurel-crown on his head, with a book before him on a desk.

I am a Welshman, and do dwel in Wales,
 I have loved to serche budgets, and looke in males :
 I love not to labour, to delve, nor to dyg,
 My fyngers be lymed lyke a lyme-twyg.
 And wherby ryches I do not greatly set,
 Syth all hys [is] fysshe that cometh to the net.
 I am a gentylman, and come of Brutes blood,
 My name is ap Ryce, ap Davy, ap Flood :
 I love our Lady, for I am of hyr kynne,
 He that doth not love her, I beshrewe his chynne.
 My kyndred is ap Hobby, ap Jenkin, ap Goffe.
 Bycause I go barelegged, I do catch the coffe.
 Bycause I do go barelegged it is not for pryde.
 I have a gray cote, my body for to hyde.
 I do love *cawse boby*¹, good rosted cheese,
 And swysshe metheglyn I loke for my fees.
 And yf I have my HARPE, I care for no more,
 It is my treasure, I kepe it in store.
 For my harpe is made of a good mare's skhy,
 The strynges be of horse heare, it maketh a good dyn.
 My songe, and my voyce, and my harpe doth agree,
 Much lyke the bussing of an homble bee :
 Yet in my country I do make pastyme
 In tellyng of prophyes which be not in ryme².

I have before mentioned 'A ryght pleasant and merry History
 'of the MYLNER OF ABINGTON³, with his wife and his faire daughter,
 'and of two poor scholars of Cambridge,' a meagre epitome of
 Chaucer's MILLER'S TALE. In a blank leaf of the Bodleian copy, this
 tale is said by Thomas Newton of Cheshire, an elegant Latin epi-
 grammatist of the reign of queen Elizabeth, to have been written by
 Borde. He is also supposed to have published a collection of silly
 stories called SCOGIN'S JESTS, 60 in number. Perhaps Shakespeare
 took his idea from this jest-book, that Scogan was a mere buffoon,
 where he says that Falstaffe, as a juvenile exploit, 'broke Scogan's
 'head at the court-gate⁴. Nor have we any better authority, than
 this publication by Borde, that Scogan was a graduate in the uni-
 versity, and a jester to a king⁵. Hearne, at the end of Benedictus

¹ That is, *toasted cheese*, next mentioned.

² Ch. ii. In the prose description of Wales he says, there are many beautiful and strong castels standing yet. 'The castels and the cowntre of Wales, and the people of Wales, be much lyke to the castels and the cuntry of the people of Castyle and Biscayn.' In describing Gascony, he says, that at Bordeaux, 'in the cathedrall church of Saint Andrews, 'is the fairest and the greatest payre of orgyns [organs] in al Chrystendome, in the which 'orgins be many instrumentes and vyces [devices] as gians [giants] heads and starres, the 'which doth move and wagge with their jawes and eis [eyes] as fast as the player playeth.' ch. xxiii.

³ A village near Cambridge.

⁴ P. Hen. iv. Act. iii. Sc. ii.

⁵ It is hard to say whence Jonson got his account of Scogan, MASQUE OF THE FORTUNATE ISLES, vol. iv. p. 192.

Merefool. Skogan? What was he?
Johphiel. O, a fine gentleman, and a Master of Arts

Abbas, has printed Borde's ITINERARY, as it may be called ; which is little more than a string of names, but is quoted by Norden in his SPECULUM BRITANNIÆ¹. Borde's circulatory peregrinations, in the quality of a quack-doctor, might have furnished more ample materials for an English topography. Beside the BREVIARY OF HEALTH, mentioned above, and which was approved by the university of Oxford, Borde has left the DIETARIE OF HEALTH, reprinted in 1576, the PROMPTUARIE OF MEDICINE, the DOCTRINE OF URINES, and the PRINCIPLES OF ASTRONOMICAL PROGNOSTICATIONS² : which are proofs of attention to his profession, and shew that he could sometimes be serious³. But Borde's name would not have been now remembered, had he wrote only profound systems in medicine and astronomy. He is known to posterity as a buffoon, not as a philosopher. Yet, I think, some of his astronomical tracts have been epitomised and bound up with Erra Pater's Almanacs.

Of Borde's numerous books, the only one that can afford any degree of entertainment to the modern reader, is the DIETARIE OF HELTHE ; where, giving directions as a physician, concerning the choice of houses, diet, and apparel, and not suspecting how little he should instruct, and how much he might amuse, a curious posterity, he has preserved many anecdotes of the private life, customs, and arts, of our ancestors⁴. This work is dedicated to Thomas duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer under Henry VIII. In the dedication, he speaks of his being called in as a physician to sir John Drury, the year when cardinal Wolsey was promoted to York ; but that he did not chuse to prescribe

Of Henry the Fourth's time, that made disguises
For the king's sones, and writ in balad-royal
Daintily well.

Merefoot. But wrote he like a gentleman ?

Johphiel. In rhyme, fine tinkling rhyme, and flow and verse,
With now and then some sense ; and he was paid for 't,
Regarded and rewarded, which few poets
Are now adays.—

Tyrwhitt's CHAUCER, vol. v. AN ACCOUNT, &c. p. xx. And compare what I have said of Scogan, before Drayton, in the Preface to his ELOGUES, says, 'the COLIN CLOUT OF SKOGGAN under Henry VII. is pretty.' He must mean Skelton.

¹ P. 13. MIDDLESEX. i. P.

² *The Principles of Astronomie the whiche diligently perscrutyd is in a maner a prognosticacyon to the worldes ende.* In 13 chapters. For R. Copland, without date, 12mo. It is among bishop More's collection at Cambridge, with some other of Borde's books.

³ Ames, HIST. PRINT. p. 152. Pits. p. 735.

⁴ In his rules for building or planning a House, he supposes a quadrangle. The Gatehouse, or Tower, to be exactly opposite to the Portico of the Hall. The Privy Chamber to be annexed to the Chamber of State. A Parlour joining to the Buttery and Pantry at the lower end of the Hall. The Pastry-house and Larder annexed to the Kitchen. Many of the chambers to have a view into the Chapel. In the outer quadrangle to be a stable, but only for *horses of pleasure*. The stables, dairy, and slaughter-house, to be a quarter of a mile from the house. The Moat to have a spring falling into it, and to be often scowered. An Orchard of *sundry fruits* is convenient : but he rather recommends a Garden filled with aromatic herbs. In the Garden a Pool or two, for fish. A Park filled with deer and conies. 'A Dove-house also is a necessary thyng about a mansyon-house. And, among other thynges, a *Payre of Buttes* is a decent thyng about a manysion. And otherwise, for 'a great man necessary it is for to passe his tyme with bowles in an aly, when al this is finished, and the mansyon replenished with implements.' Ch. iv, Sign. C. ii. Dedication dated 1542.

without consulting doctor Buttes, the king's physician. He apologises to the duke, for not writing in the *ornate* phraseology now generally affected. He also hopes to be excused, for using in his writings so many *wordes of mirth*: but this, he says, was only to make *your grace merrie*, and because mirth has ever been esteemed the best medicine. Borde must have had no small share of vanity, who could think thus highly of his own pleasantry. And to what a degree of taste and refinement must our ancient dukes and lords treasurers have arrived, who could be exhilarated by the witticisms and the lively language of this facetious philosopher?

John Bale, a tolerable Latin classic, and an eminent biographer, before his conversion from popery, and his advancement to the bishoprick of Ossory by king Edward VI., composed many scriptural interludes, chiefly from incidents of the New Testament. They are, the Life of St. John the Baptist, written in 1558. Christ in his twelfth year. Baptism and Temptation. The Resurrection of Lazarus. The Council of the High-priests. Simon the Leper. Our Lord's Supper, and the Washing of the feet of his Disciples. Christ's Burial and Resurrection. The Passion of Christ. The *Comedie* of the three Laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomites, Pharisees, and Papists, printed by Nicholas Bamburgh in 1538: and so popular, that it was reprinted by Colwell in 1562¹. God's Promises to Man². Our author, in his *Vocacyon to the Bishoprick of Ossory*, informs us, that his COMEDY of John the Baptist, and his TRAGEDY of God's Promises, were acted by the youths upon a Sunday, at the market cross of Kilkenny³. What shall we think of the state, I will not say of the stage, but of common sense, when these deplorable dramas could be endured? Of an age, when the Bible was profaned and ridiculed from a principle of piety? But the fashion of acting mysteries appears to have expired with this writer. He is said; by himself, to have written a book of Hymns, and another of jests and tales: and to have translated the tragedy of PAMMACHIUS⁴; the same perhaps which was acted at Christ's college in Cambridge in 1544, and afterwards laid before the privy council as a libel on the reformation⁵. A low vein of abusive burlesque, which had more virulence than humour, seems to have been one of Bale's talents: two of his pamphlets against the papists, all of whom he considered as monks, are entitled the MASS OF THE GLUTTONS, and the ALCORAN OF THE PRELATES. Next to exposing the impostures of popery, literary history was his favorite pursuit: and his most celebrated performance is his account of the

¹ Both in quarto. At the end is *A Song of Benedictus*, compiled by Johan Bale.

² This was written in 1538. And first printed under the name of a TRAGEDIE OF ENTERLUDE, by Charlewood, 1577. 4to.

³ Fol. 24.

⁴ CENT. viii. 100. p. 702. And Verheiden, p. 149.

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 377. Bale says, 'Pammachii tragœdias transtuli.'

British writers. But this work, perhaps originally undertaken by Bale as a vehicle of his sentiments in religion, is not only full of misrepresentations and partialities, arising from his religious prejudices, but of general inaccuracies, proceeding from negligence or misinformation. Even those more ancient Lives which he transcribes from Leland's commentary on the same subject, are often interpolated with false facts, and impertinently marked with a misapplied zeal for reformation. He is angry with many authors, who flourished before the thirteenth century, for being catholics. He tells us, that lord Cromwell frequently screened him from the fury of the more bigoted bishops, on account of the comedies he had published¹. But whether plays in particular, or other compositions, are here to be understood by comedies, is uncertain.

Brian Anslay, or Annesley, yeoman of the wine cellar to Henry VIII. about the year 1520, translated a popular French poem into English rhymes, at the exhortation of the *gentle earl* of Kent, called the CITIE OF DAMES, in three books. It was printed in 1521, by Henry Pepwell, whose prologue prefixed begins with these unpromising lines,

So now of late came into my custode
This forseide book, by Brian Anslay,
Yeoman of the seller with the eight king Henry.

Another translator of French into English, much about the same time, is Andrew Chertsey. In the year 1520, Wynkyn de Worde printed a book with this title, partly in prose and partly in verse, *Here foloweth the passyon of our lord Jesu Crist translated out of French into Englysch by Andrew Chertsey gentleman the yere of our lord MDXX*. I will give two stanzas of Robert Copland's prologue, as it records the diligence, and some other performances, of this very obscure writer.

The godly use of prudent-wytted men
Cannot absteyn theyr auntyent exercise.
Reorde of late how besiley with his pen
The translator of the sayd treatyse
Hath him indevered, in most godly wyse,
Bokes to translate, in volumes large and fayre,
From French in prose, of goostly exemplaيرة.

As is, the *floure of Gods commaundements*,
A treatyse also called *Lucydarye*,
With two other of the *seuyn sacraments*,
One of *cristen men the ordinary*,
The seconde *the craft to lyve well and to dye*.
With dyvers other to mannes lyfe profytable,
A vertuose use and ryght commendable.

The *Floure of God's Commaundements* was printed by Wynkyn de

¹ Ob editas COMÆDIAS. Ubi supr.

Worde, in folio, in 1521. A print of the author's arms, with the name CHERTSEY, is added. The *Lucydayre* is translated from a favorite old French poem called *Li Lusidaire*. This is a translation of the ELUCIDARIUM, a large work in dialogue, containing the sum of christian theology, by some attributed to Anselm archbishop of Canterbury in the twelfth century¹. Chertsey's other versions, mentioned in Copland's prologue, are from old French manuals of devotion, now equally forgotten. Such has been the fate of volumes *jayre and large*! Some of these versions have been given to George Ashby, clerk of the signet to Margaret queen of Henry VI., who wrote a moral poem for the use of their son prince Edward, on the *Active policy of a prince*, finished in the author's eightieth year. The prologue begins with a compliment to 'Maisters Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate,' a proof of the estimation which that celebrated triumvirate still continued to maintain. I believe it was never printed. But a copy, with a mutilation at the end, remains among bishop More's MSS. at Cambridge².

In the dispersed library of the late Mr. William Collins, I saw a thin folio of two sheets in black letter, containing a poem in the octave stanza, entitled, FABYL'S GHOSTE, printed by John Rastell in the year 1533. The piece is of no merit; and I should not perhaps have mentioned it, but as the subject serves to throw light on our early drama. Peter Fabell, whose apparition speaks in this poem, was called the *Merrie Devil of Edmonton*, near London. He lived in the reign of Henry VII., and was buried in the church of Edmonton. Weever, in his ANCIENT FUNERAL MONUMENTS, published in 1631, says under Edmonton, that in the church 'lieth interred under a seemlie tombe 'without inscription, the body of Peter Fabell, as the report goes, upon 'whom this fable was fathered, that he by his wittie devises beguiled 'the devill. Belike he was some ingenious-conceited gentleman, who 'did use some sleighte trickes for his own disportes. He lived and 'died in the reigne of Henry VII., saith the booke of his merry 'Pranks.' [Page 534.] The book of Fabell's *Merry Pranks* I have never seen. But there is an old anonymous comedy, written in the reign of James I., which took its rise from this merry magician. It was printed in 1617, and is called the MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON, as it hath been sundry times acted by his majesties servants at the Globe on the Bank-side. [In qto. Lond.] In the Prologue, Fabell is introduced, reciting his own history.

Tis Peter Fabell a renowned scholler,
Whose fame hath still beene hitherto forgot
By all the writers of this latter age.
In Middle-sex his birth, and his aboade,

¹ Wynkyn de Worde printed, *Here begynneth a lytell treatyse called the Lyncydarye* With wooden cuts. No date. In quarto.

² MSS. MORE, 402. It begins, 'Right and myghty prince and my ryght good lorde.'

Not full seauen mile from this great famous city:
 That, for his fame in slights and magicke won,
 Was cald the Merry Fiend of Edmonton.
 If any heere make doubt of such a name,
 In Edmonton yet fresh vnto this day,
 Fixt in the wall of that old ancient church
 His monument remaineth to be seene:
 His memory yet in the mouths of men,
 That whilst he liu'd he could deceiue the deuill.
 Imagine now, that whilst he is retirde,
 From Cambridge backe vnto his natiue home,
 Suppose the silent sable visage night,
 Casts her blacke curtaine ouer all the world,
 And whilst he sleepes within his silent bed,
 Toyld with the studies of the passed day:
 The very time and howre wherein that spirite
 That many yeares attended his command;
 And oftentimes 'twixt Cambridge and that towne,
 Had in a minute borne him through the ayre,
 By composition 'twixt the fiend and him,
 Comes now to claime the scholler for his due.
 Behold him here laid on his restlesse couch,
 His fatall chime prepared at his head,
 His chamber guarded with these sable flights,
 And by him stands that necromanticke chaire,
 In which he makes his direful inuocations,
 And binds the fiends that shall obey his will.
 Sit with a pleased eye vntill you know
 The commicke end of our sad tragique show.

The play is without absurdities, and the author was evidently an attentive reader of Shakespeare. It has nothing, except the machine of the chime, in common with FAYLL'S GHOSTE. Fabell is mentioned in our chronicle-histories, and from his dealings with the devil, was commonly supposed to be a friar¹.

In the year 1537, Wilfrid Holme, a gentleman of Huntington in Yorkshire, wrote a poem called *The Fall and evil Success of Rebellion*. It is a dialogue between England and the author, on the commotions raised in the northern counties on account of the reformation in 1537, under Cromwell's administration. It was printed at London in 1573. Alliteration is here carried to the most ridiculous excess: and from the constraint of adhering inviolably to an identity of initials, from an affectation of coining prolix words from the Latin, and from a total ignorance of prosodical harmony, the author has produced one of the most obscure, rough, and unpleasing pieces of versification in our language. He seems to have been a disciple of Skelton. The poem, probably from its political reference, is mentioned by Hollinshed.

¹ See also Norden's SPECULUM BRITANNIE, written in 1596. MIDDLESEX, p. 18. And Fuller's WORTHIES, MIDDLESEX, p. 186. edit. fol. 1662.

[Chron. iii. p. 978.] Bale, who overlooks the author's poetry in his piety, thinks that he has learnedly and perspicuously discussed the absurdities of popery. [ix. 22.]

One Charles Bansley, about the year 1540, wrote a rhyming satire on the pride and vices of women *now a days*. I know not if the first line will tempt the reader to see more.

'Bo peep, what have we spied !'

It was printed in quarto by Thomas Rainolde; but I do not find it among Ames's books of that printer, whose last piece is dated 1555. Of equal reputation is Christopher Goodwin, who wrote the MAYDEN'S DREME, a vision without imagination, printed in 1542¹, and THE CHANCE OF THE DOLORUS LOVER, a lamentable story without pathos, printed in 1520². With these two may be ranked, Richard Feylde, or, Field, author of a poem printed in quarto by Wynkyn de Worde called THE TREATISE OF THE LOVER AND JAYE. The prologue begins.

Though laureate poetes in old antiquite.

I must not forget to observe here, that Edward Haliwell, admitted a fellow of King's college Cambridge in 1532, wrote the Tragedy of Dido, which was acted at St. Paul's school in London, under the conduct of the very learned master John Rightwise, before cardinal Wolsey. But it may be doubted, whether this drama was in English. Wood says, that it was written by Rightwise³. One John Hooker, fellow of Magdalene college Oxford in 1535, wrote a comedy called by Wood PISCATOR, or *The Fisher caught*. [ATH. OXON. i. 60.] But as latinity seems to have been his object, I suspect this comedy to have been in Latin, and to have been acted by the youth of his college.

The fanaticisms of chemistry seem to have remained at least till the dissolution of the monasteries. William Blomefield, otherwise Rattelsden, born at Bury in Suffolk, bachelor in physic, and a monk of Bury-abbey, was an adventurer in quest of the philosopher's stone. While a monk of Bury, as I presume, he wrote a metrical chemical tract, entitled, BLOMEFIELD'S BLOSSOMS, or the CAMPE OF PHILOSOPHY. It is a vision, and in the octave stanza. It was originally written in the year 1530, according to a MSS. that I have seen: but in the copy printed by Ashmole, [Stanz. 5.] which has some few improvements and additional stanzas, our author says he began to dream in 1557. [Ashmole's THEATRUM CHEMICUM, p. 305. 478.] He is admitted into the camp of philosophy by TIME, through a superb gate which has twelve locks. Just within the entrance were assembled

¹ In 4to. Pr. 'Behold you young ladies of high parentage.'

² In 4to. Pr. 'Upon a certain tyme as it befell.'

³ Compare Tanner, BIBL. p. 632, 372. ATH. OXON. i. 17.

all the true philosophers from Hermes and Aristotle, down to Roger Bacon, and the canon of Bridlington. Detached at some distance, appear those unskilful but specious pretenders to the transmutation of metals, lame, blind, and emaciated, by their own pernicious drugs and injudicious experiments, who defrauded Henry IV. of immense treasures by a counterfeit elixir. Among other wonders of this mysterious region, he sees the tree of philosophy, which has fifteen different buds, bearing fifteen different fruits. Afterwards Blomfield turning protestant, did not renounce his chemistry with his religion, for he appears to have dedicated to queen Elizabeth another system of occult science, entitled, *THE RULE OF LIFE, OR THE FIFTH ESSENCE*, with which her majesty must have been highly edified¹.

Although lord Surrey and some others so far deviated from the dullness of the times, as to copy the Italian poets, the same taste does not seem to have uniformly influenced all the nobility of the court of Henry VIII. who were fond of writing verses. Henry Parker, lord Morley, who died an old man in the latter end of that reign, was educated in the best literature which our universities afforded. Bale mentions his *TRAGEDIES* and *COMEDIES*, which I suspect to be nothing more than grave mysteries and moralities, and which probably would not now have been lost, had they deserved to live. He mentions also his *RHYMES*, which I will not suppose to have been imitations of Petrarch. [*SCRIPT. BRIT.* par. p. st. 103.] Wood says, that 'his younger years were adorned with all kinds of *superficial* learning, especially with 'dramatic poetry, and his elder with that which was divine.' [*ATH. OXON.* i. 52.] It is a stronger proof of his piety than his taste, that he sent, as a new year's gift to the princess Mary, *HAMPOLE'S COMMENTARY UPON SEVEN OF THE FIRST PENITENTIAL PSALMS*. The MSS., with his epistle prefixed, is in the royal MSS. of the British Museum. [*MSS.* 18 B. xxi.] Many of Morley's translations, being dedicated either to Henry VIII., or to the princess Mary, are preserved in MSS. in the same royal repository. [But see *MSS. GRESHAM.* 8.] They are chiefly from Solomon, Seneca, Erasmus, Athanasius, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Paulus Jovius. The authors he translated shew his track of reading. But we should not forget his attention to the classics, and that he translated also Tully's *DREAM OF SCIPIO*, and three or four lives of Plutarch, although not immediately from the Greek². He seems to have been a rigid catholic, retired and studious. His declaration, or paraphrase, on the ninety-fourth Psalm, was printed by Berthelette in 1539. A theological commentary by a lord, was too curious and important a production to be neglected by our first printers.

¹ *MSS. MORE*, autograph, 430. Pr. 'Althoughe, most redoubted, suffran lady.' Fox, *MARTYR*, edit. i. p. 479.

² *MSS.* (Bibl. Bodl.) *LAUD.* H. 17. *MSS. Bibl. REG.* 17 D. 2.—17 D. xi.—18 A. ix. And Walpole, *ROY. and NOB. AUTH.* i. p. 92. seq.

SECTION XLII.

JOHN HEYWOOD, commonly called the epigrammatist, was beloved and rewarded by Henry VIII. for his buffooneries. At leaving the university, he commenced author, and was countenanced by sir Thomas More for his facetious disposition. To his talents of jocularly in conversation, he joined a skill in music, both vocal and instrumental. His merriments were so irresistible, that they moved even the rigid muscles of queen Mary; and her sullen solemnity was not proof against his songs, his rhymes, and his jests. He is said to have been often invited to exercise his arts of entertainment and pleasantry in her presence, and to have had the honour to be constantly admitted into her privy-chamber for this purpose. [Wood, ATH. OXON. i. 150.]

Notwithstanding his professional dissipation, Heywood appears to have lived comfortably under the smiles of royal patronage. What the FAIRY QUEEN could not procure for Spenser from the penurious Elizabeth and her precise ministers, Heywood gained by puns and conceits.

His comedies, most of which appeared before the year 1534, are destitute of plot, humour, or character, and give us no very high opinion of the festivity of this agreeable companion. They consist of low incident, and the language of ribaldry. But perfection must not be expected before its time. He is called our first writer of comedies. But those who say this, speak without determinate ideas, and confound comedies with moralities and interludes. We will allow, that he is among the first of our dramatists who drove the Bible from the stage, and introduced representations of familiar life and popular manners. These are the titles of his plays. *The PLAY called the four P.s, being a new and merry ENTERLUDE OF A PALMER, PARDONER, POTICARY, AND PEDLAR*, printed at London in quarto, without date or name of the printer, but probably from the press of Berthelette or Rastell. *The PLAY of LOVE, or a new and very merry ENTERLUDE of all maner of WEATHERS*, printed in quarto by William Rastell, 1533, and again by Robert Wyer¹. *A mery PLAY betweene the PARDONER and the FRERE, the CURATE, and neybour PRATTE*, in quarto, by William Rastell, dated the fifth day of April, 1533. *The PLAY of Gentlenes and Nobilitie*, in two parts, at London, without date. *The PINNER of Wakefield, a COMEDIE. Philotas Scotch, a COMEDIE. A mery PLAY betweene JOHAN JOHAN the husband, TYB the wife, and syr JOHAN the preeste*, by William Rastell, in quarto, 1533.

¹ In duodecimo. No date. Pr. 'Jupiter ryght far so far longe as now were to recyte.'

His EPIGRAMS, 600 in number¹, are probably some of his jokes versified; and perhaps were often extemporaneous sallies, made and repeated in company. Wit and humour are ever found in proportion to the progress of politeness. The miserable drolleries and the contemptible quibbles, with which these little pieces are pointed, indicate the great want of refinement, not only in the composition but in the conversation of our ancestors. This is a specimen, on a piece of humour of Wolsey's Fool, *A saying of PATCHE my lord Cardinale's FOOLE*.

Maister Sexton², a person of knowen wit,
As he at my lord Cardinale's boord did sit,
Gredily raught [reached] at a goblet of wine:
Drinke none, sayd my lord, for that sore leg of thyne:
I warrant your Grace, saith Sexton, I provide
For my leg: I drinke on the tother side³.

The following is rather a humorous tale than an epigram, yet with an epigrammatic turn.

Although that a Fox have been sene there seelde, [seldom]
Yet there was lately in Finsbery Feelde [Finsbury Field]
A Fox sate in sight of certaine people,
Noddinge, and blissinge⁴, staring on Paules steeple.
A Maide toward market with hennes in a band
Came by, and with the Fox she fell in hand. [Joined company.]
'What thinge is it, Rainard, in your braine ploddinge,
'What bringeth this busy blissinge, and noddinge?
'I nother nod for sleepe sweete hart, the Foxe saide,
'Nor blisse for spirytes⁵, except the divell be a maide:
'My noddinge and blissinge breedth of wonder
'Of the witte of Poules Weathercocke yonder.
'There is more witte in that cockes onely head
'Than hath bene in all mens heds that be dead.
'And thus—by all common report we fynde,
'All that be dead, died for *lacke of wynde*:
'But the Weathercockes wit is not so weake
'To *lacke winde*—the *winde is ever in his beake*.
'So that, while any winde bloweth in the skie,
'For *lacke of winde* that Weathercocke will not die.'
She cast downe hir hennes, and now did she blis, [cross herself]
'Jesu, quod she, in *nomine patris*!
'Who hath ever heard, at any season,
'Of a Foxe forging so feat a reason?'

¹ See 300 Epigrammes on 300 Proverbs. Pr. 'If every man mend one' London, without date, but certainly before 1553. Again, 1577.—1587.—1598. The first 100 Epigrammes. Pr. 'Ryme without reason.' Lond. 1566.—1577.—1687. 4to. The fourth hundred of Epigrammes, Lond. without date. Again, 1577.—1587.—1597. 4to. Pr. PROL. 'Ryme without reason, and reason.' The fifth and sixth hundredth of Epigrammes. Pr. 'Were it as perillous to deal cards as play.' Lond. 1566.—1577.—1587.—1597. 4to. JOHN HEYWOOD'S WOORKES, Anno domini 1576. Imprinted at London in Flete-streate, etc. by Thomas Marshe. In quarto. The colophon has 1577. This edition is not mentioned by Ames.

² The real name of PATCH, Wolsey's Fool.

³ First HUNDRED. Epigr. 44.

⁴ Bowing and Blessing.

⁵ To drive away evil spirits.

And while she prayed the Foxes wit so,
 He gat her hennes on his necke, and to go. [Steal off.]
 'Whither away with my hennes, Foxe, quoth she?
 'To Poules pig¹ as fast as I can, quoth he.
 'Betwixt these Hennes and yond Weathercocke,
 'I will assay to have chickens a flocke;
 'Which if I may get, this tale is made goode,
 'In all christendome not so *Wise a broode*²!—

The other is on the phrase, *wagging beards*.

It is mery in hall, when beardes wagge all.
 Husband, for this these woordes to mind I call;
 This is ment by men in their merie eatinge,
 Not to wag their beardes in brawling or threatinge;
 Wyfe, the meaning hereof differeth not two pinnes,
 Betweene wagginge of mens beardes and womens chinnes³.

On the fashion of wearing *Verdingales*, or farthingales.

Alas! poore verdingales must lie ith' streete,
 To house them no doore ith' citee made meete.
 Syns at our narrow doores they in cannot win⁴,
 Send them to Oxforde, at brodegate to gett in⁵.

Our author was educated at Broadgate-hall in Oxford, so called from an uncommonly wide gate or entrance, and since converted into Pembroke college. These EPIGRAMS are mentioned in Wilson's RHETORIKE, published in 1553.

Another of Heywood's works, is a poem in long verse, entitled, *A DIALOGUE containyng in effect the number of al the PROVERBS in the English tongue compact in a matter concerning two marriages*. The first edition I have seen, is dated 1547⁶. All the proverbs of the English language are here interwoven into a very silly comic tale.

The lady of the story, an old widow now going to be married again, is thus described, with some degree of drollery, on the bridal day.

In this late old widow, and than old new wife,
Age and Appetite fell at a stronge strife.
 Her lust was as yong, as her lims were olde.
 The day of her wedding, like one to be solde,
 She sett out herself in fyne apparell:
 She was made like a beere-pott, or a barell.
 A crooked hooked nose, beetle browde, blere cyde,
 Many men wisht for beautifying that bryde.
 Her wast to be gyrde in, and for a boone grace,
 Some wel favoured visor on her yll favoured face;

¹ Pike, i.e. spire, or steeple.

² The FIRST HUNDRED. Epigr. 10. There are six more lines, which are superfluous.

³ EPIGRAMMES ON PROVERBS. Epigram 2.

⁴ Enter in. WIN is probably a contraction for *go in*. But see Tyrwhitt's Gloss. Ch.

⁵ FIFTE HUNDRED. Epigr. 55.

⁶ In quarto. Others followed, 1566.—1576.—1587.—1598. 4to.

But with visorlike visage, such as it was,
 She smirkit and she smyld, but so lispd this las,
 That folke might have thought it done onely alone
 Of wantonnesse, had not her teeth been gone.
 Upright as a candle standeth in a socket,
 Stood she that day, *so simple de cocket*¹.
 Of auncient fathers she tooke no cure ne care,
 She was to them *as koy as Crokers mare*.
 She tooke the entertainment of yong men,
 All in daliaunce, *as nice as a nunnes hen*².
 I suppose, That day her eares might wel glow,
 For all the town talkt of her high and low.
 One sayde a wel favoured old woman she is :
 The divill she is, sayde another : and to this
 In came the third *with his five egges*, and sayde,
 Fifty yere ago I knew her a trim mayde.
 Whatever she were then, sayde one, she is now,
 To become a bryde, *as meete as a sowe*,
To beare a saddle. She is in this marriage,
As comely as a cove in a cage.
Gup with a gald back, Gill, come up to supper,
 What my *old mare would have a new crupper*,

And now mine olde hat must have a new band, &c. [Second part, ch. i.]

The work has its value and curiosity as a repertory of proverbs made at so early a period. Nor was the plan totally void of ingenuity, to exhibit these maxims in the course of a narrative, enlivened by facts and circumstances. It certainly was susceptible of humour and invention.

Heywood's largest and most laboured performance is the SPIDER AND THE FLIE, with wooden cuts, printed at London by Thomas Powell, in 1556. [In quarto.] It is a very long poem in the octave stanza, containing 98 chapters. Perhaps there never was so dull, so tedious, and trifling an apologue: without fancy, meaning, or moral. A long tale of fictitious manners will always be tiresome, unless the design be burlesque: and then the ridiculous, arising from the contrast between the solemn and the light, must be ingeniously supported. Our author seems to have intended a fable on the burlesque construction: but we know not when he would be serious and when witty, whether he means to make the reader laugh, or to give him advice. We must indeed acknowledge, that the age was not yet sufficiently refined, either to relish or to produce, burlesque poetry³. Harrison, the author

¹ I do not understand this, which is marked for a proverb.

² An admirable proverbial simile. It is used in Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike*, 'I knewe a priest that was *as nice as a Nunnes Hen*, when he would say masse he would never saie *'DOMINUS VOBISCUM*, but *Dominus Vobicum*.' fol. 112. a. edit. 1567. 4to.

³ But I must not forget Chaucer's *SIR THOPAS*: and that among the Cotton MSS. there is an anonymous poem, perhaps coeval with Chaucer, in the style of allegorical burlesque, which describes the power of money, with great humour, and in no common vein of satire. The hero of the piece is 'sir Penny.' MSS. Cott. Cal. 7. A. 2.

of the DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN, prefixed to Hollinshed's Chronicle, has left a sensible criticism on this poem. 'One hath made a boke of the SPIDER AND FLIE, wherein he dealeth so profoundly, and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himself that made it, neither any

INCIPIT NARRACIO DE DON DENARIO.

In erth it es a littill thing,
Whare he es lent in land :
He makes both yong and alde [old]
Papes, kinges, and empoures,
Person, prest, and knyght,
To serue him er [are] thai ful bounce, [ready]
SIR PENI chaunges man's mode,
And to rise him agayne.
Makes ful mekell obedience
In kinges court es it no bote, [use]
Sometill es he of myght,
That be it neuer so mekell wrang,
With PENY may men wemen till [gain]
So oft may it be sene,
For he may ger tham trayl syde²
He may by [buy] both heuyn and hell,
In erth has he swilk grace,
The pouer er ay put bihind,
When he bigines him to mell, [meddle]
And waik [weak] that balde has bene.
Bath withowten borch and wed⁴,
The domes men⁶ he mase⁷ so blind
Ne the suth [truth] to se.
Tharwith to mak SIR PENI wrath.
Thare¹⁰ strif was PENI makes pesell¹¹,
In land whare he will lende,
Of counsail thar tham neuer be rad [void],
That SIRE es set on high dese, [sect],
At the high burde. [Board]
The more zernid [coveted] alway es he ;
He makes mani be forsworne,
Him to get and wyn.
Bot that litil round knaue,
On him halely¹² thaire hertes sett,
Nowther for gude ne ill.
Ilka man grantes it ful sone,
He may both lene [lend] and gyf ;
Both by frith and fell. [Sea and land]
Men welcums him in dede and saw¹⁵.
He es noght welkumd als a gest,
And made at [to fit] sit ful soft.
With SIR PENI may thai spede,
He that SIR PENI es with all,
When other er set byside, [despised]
Ful mani go and ride on stede¹⁶,
In ilka gamin and ilka play,
To PENY, for his pride.
Both in burgh and in cete,
Withowten owther spere or schelde¹⁷,
And stalworthest in stowre. [Battle]
SIR PENI es ouer albidene,
And all es als he will cumand :
Nowther by land ne flode.
To tham that has nede of cownsaill,

And regnes als [as] a king.
SIR PENI es his na ne calde,
Bow untill his hand :
Bisschoppes, abbottes, and priowres,
Dukes, erles, and ilk barowne,
Both bi day and nyght.
And gers them off do doun thaire hode¹
Men honors him with grete reuerence.
Vnto that litill swaine.
Ogaines SIR PENI for to mote, [dispute]
He es so witty and so strang,
He will mak it right.
Be thai neuer so strange of will,
Lang with him will thai noght chide,
In gude skarlet and grene.
And ilka thing that es to sell.
He may lese [loose] and he may bind.
Whare he cumes in place.
He makes meke that are was fell.
All ye nedes ful sone or sped³,
Whare PENI gase betweene⁵.
That he may noght the right find
For to gif dome⁸ tham es ful lath⁹,
Ful dere with tham eshe,
Of all angers he may relese,
Of fase [foes] may he mak frendes sad.
That may haue him to frende.
And serued with mani riche mese [mess]
The more he es to men plente,
And halden dere in horde.
And sum life and saul forlorne, [quit]
Other god will thai none haue,
Thaire bales [eyes] for to blin. [Blind]
Him for to luf [love] will thai noght let¹³,
All that he will in erth haue done,
Right at his awin will.
He may ger both sla and lif¹⁴,
PENI es a gude felaw,
Cum he neuer so oft,
Bot euermore serued with the best,
Who so es sted in any nede,
How so euer they betyde.
Sal haue his will in stede and stall.
SIR PENY gers, in riche wede,
In this werlde wide.
The maystries gifen ay
SIR PENY over all gettes the gre, [degree]⁶
In castell and in towre.
Es he the best in frith or felde,
In ilka plaee, the suth [truth] es sene,
Maister most in mode.
Ogains his stevyn¹⁸ dar no man stand,
SIR PENY mai ful mekell auaile¹⁹
Als sene es in assize²⁰ ;

¹ Makes. Causes. Compels.² Make them walk.³ All you want is soon done.⁴ Borrowing or pledging.⁵ Goes between.⁶ Judges.⁷ Monks.⁸ Judgement.⁹ Loath.¹⁰ Where.¹¹ Peace.¹² Wholly.¹³ Nevercease.¹⁴ Kill and save.¹⁵ Doing and speaking.¹⁶ Causes many to ride, &c.¹⁷ Either¹⁸ Voice. Sound.¹⁹ Be of much power.²⁰ As appears in the place of judication. Or, in passing sentence.

'one that readeth it, can reach unto the meaning thereof¹.' It is a proof of the unpopularity of this poem, that it never was reprinted. Our author's EPIGRAMS, and the poem of PROVERBS, were in high vogue, and had numerous editions within the year 1598. The most lively part of the SPIDER and FLIE is perhaps the mock-fight between the spiders and flies, an awkward imitation of Homer's BATRACHOMUOMACHY. The preparations for this bloody and eventful engagement, on the part of the spiders, in their cobweb-castle, are thus described.

Behold! the battilments in every loope:
How th' ordinance lieth, flies far and nere to fach:
Behold how everie peace, that lieth there in groope
Hath a spider gonner, with redy-fired match.
Behold on the wals, spiders making ware wach:
The wach-spider in the towre a larum to strike,
At aproch of any number shewing warlike.

Se th' enprenabill fort, in every border,
How everie spider with his wepon doth stand,
So thorowlie harnest, in so good order:
The capital [captain] spider, with wepon in hand,
For that sort of sowdiers so manfully mand,
With cobwebs like casting nets all flies to quell:

My hart shaketh at the sight: behold it is hell! [Cap. 57. Signat. B b.]

The beginning of all this confusion is owing to a fly entering the poet's window, not through a broken pane, as might be presumed, but through the lattice, where it is suddenly entangled in a cobweb. [Cap. i.] The cobweb, however, will be allowed to be sufficiently descriptive of the poet's apartment. But I mention this circumstance as a probable proof, that windows of lattice, and not of glass, were now the common fashion².

He lenkethes¹ life and saues fro ded. [Death]

Bot luf it noght ouer wele I rede, [advise]

For sin of couaityse. [Covetousness]

If thou haue happ tresore to win,
Delite the noght to mekill tharin.

Ne nothing² thareof be,

But spend it als wele als thou can,

So that thou luf both god and man

In perfitte charite.

God grante vs grace with hert and will,

The gudes that he has gifen vs till,

Wele and wisely to spend.

And so oure liues here for to lede,

That we may haue his blis to mede,

Euer withowten end. Amen.

An old Scotch poem called SIR PENNY has been formed from this, printed in ANCIENT SCOTTISH POEMS, p. 153. Edinb. 1770. (See supr. vol. i. 9.)

¹ DESCRIPT. BRIT. p. 226. Hollinsh. CHRON tom. i.

² See his EPIGRAMMES. Epig. 82. FIRST HUNDRED. And Puttenham's ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, Lib. i. c. 31. p. 49. One of Heywood's Epigrams is descriptive of his life and character. FIFTE HUNDRED. Epigr. 100.

OF HEYWOOD.

Art thou Heywood with the mad mery wit?

Yea forsooth, mayster, that same is even hit.

¹ Lengthens,

² Nyding. Be not too careless of it.

John Heywood died at Mechlin in Brabant about the year 1565. He was inflexibly attached to the catholic cause, and on the death of queen Mary quitted the kingdom. Antony Wood remarks [ATH. OXON. i. 150], with his usual acrimony, that it was a matter of wonder with many, that, considering the great and usual want of principle in the profession, a poet should become a voluntary exile for the sake of religion.

SECTION XLIII.

I KNOW not if sir Thomas More may properly be considered as an English poet. He has, however, left a few obsolete poems, which although without any striking merit, yet, as productions of the restorer of literature in England, seem to claim some notice here. One of these is, A MERY JEST *how a SERGEANT would learne to play* the FREERE. *Written by Maister Thomas More in hys youth*¹. The story is too dull and too long to be told here. But I will cite two or three of the prefatory stanzas.

He that hath lafte [left] the Hosier's crafte,
 And fallth to makying shone ; [shoes]
 The smyth that shall to paynting fall,
 His thrift is well nigh done.
 A black draper with whyte paper,
 To goe to writing scole,
 An old butler becum a cutler,
 I wene shal prove a fole.
 And an old trot, that can, god wot.
 Nothyng but kysse the cup,
 With her phisicke will kepe one sicke,
 Till she hath soused hym up.
 A man of law that never sawe
 The wayes to bye and sell,
 Wenying to ryse by merchandyse,
 I pray god spede hym well !
 A marchaunt eke, that wyll goo seke

Art thou Heywood that applieth mirth more than thrift?
 Ye sir, I take mery mirth a golden gift.
 Art thou Heywood that hath made many mad Playes?
 Yea many playes, few good woorkes in all my dayes.
 Art thou Heywood that hath made men mery long?
 Yea and will, if I be made mery longe.
 Art thou Heywood that would be made mery nowe?
 Yea, sir, help me to it now I beseech yow.

In the CONCLUSION to the SPIDER and FLIE, Heywood mentions queen Mary and king Philip. But as most of his pieces seem to have been written some time before, I have placed him under Henry VIII.

¹ WORKES, Lond. 1557. in folio. Sign.

By all the meanes he may,
 To fall in sute tyll he dispute
 His money cleane away ;
 Pletyng the lawe for every strawe,
 Shall prove a thrifty man,
 With bate [debate] and strife, but by my life,
 I cannot tell you whan.
 Whan an hatter will smatter
 In philosophy ;
 Or a pedlar waxe a medlar
 In theology.

In these lines, which are intended to illustrate by familiar examples, the absurdity of a serjeant at law assuming the business of a friar, perhaps the reader perceives but little of that festivity, which is supposed to have marked the character and the conversation of sir Thomas More. The last two stanzas deserve to be transcribed, as they prove, that this tale was designed to be sung to music by a minstrel, for the entertainment of company.

Now Maisters all, here now I shall
 End then as I began ;
 I any wyse, I would avyse,
 And counsayle every man,
 His own crafte use, all new refuse,
 And lyghtly let them gone :
 Play not the FREERE, Now make good cheere.

This piece is mentioned, among other popular story-books in 1575, by Laneham, in his ENTERTAINMENT AT KILLINGWORTH CASTLE in the reign of queen Elisabeth. [Fol. 44. seq.]

In CERTAIN METERS, written also in his youth, as a prologue for his BOKE OF FORTUNE, and forming a poet of considerable length, are these stanzas, which are an attempt at personification and imagery. FORTUNE is represented sitting on a lofty throne, smiling on all mankind who are gathered around her, eagerly expecting a distribution of her favours.

Then, as a bayte, she bryngeth forth her ware,
 Silver and gold, rich perle and precious stone ;
 On whiche the mased people gase and stare,
 And gape therefore, as dogges doe for the bone.
 FORTUNE at them laugheth : and in her trone
 Amyd her treasure and waveryng rychesse
 Prowdly she hoveth as lady and empresse.

Fast by her syde doth very Labour stand,
 Pale Fere also, and Sorow all bewept ;
 Disdayn, and Hatred, on that other hand,
 Eke restles Watch from slepe with travayles kept :
 Before her standeth Daunger and Envy,
 Flattery, Dysceyt, Mischiefe, and Tiranny. [Ibid. Sign. C. iiii.]

Another of sir Thomas More's juvenile poems is, A RUFULL LAMINATION on the death of queen Elisabeth, wife of Henry VII., and mother of Henry VIII., who died in childbed in 1503. It is evidently formed on the tragical soliloquies, which compose Lydgate's paraphase of Boccace's book *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM*, and which gave birth to the *MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES*, the origin of our historic dramas. These stanzas are part of the queen's complaint at the approach of death.

Where are our castels now, where are our towers ?
 Goodly Rychemonde¹, sone art thou gone from me !
 At Westmynster that costly work of yours
 Myne owne dere lorde, now shall I never see² !
 Almighty God vouchsafe to graunt that ye
 For you and your children well may edify,
 My palace byldyd is, and lo now here I ly.——

Farewell my doughter, lady Margaret³ !
 God wotte, full oft it greved hath my mynde
 That ye should go where we should seldom mete,
 Now I am gone and have left you behynde.
 O mortall folke, that we be very blynde !
 That we lest feere, full oft it is most nye :
 From you depart I must, and lo now here I lye.

Farewell, madame, my lordes worthy mother⁴ !
 Comforte your son, and be ye of good chere.
 Take all a worth, for it will be no nother,
 Farewell my doughter Katharine, late the fere
 To prince Arthur myne owne chyld so dere⁵.
 It boteth not for me to wepe and cry,
 Pray for my sowle, for lo now here I lye,

Adew lord Henry, my loving sonne adew⁶,
 Our lord encrease your honour and estate,
 Adew my doughter Mary, bright of hew⁷,
 God make you vertuous, wyse, and fortunate.
 Adew swete hart, my little doughter Kate⁸,
 Thou shalt, swete babe, such is thy destiny,
 Thy mother never know, for lo now here I ly. [Workes, at supr.]

In the fourth stanza, she reproaches the astrologers for their falsity in having predicted, that this should be the happiest and most fortunate year of her whole life. This, while it is a natural reflection in

¹ The palace of Richmond.

² King Henry the seventh's chapel, begun in the year 1502. The year before the queen died.

³ Married in 1503, to James IV., king of Scotland.

⁴ Margaret countess of Richmond.

⁵ Catherine of Spain, wife of her son prince Arthur, now dead.

⁶ Afterwards king Henry VIII.

⁷ Afterwards queen of France. Remarried to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

⁸ The queen died within a few days after she was delivered of this infant, the princess Catherine, who did not long survive her mother's death.

the speaker, is a proof of More's contempt of a futile and frivolous science, then so much in esteem. I have been prolix in my citation from this forgotten poem: but I am of opinion, that some of the stanzas have strokes of nature and pathos, and deserved to be rescued from total oblivion.

More, when a young man, contrived in an apartment of his father's house a *goodly hangyng of fyne painted clothe*, exhibiting nine pageants, or allegoric representations, of the stages of man's life, together with the figures of Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity. Under each picture he wrote a stanza. The first is under *CHILDHOODE*, expressed by a boy whipping a top.

I am called *CHILDHOD*, in play is all my mynde,
To cast a coyte [quoit], a cokstele¹, or a ball;
A toppe can I set, and dryve in its kynde:
But would to God, these hatefull bookes all
Were in a fyre ybrent to poudre small!
Then myght I lede my lyfe alwayes in play,
Which lyfe God sende me to myne endyng day.

Next was pictured *MANHOD*, a comely young man mounted on a fleet horse, with a hawk on his fist, and followed by two greyhounds, with this stanza affixed.

MANHOD I am, therefore I delyght
To hunt and hawke, to nourishe up and fede
The grayhonde to the course, the hawke to th' flyght
And to bestryde a good and lusty stede:
These thynges become a very man in dede.
Yet thinketh this boy his pevishe game sweter,
But what, no force, his reason is no better.

The personification of *FAME*, like *RUMOUR* in the Chorus to Shakespeare's *HENRY THE FIFTH*, is surrounded with tongues. [*Ibid.* Sign. C. iii.]

Tapestry, with metrical legends illustrating the subject, was common in this age: and the public pageants in the streets were often exhibited with explanatory verses. I am of opinion, that the *COMOE-DIOLE*, or little interludes, which More is said to have written and acted in his father's house, were only these nine pageants.

Another juvenile exercise of More in the English stanza, is annexed to his prose translation of the *LYFE* of John Picus Mirandua, and entitled, *TWELVE RULES OF JOHN PICUS MIRANDULA, partly exciting partly directing a man in SPIRITUAL BATAILE*². The old collector of his *ENGLISH WORKES* has also preserved two *shorte ballettes*, or stanzas, which he wrote for his *pastyme*, while a prisoner in the tower.

¹ A stick for throwing at a cock. *STELE* is handle, *Sax.*

² These pieces were written in the reign of Henry VII. But as More flourished in the succeeding reign, I have placed them accordingly.

It is not my design, by these specimens, to add to the fame of sir Thomas More ; who is revered by posterity, as the scholar who taught that crudition which civilised his country, and as the philosopher who met the horrors of the block with that fortitude which was equally free from ostentation and enthusiasm : as the man, whose genius overthrew the fabric of false learning, and whose amiable tranquillity of temper triumphed over the malice and injustice of tyranny.

To some part of the reign of Henry VIII. I assign the *TOURNAMENT OF TOTTENHAM*, or *The wooing, winning, and wedding of TIBBE the Reeves Daughter there*. I presume it will not be supposed to be later than that reign : and the substance of its phraseology, which I divest of its obvious innovations, is not altogether obsolete enough for a higher period. I am aware, that in a MSS. of the British Museum it is referred to the time of Henry VI. But that MSS. affords no positive indication of that date. [MSS. HARL. 5396.] It was published from an ancient MSS. in the year 1631, and reduced to a more modern style, by William Bedwell, rector of Tottenham, and one of the translators of the Bible. He says it was written by Gilbert Pilkington, supposed to have been rector of the same parish, and author of an unknown tract, called *PASSIO DOMINI JESU*. But Bedwell, without the least comprehension of the scope and spirit of the piece, imagines it to be a serious narrative of a real event ; and, with as little sagacity, believes it to have been written before the year 1330. Allowing that it might originate from a real event, and that there might be some private and local abuse at the bottom, it is impossible that the poet could be serious. Undoubtedly the chief merit of this poem, although not destitute of humour, consists in the design rather than the execution. As Chaucer, in the *RIME OF SIR THOPAS*¹, travestied the romances of Chivalry, the *TOURNAMENT OF*

¹ I take this opportunity of observing, that the stanza of one of Laurence Minot's poems on the wars of Edward III., is the same as Chaucer's *SIR TOPAS*. Minot was Chaucer's cotemporary. MSS. Cott. GALB. E. ix.

Edward oure cumly king	In Braband has his woning
And in that land, trewly to tell,	With mani a cumly knight,
	Ordains he still for to dwell,
	To time he think to fight.
Now God that es of mightes maste,	Grant him grace of the Haly Gaste,
And Mari moder of mercy fre,	His heritage to win :
	Save oure king, and his menze,
	Fro sorow, and schame, and syn.
Thus in Braband has he bene,	Where he bifore was seldom sene,
	For to prove thaire japes ;
Now no langer wil he spare,	Bot unto Fraunce fast will he fare,
	To confort him with grapes.
Furth he ferd into France,	God save him fro mischance,
The nobill duc of Braband	And all his company ;
	With him went into that land,
	Redy to lif or dy.

TOTTENHAM is a burlesque on the parade and fopperies of chivalry itself. In this light, it may be considered as a curiosity; and does honour to the good sense and discernment of the writer, who seeing through the folly of these fashionable exercises, was sensible at the same time, that they were too popular to be attacked by the more solid weapons of reason and argument. Even on a supposition that here is an allusion to real facts and characters, and that it was intended to expose some popular story of the amours of the daughter of the Reve of Tottenham, we must acknowledge that the satire is conveyed

Then the riche floure de lice	Wan thare ful litill prise,
The right aire [heir] of that cuntree	Fast he fled for ferde;
	Es cumen with all his knightes fre
	To shac [shake] him by the berd.
Sir Philip the Valayse.	Wit his men in tho dayes,
	To batale had he thocht;
He bad his men tham purvay	Withowten longer delay,
	Bot he ne held it nought.
He brought folk ful grete wone,	Ay sevyng ogains one,
	That ful wele wapind were ¹ ;
Bot sone when he herd ascry,	That king Edward was nere thereby,
	Than durst he noght cum nere.
In that morning fell a myst;	And when oure Ingliss men in wist,
	It changed all thaire chere:
Oure king unto God made his bone,	And God sent him gude comfort sone,
	The weder wex ful clere.
Oure king and his men held the felde,	Stalworthy with spere and schelde,
	And thocht to win his right;
With lordes and with knightes kene,	And other doghty men bydene,
	That war ful frek to fight.
When sir Philip of France herd tell,	That king Edward in feld walld dwell,
	Than gayned him no gle;
He traisted of no better bote,	Bot both on hors and on fote,
	He hasted him to fle.
It semid he was ferd for strokes,	When he did fell his grete okes
	Obout his pavilyoune.
Abated was than all his pride,	For langer thare durst he noght bide,
	His bost was broght all doune.
The king of Beme had cares colde,	That was fur, hardy, and bolde,
	A stede to amstride:
The king als of Naverne	War faire feld in the ferene,
	Thaire heviddes for to hide.
And leves wele, it is no lye,	And felde hat Flemangrye
	That king Edward was in:
With princes that war stif and bolde,	And dukes that war doghty tolde,
	In batayle to begin.
The princes that war rich on raw,	Gert nakers strikes and trumpes blaw ² ,
	And made mirth at thaire might:
Both arblast and many a bow	War redy railed upon a row,
	And full frek for to fight.
Gladly thai gaf mete and drink,	So that thai suld the better swink,
	The wight men that thar ware;
Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,	And hied him hame with all his rout,
	Coward God giff him care.
For thare than had the lely flowre	Lorn all halely his honowre,
	That so gat fled for ferd;
Bot oure king Edward come ful still,	When that he trowed no harm till,
	And keped him in the berde.

¹ Weaponed. Armed.

² In glittering ranks, made the drums, &c.

in an ingenious mode. He has introduced a parcel of clowns and rustics, the inhabitants of Tottenham, Islington, Highgate, and Hackney, places then not quite so polished as at present, who imitate all the solemnities of the barriers. The whole is a mock-parody on the challenge, the various events of the encounter, the exhibition of the prize, the devices and escocheons, the display of arms, the triumphant procession of the conqueror, the oath before the combat, and the splendid feast which followed, with every other ceremony and circumstance which constituted the regular tournament. The reader will form an idea of the work from a short extract. [V. 42.]

He that bear'th him best in the tournament,
Shal be graunted the gree [prize] by the common assent,
For to winne my daughter with doughtiness of dent, [blows],
And Copple my broode hen that was brought out of Kent,
And my dunned cow :

For no spence [expense] will I spare,
For no cattell will I care.

He shall have my gray mare, and my spotted cow.

There was many a bold lad their bodyes to bede [bid] ;
Then they toke their leave, and hamward the hede [hied] ;
And all the weke after they gayed her wede¹ ;
Till it come to the day that they should do their dede² ;
They armed them in mattes ;

They sett on their nowls [heeds] :

Good blacke bowls³,

To keep their powls⁴ from battering of battes. [Cudgels]

They sewed hem in sheepskinnes for they should not brest⁵,
And every ilk of them had a blacke hatte instead of a crest ;
A baskett or panyer before on their brest,
And a flayle in her hande, for to fight prest [ready],
Forth the con thei fare. [On they went.]

There was kid [shewn] mickle force.

Who should best fend his corse,

He that had no good horse, borrowed him a mare, &c⁶.

It appears to me, that the author, to give dignity to his narrative, and to heighten the ridicule by stiffening the familiarity of his incidents and characters, has affected an antiquity of style. This I could prove from the cast of its fundamental diction and idiom, with which many of the old words do not agree. Perhaps another of the

¹ Made their cloaths gay. ² Fight for the lady. ³ Instead of helmets. ⁴ Poles.

⁵ They sewed themselves up in sheep skins, by way of armour, to avoid being hurt.

⁶ I have before observed, that it was a disgrace to chivalry to ride a mare.

The poems of this MSS. do not seem to be all precisely of the same hand, and might probably once have been separate papers, here stitched together. At the one end of them, viz. fol. 46. *The lysom ledys the Blynde*, mention is inserted of an accompt settled ann. 34. Hen. vi. And that is in the hand and ink of that poem, and of some others. The TOURNAMENT OF TOTTENHAM, which might once have been detached from the present collection, comes at some distance afterwards, and cannot perhaps for a certainty be pronounced to be of the same writing. I take this opportunity of correcting a wrong reference to SIR PENI just cited, at p. 93. It belongs to GALB. E. 9, MSS. Cott.

authors affectations is the alliterative, manner. For although other specimens of alliteration, in smaller pieces, are now to be found, yet it was a singularity. To those which I have mentioned, of this reign, I take this opportunity of adding an alliterative poem, which may be called the FALCON AND THE PYE, who support a DIALOGUE DEFENSIVE FOR WOMEN AGAINST MALICIOUS DETRACTOURS, printed 1542¹. The

¹ Coloph. 'Thus endeth the faucon and pie anno dni 1542. Imprynted by me Rob. Wyer for Richarde Bankes.'

I have an ancient manuscript alliterative poem, in which a despairing lover bids farewell to his mistress. At the end is written, 'Explicit Amor p. Ducem Eborr nuper fact.' I will here cite a few of the stanzas of this unknown prince.

Farewell Lade of grete pris,	Farewell wyfe, both faire and free,
Farewell freefull flourdelys,	Farewell beril, bright of ble!—
Farewell mirthe that I do misse,	Farewell Prowesse in purpell pall!
Farewell creature comely to kisse,	Farewell Faucon, fare you befall!
Farewell amorous and amynable,	Farewell worthy, witty, and wys,
Farewell pris prisable,	Farewell ryal rose in the rys.—
Farewell dereworth of dignite,	Farewell grace of governaunce,
However y fare, farewell ye,	Farewell primerose my plesauce!

For the use of those who collect specimens of alliteration, I will add an instance in the reign of Edward III. from the BANOCBURN of Laurence Minot, all whose pieces, in some degree, are tingured with it. MSS. Cott. GALB. E. ix. ut supr.

Skottes out of Berwick and of 'Abirdene,
At the Bannockburn war ze to kene;
Thare slogh ze many sackles¹, als it was sene.
And now has king Edward wroken it I wene;
It is wroken I wene wele wurth the while,
War zit with the Skottes for thai er ful of gile,

Ware er ze Skottes of St. Johns toune?
The boste of zowre baner es betin all doune;
When ze bosting will² bede, sir Edward es boune,
For to kindel zow care and crak zowre crowne;
He has crakked zowre croune wele worth the while,
Schame bityde the Skottes for thai er ful of gile.

Skottes of Striflin war steren³ and stout,
Of God ne of gude men had thai no dout,
Now have thai the pellers priked about,
Bot at the last sir Edward rifild thaire rout;
He has rifild thaire rout wele wurth the while,
Bot euer er thai under bot gaudes and gile.

Rughfute rieuuling now kindels thi care,
Bere bag with thi boste thi biging⁴ is bare;
Fals wretche and forsworn, whider wiltou fare?
Busk the unto Brig and abide thare.
Thare wretche saltou won and very the while,
Thi dwelling in Donde es done for thi gile.

The Skottes gase⁵ in burghes and betes the stretes,
All thise Inglis men harmes he hetes;
Fast makes he his mone to men that he metes,
Bot sone friendes he finds that his bale betes;
Sune betes his bale wele wurth the while,
He uses all threting with gaudes and gile.

Bot many man thretes and spekes full ill,
That sumtyme war better to be stane still;
The Skot in his wordes has wind for to spill,
For at the last Edward sall haue al his will;
He had his will at Berwick wele wurth the while,
Skottes broght him the kayes, bot get for thaire gile.

A VISION on vellum, perhaps of the same age, is alliterative. MSS. Cott. NERO, A. x. These are specimens.

¹ Naked.² Allow it.³ Stern.⁴ Clothing.⁵ Go.

author's name Robert Vaghane, or Vaughan, is prefixed to some sonnets which form a sort of epilogue to the performance.

For the purpose of ascertaining or illustrating the age of pieces which have been lately or will be soon produced, I here stop to recall the reader's attention to the poetry and language of the last century, by exhibiting some extracts from the MSS. romance of YWAIN and GAWAIN, which has some great outlines of Gothic painting, and appears to have been written in the reign of Henry VI¹. I premise, that but few circumstances happened, which contributed to the improvement of our language, within that and the present period.

The following is the adventure of the enchanted forest attempted by sir Colgrevice, which he relates to the knights of the round table at Cardiff in Wales².

Ryz as the maynful mone con rys³
So sodenly, on a wonder wyse,
This noble cite of rych enpresse
Of such vergynes in the same guise
A corone wernalle⁵ of the same fasoun,

Er theven the day glem dryve aldon².
I was war of a proressyoun³:
Was sodanly full, withuten somoun⁴,
That was my blissful an under croun,
Depaynt in perles and wedes qwhyte⁶.

Again,

On golden gates that glent [glanced] as glass.

Again,

But mylde as mayden sene at mas.

The poem begins,

Perle plesant to princes raye.

So clarly clos in golde so cler⁷.

In the same MSS. is an alliterative poem without rhyme, exactly in the versification of PIERCE PLOWMAN, of equal or higher antiquity, viz.

Olde Abraham in erde [earth] over he syttes,
Even byfor his house doore under an oke grene,
Bryzt blikked the bem⁸ of the brod heven
In the hyze hete⁹ therof Abraham bides.

The hand-writing of these two last-mentioned pieces cannot be later than Edward III.

¹ MSS. Cotton. GALB. E. ix.

² ——— King Arthur,
Upon the Witsonenday,
And efter mete thar in the hales¹⁰,
Of lordes and ladies of that cuntre.
And dameseles of mykel pryse,
And grete solas, als thai war samen,
Of dedes of arms and of veneri,

He made a feste, the sothe to say,
At Kerdyf, that es in Wales,
Ful gret and gay was the assemble
And als of knyghtes, war and wyse,
Ilkan with other made grete gamen,
Fast thai carped, aud curtaysli,
And of gude knyghtes, &c.

It is a piece of considerable length, and contains a variety of GESTS. Sir YWAIN is sir EWAINE, or OWEN, in MORTE ARTHUR. None of these adventures belong to that romance. But see B. iv. c. 17, 27, etc. The story of the lion and the dragon in this romance, is told of a Christian champion in the Holy War, by Berchorius, REDUCTOR. p. 661. The lion being delivered from the dragon by sir YWAIN, ever afterwards accompanies and defends him in the greatest dangers. Hence Spenser's Una attended by a lion. F. QU. i. iii. 7. See sir Percival's lion in MORTE ARTHUR, B. xiv. c. 6. The dark ages had many stories and traditions of the lion's gratitude and generosity to man. Hence in Shakespeare, Troilus says, TR. CRESS. Act V. Sc. iii.

Brother you have a vice of mercy in you
Which better fits a lion than a man.

¹ As the moon began to rise.

² They even drove down the day-light.

⁴ Summons. Notice.

⁷ Cleanly. A pearl beautifully *inlused* or set in gold.

⁸ Bright shone the beam.

⁵ All wore a crown.

⁹ High heat.

³ Procession.

⁶ White robes.

¹⁰ Halls.

A fayre forest sone I fand,
 Me thought mi hap thare fel ful hard
 For thar was mani a wide bayard¹,
 Lions, beres, both bul and bare,
 That rewfully gan rope [ramp] and rare [roar]
 Away I drogh [drew] me, and with that,
 I saw sone whar a man sat
 On a lawnd, the fowlest wight,
 That ever zit [yet] man saw in syght :
 He was a lathly [loathly] creatur, For fowl he was out of mesur ;
 A wonder mace² in hand he hade,
 And sone mi way to him I made ;
 His hevyd, [head] me thoght, was als grete
 Als of a rowncy or a nete. [Horse or ox.]
 Unto his belt hang his hare ;
 And est that byheld I mare,
 To his forhede byheld I than
 Was bradder than twa large span ;
 He had eres an olyfant,
 And was wel more than a geant,
 His face was ful brade and flat, His nase was cutted as a cat,
 His browes war like litel buskes, (bushes)
 And his tethe like bare tuskes ;
 A ful grete bulge [bunch] open his bak,
 Thar was noght made with outen lac³;
 His chin was fast until his brest,
 On his mace he gan him rest.
 Also it was a wonder wede [wonderous dress]
 That the cherle⁴ yn zede, [went in]
 Nowther of wol ne of line [linen]
 Was the wede that he went yn.
 When he me sagh, he stode up right,
 I frayned [asked] him if he wolde fight,
 For tharto was I in gude will,
 Bot als a beste than stode he still :
 I hopid that he no wittes kowth,
 No reson for to speke with mowth.
 To him I spak ful hardily,
 And said, What ertow, [art thou] belamy ? [My Friend]
 He said ogain, I am a man.
 I said, swilk [such] saw I never nane.
 What ertow alson, said he ?
 I said, Swilk als you her may se.
 I said, What dose you here allane ?
 He said, I kepe this bestes ilkane.
 I said, That es mervaille, think me,
 For I herd never of man bot the,
 In wildernes, ne in forestes,
 That kepeing had of wilde bestes,

¹ Wild bayard, i.e. horse.² Club.³ Lack.⁴ Churl.

Bot thai war bunden fast in halde. [Hold.]
 He said, Of thirses [these] none so balde,
 Nowther by day ne by night, Anes to pas out of mi sight.
 I said, How so, tell me thi still. Per fay, he said, gladly I will.
 He said, In al this fair forest Es thar non so wilde best,
 Thatrenne [Runs] dar, [there] bot stilstand
 Whan I am to him cumand ; [coming]
 And ay when that I will him fang [take]
 With my fingers that er strang,
 I ger him cri on swilk manere,
 That all the bestes when thai him here,
 About me than cum thai all, And to mi fete fast thai fall
 On thair maner, merci to cry. Bot onderstond now redyli,
 Olyve es thar lifand no ma, [man]
 Bot I, that durst among them ga, [go]
 That he ne sold sone be altorent ;
 Bot thai ar at my comandment,
 To me thai cum whan I tham call,
 And I am maister of tham all.
 Than he asked onone right,
 What man I was? I said, a knyght,
 That soght avents in that lande,
 My body to asai¹ and fand ; [fend, defend.]
 And I the pray of thi kounsayle
 You teche me to sum mervayle².
 He said, I can no wonders tell, Bot her besydees a Well ;
 Wend yeder, and do als I say,
 You passes noght al quite oway,
 Folow forth this ilk strete
 And sone sum mervayles sal you mete :
 The well es under the fairest Tre
 That ever was in this cuntre ;
 By that Well hinges [hangs] a Bacyno [helmet]
 That es of golde gude and fyne,
 With a cheyne, trewly to tell, That will reche in to the Well.
 Thare as a Chapel nere thar by,
 That nobil es and ful lufely
 By the well standes a Stane,
 Take the bacyn sone onane, [In hand.]
 And cast on water with thi hand,
 And sone you sal se new tithand : [tidings.]
 A storme sal rise and a tempest, Al about, by est and west,
 You sal here mani thonor blast
 Al about the blawand fast,
 And thar sal cum sike slete and rayne

¹ Exercise.² Tell me of some wonder. So Alexander, in the deserts of India, meets two *old chourlis*, or churls, from whom he desires to learn,

Any merveilles by this wayes, That y myzte do in story,
 That men han in memorie.

They tell him, that a little farther he will see the Trees of the Sun and Moon, &c. GESTE OF
 ALEXANDER, MSS. p. 231.

That unnese [scarcely] sal you stand ogayne :
 Of lightnes [lightening] sal you se a lowe,
 Unnethes you sal thi selvan [self] knowe ;
 And if you pas with owten grevance,
 Than has thou the fairest chance
 That ever zit had any knyght,
 That theder come to kyth [know] his myght.
 Than toke I leve, and went my way,
 And rade unto the midday ;

By than I com whare I sold be, I saw the Chapel and the Tre:
 Thare I fand the fayrest thorne
 That ever groued sen God was born :
 So thik it was with leves grene
 Might no rayn cum tharby twene ;
 And that grenes lastes ay,
 For no winter dere yt may.

I fand the Bacyn, als he talde, And the Well with waterkalde
 An emerawd was the Stane,
 Richer saw I never nane,
 On fowr rubyes on heght standand,
 Thair light lasted over al the land.
 And whan I saw that semely syght,
 It made me bath joyful and lyght.

I toke the Bacyn sone onane And heli water upon the Stane :
 The weder [weather] wex than wonder blak,
 And the thoner fast gan crak ;
 Thar cum slike stormes of hayl and rayn,
 Unnethes I might stand thare ogayn :
 The store [strong] windes blew full lowd,
 So kene cam never are [air] of clowd.
 I was drevyn with snawe and slete,
 Unnethes I might stand on my fete.
 In my face the levening smate,
 I wend have brent, so was it hate :
 That weder made me so will of rede,
 I hopid¹ sone to have my dede ;
 And sertes, if it lang had last,
 I hope I had never thethin [thence] past.
 Bot thorgh his might that tholed wownd
 The storme sessed within a stownde: [on a sudden]

Then wex the weder fayr ogayne, And tharof was I wonder fayne ;
 For best comforth of al thing Es solace after mislykeing.
 Then saw I sone a mery syght, Of al the fowles that er in flyght,
 Lighted so thik opon that tre, That bogh ne lefe none might I se ;
 So meryly than gon thai sing, That al the wode bigan to ring ;
 Ful mery was the melody Of thaire sang and of thaire cry ;
 Thar herd never man none swilk, Bot if ani had herd that ilk.
 And when that mery din was done, Another din than herd I sone,
 Als it war of hors men, Mo than owther nyen or ten.

¹ Feared. See Johns. Steev, SHAKESPEARE, Vol. v. p. 273. edit. 1779.

Sone than saw I cum a knyght, In riche armure was he dight ;
 And sone when I gan on him loke,
 Mi shelde and sper to me I toke.
 That knight to me hied ful fast,
 And kene wordes out gan he cast :
 He bad that I sold tell him lite [soon]
 Why I did him swilk despite,
 With weders [storm] wakened him of rest,
 And done him wrang in his Forest :
 Thar fore, he sayd, You sal aby : [stay]
 And with that come he egerly,
 And said, I had ogayn resowne [reason]
 Done him grete destrucciowne,
 And might it nevermore amend ;
 Tharfor he bad, I sold me fend :
 And sone I smate him on the shelde,
 Mi schaft brac out in the felde ;
 And then he bar me son bi strenkith
 Out of my sadel my speres lenkith :
 I wat that he was largely
 By the shuldres mare than I ;
 And by the ded [death] that I sal thole,
 Mi stede by his was bot a fole.
 For mate [sleep] I lay downe on the grownde,
 So was I stonayd in that stownde :
 A worde to me wald he noght say,
 Bot toke my stede, and went his way.
 Ffull sarily than thare I sat,
 For wa [woe] I wist noght what was what :
 With my stede he went in hy,
 The same way that he come by ;

And I durst folow him no ferr For dout me solde bite werr,
 And also zit by Goddes dome¹, I ne wist whar he bycome.
 Than I thoght how I had hight², Unto myne ost the hende knyght.
 And also till his lady bryght, To come ogayn if that I might.
 Mine armurs left I thare ylkane, For else myght I noght have gane ;
 Unto myne in I come by day :
 The hende knyght and the fayre may,
 Of mi come war thai ful glade, And nobil semblant thai me made ;
 In al thinges thai have tham born
 Als thai did the night biforn.

Sone thai wist whar I had bene, And said, that thai had never sene
 Knyght that ever theder come Take the way ogayn home.—

I add Sir Ywain's achievement of the same Adventure, with its consequences.

Whan Ywayn was withowten town,
 Of his palfray lighted he down,
 And dight him right wele in his wede,
 And lepe up on his gude stede.

¹ God's sentence, the crucifixion.

² Hette. Promise^d

Furth he rade on right, Until it neghed nere the nyght ;
 He passed many a high mountayne
 In wildernes, and many a playne,
 Til he come to that leyir [bad] sty¹
 That him byhoved pass by :
 Than was he seker for to se The Wel, and the fayre Tre ;
 The Chapel saw he at the last,
 And theder hyed he ful fast.
 More curtaysli and more honowr
 Fand he with them in that towr
 And mare comforth by mony falde,
 Than Colgrevice had him of talde.
 That night was he herbered thar,
 So wel was he never are.
 At more he went forth by the strete,
 And with the cherel [churl] sone gan he mete
 That sold tel to him the way ;
 He sayned him, the sothe to say,
 Twenty sith [times], or ever he blan [ceased],
 Swilke mervayle had he of that man,
 For had wonder, that nature
 Myght mak so foul a creature.
 Than to the Wel he rade gude pase,
 And down he lighted in that plase ;
 And sone the bacyn has he tane,
 And kest water upon the Stane ;
 And sone thar wax, withowten fayle,
 Wind and thonor, rayn and hayle
 When it was sesed, than saw he
 The fowles light upon the tre,
 Thai sang ful fayr upon that thorn
 Right als thai had done byforn.
 And sone he saw cumand a knight,
 And fast so the fowl in flyght,
 With rude sembland, and sterne chere,
 And hastily he neghed nere ;
 To speke of luf na time was thare,
 For aither hated uther ful sare. [Sore.]
 Togedder smertly gan thai drive, Thair sheldes son biȝan to ryve,
 Thair shaftes cheverd [shivered] to thair hand
 Bot thai war both ful wele syttand.
 Out thai drogh [drew] thair swerdes kene,
 And delt strakes tham bytwene ;
 Al to pieces thai hewed thair sheldes,
 The culpons [pieces] flegh [flew] out in the feldos.

¹ That is, the forest. But I do not precisely know the meaning of sty. It is thus used in the *LADY OF EMARE*. MSS. COLL. CALIF. A. 2, fol. 57.

Messengers forth he sent
 That was brynt as someres day :
 With myche myrthe and melodye
 Both by *stretes* and by *ryve*

Aftyr the mayde fayre and gent
 Messengers dynte hem in hye,
 Forthe gon they fare
 Aftyr. that fayr lady.

On helmes strakes they so with yre,
 At ilka strake out brast the fyr ;
 Ayther of tham gude buffettes bede,
 And nowther wald styr of the stede.
 Ful kenely thai kyd thair might
 And feyned tham noght for to fyght :
 Thair hauberkes that men might ken
 The blode out of thair bodyes ren.
 Ayther on other laid so fast, The batayl might noght lang last :
 Hauberks er broken, and helmes reven,
 Styf strakes war thar gyfen ;
 Thai foght on hors stifly always The batel was wele more to prays ;
 Bot at the last syr Ywayne On his felow kyd his mayne,
 So egerly he smate him than,
 He clefe the helme and the herne pan¹ :
 The knyght wist he was nere ded,
 To fly than was his best rede ; [counsel]
 And fast he fled with al hys mayne,
 And fast followe syr Ywayne,
 Bot he ne might him overtake,
 Tharfore grete murning gan he make ;
 He folowd him stowtlyk, [stoutly]
 And would have tane him ded or quik ;
 He folowed him the cete, Naman lynand met he.
 Whan thai come to the kastel zate, In he folowed fast tharate :
 At aither entre was, I wys, Straytly wrought a port culis
 Shod wele with yren and stele, And also grunden wonder wele :
 Under that then was a swyke, [switch]
 That made syr Ywayn to myslike,
 His hors fote toched thare on Than fel the port culis onone².
 Betwyx him and his arfown,
 Thorgh fadel and stede it smate al down,
 His spores of his heles it schare ; Than had Ywayne murnyng mare,
 Bot so he wend have passed quite³, That fel the tother⁴ biforn alstyte.
 A faire grace that fel him swa, [so]
 Al if it did his hors in twa,
 And his spors of aither hele, That himself passed so wele.

While sir Ywayne remains in this perilous confinement, a lady looks out of a wicket which opened in the wall of the gateway, and releases him. She gives him her ring.

I sal leve the har mi Ring⁵, Bot zelde it me at myne askyng :
 Whan thou ert broght of al thi payn
 Zelde [yeld] it than to me ogayne :

¹ So in Minot's Poems. MSS. Cott. GALB. E. ix. ut supr.

And sum lay knoked out their hernds.

² Traps of this kind are not uncommon in romance. Thus sir Lancelot, walking round the chambers of a strange castle, treads on a board which throws him into a cave twelve fathoms deep. MORT. ARTH. E. xix. ch. vii.

³ But even so he thought to have passed forward, through.

⁴ The other portcullis. ⁵ This ring is used in another adventure.

Als the bark hilles [covers] the tre,
 Right so sal my Ring to the ;
 When you in hand as the stane,
 Der [harm] sal thai do the nane,
 For the stane es of swilk might Of the sal men have na sygt¹.
 Wit ze wel that sir Ywayne Of thir wordes was ful fayne ;
 In at the dore sho hem led, And did him sit upon hir bed,
 A quylte ful nobil lay tharon, Richer saw he never none, &c.

Here he is secreted. In the meantime, the Lord of the castle dies of his wounds, and is magnificently buried. But before the interment, the people of the castle search for sir Ywayne.

Half his stede thar fand thai That within the zates [gates] lay ;
 Bot the knight thar fand thai noght:
 Than was thar mekil sorow unsoght,
 Dore ne window was thar nane, Whar he myght oway gane.
 Thai said he sold thare be laft²,
 Or els he cowth of weche craft³,
 Or he cowth of nygromancy, Or he had wenges to fly.
 Hastily than went thai all
 And soght him in the maydens hall,
 In chambers high es noght at hide,
 And in solers⁴ on ilka side.
 Sir Ywayne saw ful wele al that,
 And still upon the bed he sat:
 Thar was nane that anes mynt Unto the bed at smyte⁵ a dynt⁶:
 Al about thai smate so fast, That mani of thair wapins brast ;
 Mekyl sorow thai made ilkane,
 For thai ne myght wreke thair lord bane.
 Thai went oway with dreri chere,
 And sone thare efter come the Bere⁷;
 A lady folowd white so mylk, In al that lond was none swilk:
 Sho wrang her fingers, outbraste the blode,
 For mekyl wa [woe] sho was nere wode ; [mad]
 Hir fayr har scho alto drogh⁸,
 And ful oft fel sho down in swogh ; [swoon]
 She wepe with a ful dreri voice The hali water, and the croyce,
 Was born bifore the procession ; Thar folowd mani a moder son.
 Bifor the cors rade a knyght
 On his stede that was ful wight ; [swift]
 In his armurs wele arayd,
 With spere and target gudely grayd.
 Than sir Ywayne herd the cry
 Of the dole of that fayr lady, &c.

¹ No man will see you.

² He still was there.

⁴ High chambers.

⁶ Never once *minded*, or thought, to strike at the bed, not seeing him there.

⁷ Bier.

⁸ Drew. So in the *LADY OF THE ERLE OF THOLOUSE*, MSS. Mus., Ashmol. 45.

³ Understood witchcraft.

⁵ i.e. On account of the ring.

The erle hymselfe an axe drogh, A hundred men that day he slough.

Sir Ywayne desires the damsel's permission to look at the lady of the deceased knight through a window. He falls in love with her. She passes her time in praying for his soul.

Unto his saul was sho ful hulde : [held]
 Opon a sawter al of gulde, [psaltery of gold]
 To say the sal-mas [soul mass] fast sho bigan.

The damsel¹, whose name is Lunet, promises sir Ywayne an interview with the Lady. She uses many arguments to the Lady, and with much art, to shew the necessity of her marrying again, for the defence of her castle.

The mayden redies hir ful rath²,
 Bilive she gert syr Ywayne bath³,
 And clad hym seym in gude scarlet,
 Fororde [furred] wel, and with gold fret⁴;

A girdel ful riche for the nones, Of perry and of precious stones.
 Sho talde him al how he sold do Whan that he come the lady to.
 He is conducted to her chamber.

Bot zit sir Ywayne had grete drede,
 Whan he unto chamber zede ;

¹ There is a damsel of this name in MORTE ARTHUR, B. vii. ch. xvi.

² Early. Soon.

³ Made him bathe immediately.

⁴ In another part of this romance, a knight is dressed by a lady.

A damisel come unto me,
 Hendly scho² toke me by the hand,
 Al unlaced myne armure ;
 And with a mantel scho me cled,
 And the pane³ of riche ermine :
 And there was none than bot we twa,
 Her manners might no man amend,
 And of her semblant saft and stable ;

Lufsumer lifed¹ never in land ;
 And sone that gentyl creature
 Into a chamber scho me led,
 It was of purpur fayr and fine,
 Al the folk war went us fra,
 Scho served me hendely to hend.
 Of tong scho was trew and renable,
 Ful fain I wald, if that I might,
 Have woned with that swete wight.

In MORTE ARTHUR, sir Launcelot going into a nunnery is unarmed in the abbess's chamber. B. xiii. ch. i. In MORTE ARTHUR, sir Galahad is disarmed, and cleathed 'in a cote of red 'sendell and a mantell *furred* with fyne ERMYNES, &c.' B. xiii. ch. i. In the British LAY or romance, of LAUNVAL (MSS. Cott. VESPAS. B. 14. 1.) we have,

Un cher mantel de BLANCHE ERMINE, Couvert de purpre Alexandrine.

There is a statute, made in 1337, prohibiting any under rool. per annum, to were fur. I suppose richest fur was Ermine ; which, before the manufactures of gold and silver, was the greatest article of finery in dress. But it continued in use long afterwards, as appears by ancient portraits. In the Statutes of Cardinal Wolsey's College at Oxford, given in the year 1525, the students are enjoined, 'Ne magis pretiosis aut sumptuosis utan FELLIBUS.' De VESTITU, &c. fol. 49. MSS. Cott. Tit. F. iii. This injunction is a proof that rich furs were at that time a luxury of the secular life. In an old poem written in the reign of Henry VI. about 1436, entitled the ENGLISH POLICIE, *exhorting all England to keep the sea* a curious and valuable record of the state of our traffick and mercantile navigation at that period, it appears that our trade with Ireland, for furs only, was then very considerable. Speaking of the writer says,

— Martens goode been her marchandie, Hertes hides, and other of venerie,
 Skinnes of otter, squirrell, and Irish hare ;
 Of sheepe, lambe, and foxe, is her chaffare.

See Hacklvyt's VOIAGES, Vol. i. p. 199. edit. 1598.

At the sacking of a town in Normandy, Froissart says, 'There was founde so muche 'rychesse, that the boyes and vyllaynes of the hooste sette nothyng by goode FURRED gownes.' Berners's Transl. tom. i. fol. lx. a.

¹ Lovelier lived.

² Courteously she.

³ Border.

The chamber, flore, and als the bed,
With klothes of gold was al over spread'.

After this interview, she is reconciled to him, as he only in self-defence had slain her husband, and she promises him marriage.

Then hastily sho went to Hall, Thar abode her barons all,
For to hald thair parlement, [assembly]
And mari [marry] her by thair asent.

They agree to the marriage.

Then the lady went ogayne Unto chamber to Ywayne;
Sir, sho said, so God me save, Other lord will I nane have:
If I the left² I did noght right, A king son, and a noble knyght.
Now has the maiden done hir thocht,
Syr Ywayne out of anger broght.
The lady led him unto Hall,
Ogains [against] him rose the barons all,
And at thai said ful sekerly, This Knight sal wed the Lady:

¹ In the manners of romance, it was not any indelicacy for a lady to pay amorous courtship to a knight. Thus in Davie's *GESTE OF ALEXANDER*, written in 1312, queen Candace openly endeavours to win Alexander to her love. MSS. penes me, p. 271. [Cod. Hospit. Linc. 150.] She shews Alexander, not only her palace, but her bed-chamber.

— Quoth the quene,
Oure mete schol, thar bytweone²,
Scheo ladde him to an halle of nobleys,
Of Troye was ther men⁴ the storye⁵
Theo bemes ther weore⁷ of bras.
Theo pinnes⁹ weore of ivorye,
Himself alone, from bour to bour,
Gold and seolver, and preciouise stones,
Mantellis, robes, and pavelounes,
And heo [she] him asked, par amour,
And he said, in his contray
Heo [she] thohte more that heo saide.
That hir owne chambre was,
Theo atyr¹³ was therein so riche
Heo ladde him to a stage,
And saide, Alexander leif [believe] thou me,
Y dude hit in ymagoure,
This othir zeir, tho thou nolde [would not]
Het is the glyche¹⁵, leove brother¹⁶,
O Alisaunder, of grete renoun,
Al thy streynthe helpethe the nowzt,
For womman the heveth in hire las [her lace]
That I were yarmed¹⁸ wel
Many an heid wolde y cleove,
Alysaunder, heo saide, thou saith soth,
For here, undir this covertour,

Go we now myn esteris to seone¹:
Ygraithed³ and redy beone.
Then he dude of his harneys:
How Gregoys⁶ had the victorye:
Theo wyndowes weoren of riche glas⁸:
The king went with the ladye,
And syze [saw] much riche tresour,
Baudekyns¹⁰ made for the nones¹¹,
Of golde and seolver riche foyssounes [stores]
Zef he syze ever suche a tresour.
Tresour he wiste of grete noblay.
To anothir stude heo he gan him lede¹²,
In all this world richer none nas.
In al thys world nys him nor lyche. [Like]
And him schewed one ymage,
This ymage is made after the [them]:
And caste hit after thy vigoure¹⁴;
To me come for love ne for golde,
So any faucon¹⁷ is anothir.
Thou taken art in my prisoun!
For womman the haveth bycowzt, [caught]
O, quoth Alisaunder, alas,
And hed my sword of browne stel,
Ar y wolde yn prison bileve¹⁹.
Beo noither adrad no wroth,
Y wil have the to myn amour, &c.

² Was I not to marry you.

¹ To see my apartments.

² Our dinner shall, meanwhile.

³ Prepared.

⁴ For *ther men*, read *therein*, as MSS. LAUD. i. 74. Bibl. Bodl.

⁵ The story of Troy was in the tapestry, or painted on the walls of the hall.

⁶ Greeks.

⁷ The rafters were.

⁸ Painted glass.

⁹ Of the windows.

¹⁰ Rich clothes.

¹¹ That is for the occasion. So the painting or tapestry, before mentioned, representing the Greeks victorious, was in compliment to Alexander.

¹² Stede, Lodging.

¹³ The furniture.

¹⁴ Figure.

¹⁵ Like.

¹⁶ Dear Brother, or Friend.

¹⁷ As one faucon. In MSS. LAUD. i. 174. It is peny, for faucon.

¹⁸ Here, y is the Saxon i. See Hearne's GL., ROB. GLOUC, p. 738.

¹⁹ Be left. Stay. Even.

²⁰ Neither affrighted nor angry.

And ilkane said thaimself bitwene,
 So fayr a man had thai noght sene,
 For his bewte in hal and bower: Him seemes to be an emperowr.
 We walde that thai war trowth plight,
 And weded sone this ilk nyght.
 The lady set hir on the dese¹,
 And cumand al to hald thair pese;
 And bad hir steward sumwhat say,
 Or men went fra cowrt away.
 The steward said, Sirs, understandes,
 Wor [war] is waxen in this landes;
 The king Arthur is redy dight
 To be here by this fowre tenyght:
 He and his menze [knights] ha thocht
 To win this land if thai moght:
 Thai wate [know] ful wele, that he is ded
 That was lorde here in this stede: [castle]
 None es so wight wapins² to welde,
 Ne that so boldly mai us belde,
 And women may maintene no stowr, [fight]
 Thai most nedes have a governowr:
 Tharfor mi lady most nede Be weded hastily for drede,
 And to na lord wil sho take tent,
 Bot if it be by zowr assent.
 Than the lordes al on raw
 Held them wele payd of this saw³.
 Al assented hyr untill⁴ To tak a lord at hyr own wyll.
 Than said the lady onone right,
 How hald ze zow payd of this knight?
 He profers hym on al wyse To myne honor and my servyse,
 And sertes, sirs, the soth to say,
 I saw him never, er this day;
 Bot talde unto me has it bene He es the kyng son Uriene:
 He es cumen of high parage⁵,
 And wonder doghty of vassalage, [courage]
 War and wise, and ful curtayse, He zernes⁶ me to wife alwayse:
 And nere the lese, I wate, he might
 Have wele better, and so war right.

¹ Deis. The high-table. In the GESTE OF ALEXANDER we have the phrase of *holding the deis*, MSS.

There was gynnyng a new feste,
 King Philip was in mal ese,

And of gleomen many a geste,
 Alisaundre HELD THE DESE.

² Active to wield weapons.

³ Opinion. Word. It is of extensive signification, EMARE, MSS. ut supr.

I have herd minstrelles syng in saw.

⁴ Unto. So Rob. Brunne, of Stonechenge, edit. Hearne, p. xcxi.

In Afrik were thai compast and wrought,
 Geantz TILLE Ireland from thithen tham brought.

That is, 'Giants brought them from Africa into Ireland.'

⁵ Kindred. So in the GESTE OF ALEXANDER, MSS. p. 258.

They wer men of gret parage,

And haden fowrty wynter in age

⁶ Eagerly wishes.

With a voice halely thai sayd,
 Madame, ful wele we hald us payd:
 Bot hastes fast al that ze may,
 That ze war wedded this ilk day:
 And grete prayer gan thai make
 On alwise, that sho suld hym take.

Sone unto the kirk thai went, And war wedded in thair present;
 Thar wedded Ywain in plevyne¹ The riche lady ALUNDYNE,
 The dukes doghter of Landuit, Els had hyr lande bene destruyt.

Thus thai made the maryage
 Among al the riche barnage: [baronage]
 Thai made ful mekyl mirth that day,
 Ful grete festes on gude aray;
 Grete mirthes made thai in that stede,
 And al forgetyn es now the dede [death]
 Of him that was thair lord fre;
 Thai say that this es worth swilk thre.
 And that thai lufed him mekil more
 Than him that lord was thare byfore.
 The bridal² sat, for soth to tell,
 Till king Arthur come to the well

¹ Fr. Plevine. See Du Fresne, PLEVINA.

² Bridal is Saxon for the nuptial feast. So in Davie's GESTE OF ALEXANDER. MSS. fol. 41. penes me.

He wist nouzt of this BRIDALE,

Ne no man tolde him the tale.

In GAMELYN, or the COKE'S. Tale, v. 1267.

At every BRIDALE he would sing and hop.

Spenser, FAERIE QU. B. v. C. ii. st. 3.

— Where and when the BRIDALE cheare
 Should be solemnised.——

And, vi. x. 13.

— Theseus her unto his BRIDALE bore.

See also Spenser's PROTHALAMION.

The word has been applied adjectively, for CONNUBIAL. Perhaps Milton remembered or retained its original use in the following passage of SAMSON AGONISTES, ver. 1196.

And in your city held my nuptial feast:
 But your ill-meaning politician lords,
 Under pretence of BRIDAL friends and guests,
 Appointed to await me thirty spies.

'Under pretence of friends and guests invited to the BRIDAL.' But in PARADISE LOST, he speaks of the evening star hastening to light the BRIDAL LAMP, which in another part of the same poem he calls the NUPtIAL TORCH. viii. 520. xi. 590. I presume this Saxon BRIDALE is Bride-Ale, the FEAST in honour of the *bride* or marriage. ALE, simply put, is the feast or the merry-making, as in PIERCE PLOWMAN, fol. xxxii. b. edit. 1550. 4to.

And then satten some and songe at the ALE [nale.]

Again, fol. xxvi. b.

I am occupied everie daye, holye daye and other,
 With idle tales at the ALE, and otherwhile in churches.

So Chaucer of his FREERE, Urr. p. 87. v. 85.

And they were only glad to fill his purse,
 And maden him grete festis at the NALE.

Nale is ALE. 'They feasted him, or entertained him, with particular respect, at the parish-feast, &c.' Again, PLOWMAN'S TALE, p. 125. v. 21 10.

At the *Wrestling*, and at the *Wake*,
 And the chief chaunters at the NALE.

With al his knyghtes ever ilkane,
 Byhind leved thar nocht ane.—
 The king kest water on the stane,
 The storme rase ful sone onane
 With wikked¹ weders, kene and calde,
 Als it was byfore hand talde.
 The king and his men ilkane
 Wend tharwith to have bene slane,
 So blew it store [strong] with slete and rayne:
 And hastily gan syr Ywayne²,
 Dight him graythly [readily] in his gere,
 With nobil shelde, and strong spere:
 When he was dight in seker wede,
 Than he umstrade [bestrode] a nobil stede:
 Him thocht that he was als lyght Als a fowl es to the flyght.
 Unto the Well fast wendes he,
 And sone when thai myght him se,
 Syr Kay, for he wald nocht fayle,
 Smertly askes the batayle.
 And alsone than said the kyng, Sir Kay, I grante thine askyng.

That ALE is *festival*, appears from its sense in composition; as, amongst others, in the words Leet-ale, Lamb-ale, Whitson-ale, Clerk-ale, and Church-ale. LEET-ALE, in some parts of England, signifies the Dinner at a court-leet of a manor for the jury and customary tenants. LAMB-ALE is still used at the village of Kirtlington in Oxfordshire, for an annual feast or celebrity at lamb-shearing. WHITSON-ALE, is the common name in the mid-land counties, for the rural sports and feasting at Whitsonside. CLERK-ALE occurs in Aubrey's MSS. History of WILTSHIRE. 'In the Easter holidays was the CLARKES-ALE, for his private benefit and the 'solace of the neighbourhood.' MSS. Mus. ASAM. OXON. CHURCH-ALE, was a feast established for the repair of the church, or in honour of the church-saint, &c. In Dodsworth's MSS. there is an old indenture, made before the Reformation, which not only shews the design of the Church-ale, but explains this particular use and application of the word Ale. The parishioners of Elveston and Okebrook, in Derbyshire, agree jointly, 'to brew four ALES, and every ALE of one quarter of malt, betwixt this and the feast of saint John Baptist next coming. And that every inhabitant of the said town of Okebrook shall be at the several 'ALES. And every husband and his wife shall pay two pence, every cottager one penny, and all the inhabitants of Elveston shall have and receive all the profits and advantages coming of the said ALES, to the use and behoof of the said church of Elveston. And the inhabitants of Elveston shall brew eight ALEL betwixt this and the feast of St. John Baptist, at the 'which ALES the inhabitants of Okebrook shall come and pay as before rehearsed. And if he 'be away at one ALE, to pay at the toder ALE for both, &c.' MSS. Bibl. Bodl. vol. 148. f. 97. See also our CHURCH-CANONS, given in 1603. CAN. 88. The application of what is here collected to the word BRIDALE, is obvious. But Mr. Astle has a curious record, about 1575, which proves the BRIDE-ALE synonymous with the WEDDYN-ALE. During the course of queen Elizabeth's entertainments at Kenilworth-castle, in 1575, a BRYDE-ALE was celebrated with a great variety of shews and sports. Laneham's LETTER, dated the same year. fol. xxvi. seq. What was the nature of the merriment of the CHURCH-ALE, we learn from the WITCHES-SONG in Jonson's MASQUE OF QUEENS at Whitehall in 1609, where one of the Witches boasts to have killed and stole the fat of an infant, begotten by a piper at a CHURCH-ALE. S. 6.

Among bishop Tanner's MSS. additions to Cowell's Law-Glossary in the Bodleian library, is the following Note, from his own collections. [Lit. V.] 'A.D. 1468. Prior Cant. et Commissarii visitationem fecerunt (diocesi Cant. vacante per mortem archiepiscopi) et ibi publicatum erat, quod Potationes factæ in ecclesiis, vulgariter dictæ YEVEALYS, vel BREDEALYS, non essent ulterius in usu sub pena excommunicationis majoris.'

Had the learned author of the Dissertation on BARLEY WINE been as well acquainted with the British as the Grecian literature, this long note would perhaps have been unnecessary,

¹ Wicked is here, *accursed*. In which sense it is used by Shakespeare's Caliban, TEMP. Act. i. Sc. ii.

As WICKED dew as e'er my mother brush'd
 With raven's feather, &c.

² To defend the fountain, the office of the lord of this castle.

Sir Ywayne is victorious, who discovers himself to king Arthur after the battle.

And sone sir Ywayne gan him tell
Of al his fare how it byfell,
With the knight how that he sped,
And how he had the Lady wed;
And how the Mayden him helped well:
Thus talde he to hym ilka dele.
Syr kyng, he sayd, I zow byseke,
And al zowr menze milde and meke,
That ze wald grante to me that grace
At [to] wend with me to my purchase,
And se my Kastle and my Towre,
Than myght ze do me grete honowre.

The kyng granted him ful right To dwel with him a fouretenyght.

Sir Ywayne thanked him oft sith [times]

The knyghtes war al glad and blyth,

With sir Ywayne for to wend And sone a squier has he send

Unto the kastel, the way he nome,

And warned the Lady of thair come,

And that his Lord come with the kyng.

And when the Lady herd this thing,

It es no lifand man with mowth That half hir cumforth tel kowth.

Hastily that Lady hende Cumand al her men to wende,

And dight thaim in thair best aray, To kepe the king that ilk day :

Thai keped¹ him in riche wede Rydeand on many a nobil stede ;

Thai hailed [saluted] him ful curtaysly,

And also al his cumpany :

Thai said he was worthy to dowt,

That so fele folk led obowt² :

Thar was grete joy, I zow bihete,

With clothes spered³ in ilka strete,

And damysels danceand ful wele,

With trumpes, pipes, and with fristele :

The Castel and the Cetee rang With mynstralsi and nobil sang.

Thai ordand them ilkane in fere To kepe the king on faire manere.

The Lady went withowten towne, And with her many balde barowne,

Cled in purple and ermyne With girdels al of golde ful fyne.

The Lady made ful meri chere,

Sho was al dight with drewries⁴ dere ;

About hir was ful mekyl thrang, The puple cried and sayd omang,

Welcum ertou, kyng Arthoure,

Of al this werld thou beres the floure !

Lord kyng of all kynges,

And blissed be he that the brynges !

¹ Waited on. See Tyrwh. Gl. Ch.

³ Tapestry spread on the walls.

⁴ Gallantries. Jewels. Davie says, that in one of Alexander's battles, many a lady lost her drewery. GESTE ALEXANDER, MSS. p. 86. Athens is called the *Drywery* of the world.

When the Lady the Kyng saw,
 Unto him fast gan sho draw,
 To hald his sterap whils he lyght ;
 Bot sone when he of hir had syght,
 With mekyl mirth thai samen¹ met
 With hende wordes sho him gret ;
 A thousand sithes welkum sho says,
 And so es sir Gawayne the curtayse.
 The king said, Lady white so flowr,
 God gif ye joy and mekyl honowr,
 For thou ert fayr with body gent :
 With that he hir in armes hent,
 And ful fayre he gan her falde, [fold]
 Thar was many to bihalde :
 Et es no man with tong may tell
 The mirth that was tham omell ;
 Of maidens was thar so gude wane²,
 That ilka knight myght take ane.

The king stays here eight days, entertained with various sports.

And ilk day thai had solace sere
 Of huntyng, and als of revere: [river]
 For thar was a ful fayre cuntre,
 With wodes and parkes grete plente ;
 And castels wroght with lyme and stane
 That Ywayne with his wife had tane³.

¹ Together.

² Assembly.

³ There are three old poems on the exploits of Gawain, one of the heroes of this romance. There is a fourth in the Scotch dialect, by Clerke of Tranent, an old Scottish poet. See LAMENT FOR THE DEATH OF THE MAKKARIS, st. xvii.

Clerk of the Tranent eke has [death] tane
 That made the *Aventers* of GAWANE.

ANC. SCOTT. P. 1576.

The two heroes of this romance, YWAIN and GAWAIN, are mentioned jointly in a very old French version of the British or Armorican LAY OF LAUNVAL, of which there is a beautiful vellum MSS. MSS. Cott. VESPAS. B. xiv. I.

Ensemble odeus GAWAYNS,

E sis cosins li beus YWAYNS.

This LAY or SONG, like the romance in the text, is opened with a feast celebrated at Whitsuntide by king Arthur at Kardoyl, a French corruption from Carliol, by which is meant Caerleon in Wales, sometimes in romances confounded with Cardiff. See Geoffr. Momm. x. 12. 'Ici commence le Lay de LAUNVAL !

Laventure de un Lay,
 Fait fu dun gentil vassal,
 A Kardoyl suivoit li reys
 Pur les Escot, e pur les Pis,
 En la terre de Logres' le trouoient,
 A la Pentecuste en este,
 A les i dona riches duns,

Cum de avint uns cunteray,
 En Bretagne lapelent LAUNVAL :
 Arthur, li prouz, e li curteys,
 Ki destrueient les pays ;
 Mult souent le damagouent :
 I aveit li reys sojourne,
 E al cuntes², e al baruns,

A uns de la Table Runde, &c.

That is, 'HERK BEGINS THE LAY OF LAUNVAL.—The Adventure of a certain LAY, which has been related of old, made of a *gentle* vassal, whom in Bretagne they called LAUNVAL.

¹ Logres, or Loegria, from Loctrine, was the middle part of Britain,

² Counts. So in ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER, we have CONTASS for *countess*. On which word his editor Hearne observes, that king James I. used to call a *Countess* a *cuntys*. And he quotes one of Jame's letters, 'Come and bring the three Cuntys [for *countesses*] with you' GLOSS. p. 635.

SECTION LXIV.

I FEAR I shall be pronounced a heretic to modern criticism, in retracting what I have said in a preceding page, and in placing the NUT-BROWNE MAYDE under some part of this reign. Prior, who, about the year 1718, paraphrased this poem, without improving its native beauties, supposes it to have been three hundred years old. It appears from two letters preserved in the British Museum, written by Prior to Wanley, lord Oxford's librarian, that Prior consulted Wanley about this ancient ballad. [MSS. HARL. 3777.] It is, however, certain, that Wanley, an antiquarian of unquestionable skill and judgment in these niceties, whatever directions and information he might have imparted to Prior on this subject, could never have communicated such a decision. He certainly in these letters gives no such opinion¹. This is therefore the hasty conjecture of Prior; who thought that the curiosity which he was presenting to the world, would derive proportionable value from its antiquity, who was better employed than in the petty labour of ascertaining dates, and who knew much more of modern than ancient poetry.

The NUT-BROWNE MAYDE first appeared in Arnolde's CHRONICLE,

'The brave and courteous king Arthur sojourned at Kardoyl, for making war against the Scots and Picts, who destroyed the country. He found them in the land of Logres, where they committed frequent outrages. The king was there at the feast of Pentecost, where he gave rich gifts to the counts and barons, and the knights of the round table, &c.'

The writing of this MSS. of LAUNVAL seems about 1300. The composition is undoubtedly much earlier. There is another, MSS. HARL. 978. §. 112. From this French LAUNVAL is translated, but with great additions, the English LAUNFALL.

I presume this romance of YWAYN and GAWAYNE is translated from a French one of the same title, and in the reign of Henry VI.; but not by Thomas Chestre, who translated, or rather paraphrased, LAUNVAL, or Sir LAUNFALL, and who seems to have been master of a more copious and poetic style. It is not however unlikely, that Chestre translated from a more modern French copy of LAUNVAL, heightened and improved from the old simple Armorican tale, of which I have here produced a short extract. The same perhaps may be said of the English metrical romance EMARE, who marries the king of Galys, or Wales, originally an Armorican tale, before quoted. MSS. Cott. CALIG. A. z. fol. 68. The last stanza confirms what has been advanced concerning the connection between Cornwall and Bretagne, or Armorica. fol. ult.

A grette feste thar was holde	Of erles and barons bolde,
As testymonieth thys story :	
Thys is on of BRYTAYNE LAYES,	That was used in olde dayes,
Men callys playn the GRAVE.	

I believe the last line means, 'Made for an entertainment.'—'Which men call playing the GARVE.' The reader may perhaps recollect, that the old Cornish Miracle interlude was called the *Guary Mirakil*, that is, the *Miracle Play*. In Cornish, *Plan an guare* is the level place, the plain of sport and pastime, the theatre of games, &c. *Guare* is a Cornish verb, to sport, to play. In affinity with which, is probably *Garish*, gay, splendid, Milton, IL PENS. v. 141. Day's *garish* eye, Shakespeare, ROM. JUL. iii. 4. The *garish* sun. KING RICHARD THE THIRD. A *garish* flag. Compare Lye, Sax. Dict. V. To dress fine.

Who was the translator of EMARE, it is not known. I presume it was translated in the reign of Henry VI. and very probably by Thomas Chestre, the translator of LAUNVAL.

¹ These letters are printed in the ADDITIONS TO POPE'S WORKS. in 2 vols. published about two years ago.

or CUSTOMS OF LONDON which was first printed about the year 1521. This is perhaps the most heterogeneous and multifarious miscellany that ever existed. The collector sets out with a catalogue of the mayors and sheriffs, the customs and charters, of the city of London. Soon afterwards we have receipts to pickle sturgeon, to make vinegar, ink, and gunpowder ; how to raise parsley in an hour ; the arts of brewery and soap-making ; an estimate of the livings in London ; an account of the last visitation of St. Magnus's church ; the weight of Essex cheese, and a letter to cardinal Wolsey. The NUT-BROWN MAYDE is introduced, between an estimate of some subsidies paid into the exchequer, and directions for buying goods in Flanders. In a word, it seems to have been this compiler's plan, by way of making up a volume, to print together all the notices and papers, whether ancient or modern, which he could amass, of every sort and subject. It is supposed, that he intended an antiquarian repertory ; but as many recent materials were admitted, that idea was not at least uniformly observed ; nor can any argument be drawn from that supposition, that this poem existed long before, and was inserted in that work as a piece of antiquity.

The editor of the PROLUSIONS infers¹, from an identity of rhythmus and orthography, and an affinity of words and phrases, that this poem appeared after sir Thomas More's JEST OF THE SERJEANT AND FREER, which, as I have observed, was written about the year 1500. This reasoning, were not other arguments obvious, would be inconclusive, and might be turned to the opposite side of the question. But it is evident from the language of the NUT-BROWNE MAYDE, that it was not written earlier than the beginning, at least, of the sixteenth century. There is hardly an obsolete word, or that requires a glossary, in the whole piece : and many parts of Surrey and Wyat are much more difficult to be understood. Reduce any two stanzas to modern orthography, and they shall hardly wear the appearance of ancient poetry. The reader shall try the experiment on the two following, which occur accidentally².

HE.—Yet take good hede, for ever I drede
 That ye could nat sustayne,
 The thornie wayes, the depe valeis,
 The snowe, the frost, the rayne,
 The colde, the hete : for, dry or wete,
 We must lodge on the playne ;
 And us abofe [above] none other rofe
 But a brake bush, or twayne.
 Which sone sholde greve you, I believe ;
 And ye wolde gladly than,

¹ PROLUSIONS, or *select pieces of ancient Poetry*, Lond. 1760. 4to. Pref. p. vii.

² V. 168.

That I had to the grene wode go
Alone a banyshed man.———

SHE.—Among the wylde dere, such an archere,
As men say that ye be,
May ye not fayle of good vitayle
Where is so grete plente:
And water clere of the ryvere
Shall be full swete to me;
With which in hele, I shall ryght wele
Endure, as ye shall see:
And, or we go, a bedde or two
I can provyde anone.
For, in my mynde, of all mankynde
I love but you alone.

The simplicity of which passage Prior has thus decorated and dilated.

HENRY.—Those limbs, in lawn and softest silk array'd
From sun-beams guarded, and of winds afraid;
Can they bear angry Jove? can they resist
The parching dog-star, and the bleak north-east?
When, chill'd by adverse snows and beating rain,
We tread with weary steps the longsome plain;
When with hard toil we seek our evening food,
Berries and acorns from the neighbouring wood;
And find among the cliffs no other house,
But the thin covert of some gather'd boughs;
Wilt thou not then reluctant send thine eye
Around the dreary waste; and weeping try
(Though then, alas! that trial be too late)
To find thy father's hospitable gate,
And seats, where ease and plenty brooding sate!
Those seats, whence long excluded thou must mourn;
That gate, for ever barr'd to thy return:
Wilt thou not then bewail ill-fated love,
And hate a banish'd man, condemn'd in woods to rove?

EMMA.—Thy rise of fortune did I only wed,
From it's decline determin'd to recede;
Did I but purpose to embark with thee
On the smooth surface of a summer's sea:
While gentle Zephyrs play in prosperous gales,
And Fortune's favour fills the swelling sails;
But would forsake the ship, and make the shore,
When the winds whistle, and the tempests roar?
No, Henry, no: one sacred oath has tied
Our loves; one destiny our life shall guide;
Nor wild nor deep our common way divide.
When from the cave thou risest with the day,
To beat the woods, and rouse the bounding prey.
The cave with moss and branches I'll adorn,
And cheerful sit, to wait my lord's return.

And when thou frequent bring'st the smitten deer
 (For seldom, archers say, thy arrows err,)
 I'll fetch quick fuel from the neighbouring wood,
 And strike the sparkling flint, and dress the food ;
 I'll cull the farthest mead for thy repast ;
 The choicest herbs I to thy board will bring,
 And draw thy water from the freshest spring :
 And, when at night with weary toil oppress,
 Soft slumbers thou enjoy'st, and wholesome rest ;
 Watchful I'll guard thee, and with midnight prayer
 Weary the Gods to keep thee in their care ;
 And joyous ask, at morn's returning ray,
 If thou hast health, and I may bless the day.
 My thoughts shall fix, my latest wish depend,
 On thee, guide, guardian, kinsman, father, friend :
 By all these sacred names be Henry known
 To Emma's heart ; and grateful let him own,
 That she, of all mankind, could love but him alone !

What degree of credit this poem maintained among our earlier ancestors, I cannot determine. I suspect the sentiment was too refined for the general taste. Yet it is enumerated among the popular tales and ballads by Laneham, in his narrative of queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth-castle in 1575. [Fol. 34.] I have never seen it in MSS. I believe it was never reprinted from Arnolde's Chronicle, where it first appeared in 1521, till so late as the year 1707. It was that year revived in a collection called the MONTHLY MISCELLANY, or MEMOIRS FOR THE CURIOUS, and prefaced with a little essay on our ancient poets and poetry, in which it is said to have been 300 years old. Fortunately for modern poetry, this republication suggested it to the notice of Prior, who perhaps from the same source might have adopted or confirmed his hypothesis, that it was coeval with the commencement of the fifteenth century.

Whoever was the original inventor of this little dramatic dialogue, he has shewn no common skill in contriving a plan, which powerfully detains our attention, and interests the passions, by a constant succession of suspense and pleasure, of anxiety and satisfaction. Betwixt hopes perpetually disappointed, and solicitude perpetually relieved, we know not how to determine the event of a debate, in which new difficulties still continue to be raised, and are almost as soon removed. In the midst of this vicissitude of feelings, a striking contrast of character is artfully formed, and uniformly supported, between the seeming unkindness and ingratitude of the man, and the unconquerable attachment and fidelity of the woman, whose amiable compliance unexpectedly defeats every objection, and continually furnishes new matter for our love and compassion. At length, our fears subside in the triumph of suffering innocence and patient sincerity. The Man, whose hard

speeches had given us so much pain, suddenly surprises us with a change of sentiment, and becomes equally an object of our admiration and esteem. In the disentanglement of this distressful tale, we are happy to find, that all his cruelty was tenderness, and his inconstancy the most invariable truth ; his levity an ingenious artifice, and his perversity the friendly disguise of the firmest affection. He is no longer an unfortunate exile, the profligate companion of the thieves and ruffians of the forest, but an opulent earl of Westmoreland; and promises, that the lady, who is a baron's daughter, and whose constancy he had proved by such a series of embarrassing proposals, shall instantly be made the partner of his riches and honours. Nor should we forget to commend the invention of the poet, in imagining the modes of trying the lady's patience, and in feigning so many new situations: which, at the same time, open a way to description, and to a variety of new scenes and images.

I cannot help observing here, by the way, that Prior has misconceived and essentially marred his poet's design, by softening the sternness of the Man, which could not be intended to admit of any degree of relaxation. Henry's hypocrisy is not characteristically nor consistently sustained. He frequently talks in too respectful and complaisant a style. Sometimes he calls Emma my *tender maid*, and my *beauteous Emma*; he fondly dwells on the ambrosial plenty of her flowing ringlets gracefully wreathed with variegated ribbands, and expatiates with rapture on the charms of her snowy bosom, her slender waist, and harmony of shape. In the ancient poem, the concealed lover never abates his affectation of rigour and reserve, nor ever drops an expression which may tend to betray any traces of tenderness. He retains his severity to the last, in order to give force to the conclusion of the piece, and to heighten the effect of the final declaration of his love. Thus, by diminishing the opposition of interests, and by giving too great a degree of uniformity to both characters, the distress is in some measure destroyed by Prior. For this reason, Henry, during the course of the dialogue, is less an object of our aversion, and Emma of our pity. But these are the unavoidable consequences of Prior's plan, who presupposes a long connection between the lovers, which is attended with the warmest professions of a reciprocal passion. Yet this very plan suggested another reason, why Prior should have more closely copied the cast of his original. After so many mutual promises and protestations, to have made Henry more obdurate, would have enhanced the sufferings and the sincerity of the amiable Emma.

It is highly probable, that the metrical romances of RICHARD CUER DE LYON, GUY EARL OF WARWICK, and SYR BEVYS OF SOUTH-AMPTON, were modernised in this reign from more ancient and simple narrations. The first was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1528. [4to.]

The second without date, but about the same time, by William Copland. I mean that which begins thus,

Ithen the tyme that God was borne,
And crystendome was set and sworne.

With this colophon. 'Here endeth the booke of the most victoryous 'prynce Guy earle of Warwyk. Imprinted at London in Lothbury, 'over against saynt Margaret's church by Wyllyam Copland.' [8vo.] Richard Pinson printed SIR BEVYS without date. Many quarto prose romances were printed between the years 1510 and 1540. Of these, KYNGE APPOLYN OF THYRE is not one of the worst.

In the year 1542, as it seems, Robert Wyer printed, 'Here begynneth 'a lytell boke named the SCOLE HOWSE, wherein every man may rede 'a goodly Prayer of the condycyons of women.' Within the leaf is a border of naked women. This is a satire against the female sex. The writer was wise enough to suppress his name, as we may judge from the following passage.

Trewly some men there be,
That lyve alwaye in greate horroure ;
And say, it goth by destenye
To hange or wed, both hath one houre :
And whether it be, I am well sure,
Hangynge is better of the twayne,
Sooner done, and shorter payne.

In the year 1521, Wynkyn de Worde printed a sett of Christmas Carols. [4to.] I have seen a fragment of this scarce book, and it preserves this colophon. 'Thus endeth the Christmasse carolles 'newly imprinted at London in the Flete-strete at the sygne of the 'sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of our Lorde, M. D. XXI¹.' These were festal chansons for enlivening the merriments of the Christmas celebrity: and not such religious songs as are current at this day with the common people under the same title, and which were substituted by those enemies of innocent and useful mirth the puritans. The boar's head soused, was anciently the first dish on Christmas day, and was carried up to the principal table in the Hall with great state and solemnity. Hollinshead says, that in the year 1170, upon the day of the young prince's coronation, Henry I. 'served his sonne at the table 'as sewer, bringing up the BORES HEAD with trumpets before it according to the manner².' For this indispensable ceremony, as also for others of that season, there was a Carol, which Wynkyn de Worde has given us in the miscellany just mentioned, as it was sung in his time, with the title, 'A CAROL bryngyng in the bores head.'

¹ For many small miscellaneous pieces under the reign of Henry VIII., the more inquisitive reader is referred to MSS. Cott. VESP. A. 25.

² CHRON. iii. 76. See also Polyd. Virg; HIST. p. 212. 10. ed. 1534.

<i>Caput Apri defero,</i> The bores head in hande bringe I, I pray you all synge merely, The bores head, I understande, Loke wherever it be fande	<i>Reddens laudes Domino,</i> With garlandes gay and rosemary. <i>Qui estis in convivio.</i> Is the chefe servyce ¹ in this lande: <i>Servite cum cantico.</i>
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Be gladde lordes, both more and lasse,
 For this hath ordayned our stewarde
 To chere you all this christmasse,
 The bores head with mustarde.

This carol, yet with many innovations, is retained at Queen's college in Oxford. Other ancient Christmas carols occur with Latin Burthens or Latin intermixtures. As thus,

Puer nobis natus est de Virgine Maria.
 Be glad lordynges, be the more or lesse,
 I brynge you tydnges of gladnesse².

The Latin scraps were banished from these jocund hymns, when the Reformation had established an English liturgy. At length appeared, 'Certaine of David's Psalmes intended for Christmas Carolls fitted to the most sollempne tunes every where familiarlie used, by William Slayter, printed by Robert Yong 1630.' [8vo.]

It was impossible that the Reformation of religion could escape without its rhyming libels. Accordingly, among others, we have, 'An Answer to a papystical exhortation, pretending to avoyd false doctrine, under that colour to mayntayne the same,' printed in 1548, and beginning.

Every pilde [bald] pedlar Will be a medlar.

In the year 1533, a proclamation was promulgated, prohibiting evil-disposed persons to preach, either in public or private, 'After their own braine, and by playing of enterludes, and printing of false fond bookes, ballades, rhymes, and other lewd treatyses in the English tongue, concerning doctrines in matters now in question and controversy, &c³.' But this popular mode of attack, which all understood, and in which the idle and unlearned could join, appears to have been more powerful than royal interdictions and parliamentary censures.

In the year 1540, Thomas lord Cromwell, during the short interval which Henry's hasty passion for Catharine Howard permitted between his commitment and execution, was insulted in a ballad written by a defender of the declining cause of popery, who certainly shewed more zeal than courage, in reproaching a disgraced minister and a dying man. This satire, however unseemly, gave rise to a religious controversy in verse, which is preserved in the archives of the antiquarian society.

¹ That is, the chief dish served at a feast.
² FOX, MARTYROLOG. f. 1339. edit. 1576.

² MSS. HARL. 5396. fol. 4. fol. 18.

I find a poem of thirty octave stanzas, printed in 1546, called the DOWFAL OF ANTICHRISTES MAS, or Mass, in which the nameless satirist is unjustly severe on the distresses of that ingenious class of mechanics who got their living by writing and ornamenting service-books for the old papistic worship, now growing into decay and disuse; insinuating at the same time, in a strain of triumph, the great blow their *craft* had received, by the diminution of the number of churches in the dissolution of the monasteries¹. It is, however, certain, that this busy and lucrative occupation was otherwise much injured by the invention and propagation of typography, as several catholic rituals were printed in England: yet still they continued to employ writers and illuminators for this purpose. The finest and the latest specimen of this sort I have seen, is Cardinal Wolsey's LECTIONARY, now preserved at Christ Church in Oxford, a prodigious folio on vellum, written and embellished with great splendor and beauty by the most elegant artists, either for the use of his own private chapel, or for the magnificent chapel which he had projected for his college, and peculiarly characteristic of that powerful prelate's predominant ideas of ecclesiastic pomp.

Wynkyn de Worde printed a TRETISE OF MERLYN, or his prophesies in verse, in 1529. Another appeared by John Hawkyns, in 1533. Metrical and prosaic prophesies attributed to the magician Merlin, all originating from Geoffrey of Monmouth's historical romance, and of oriental growth, are numerous and various. Merlin's predictions were successively accommodated by the minstrel-poets to the politics of their own times. There are many among the Cotton MSS., both in French and English, and in other libraries². Laurence Minot above-cited, who wrote about 1360, and in the northern dialect,

¹ In a roll of John Morys, warden of Winchester college, an. xx Ric. ii. A.D. 1397, are large articles of disbursement for gails, legends, and other service-books for the choir of the chapel, then just founded. It appears that they bought the parchment; and hired persons to do the business of writing, illuminating, noting, and binding, within the walls of the college. As thus. '*Item in xi doseyn iiij pellibus emptis pro i legenda integra, que incipit folio secundo Quia dixerunt*, continente xxxiiij quaterniones, (pret. doseyn iiij s. vi d. pret. pellis 'iiij d. ob.) li s. *Item in scriptura ejusdem Legende, lxxij s. Et in illuminacione et ligacione ejusdem, xxx s. Item in vj doseyn de velum emptis pro factura vj Processionalium, quorum quilibet continent xv quaterniones, (pret. doseyn iiij s. vi d) xxvij s. Et in scriptura, notacione, illuminacione, et ligacione corundem, xxxiiij s.*' The highest cost of one of these books is 7*l.* 13*s.* Vellum, for this purpose, made an article of *staurum* or store. As, '*Item in vj doseyn de velum emptis in staurum pro aliis libris inde faciendis, xxxiiij s. xi d.*' The books were covered with deer-skin. As, '*Item in vj pellibus cervinis emptis pro libris predictis cooperiendis, xiiij s. iiij d.*' In another roll (xix Ric. ii. A.D. 1396.) of warden John Morys abovementioned, disbursements of diet for *SCRIPTORES* enter into the quarterly account of that article. '*EXPENSE extraneorum superveniencium, iiij SCRIPTORUM, viij serviencium, et x choristarum, ix l. iiij s. x d.*' The whole diet expences this year, for strangers, writers, servants, and choristers, amount to 20*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* In another roll of 1399, (Rot. Comp. Burss. 22 Ric. ii.) writers are in commons weekly with the regular members of the society.

² See Geoff. Monm. vii. 3. And Rob. Glouc. p. 132, 133, seq. 254, 256. Of the authority of Merlin's Prophesies in England in 1216, See Wyke's CHRON. sub. ann. Merlin's Prophesies were printed in French at Paris, in 1498. And MERLINI VITÆ ET PROPHETIÆ, at Venice, 1554.

has applied some of them to the numerous victories of Edward III¹.
As thus.

Men may rede in Romance² ryght,
Of a grete clerke that MERLIN hight:
Ful many bokes er of him wreten,
Als thir clerkes wele may witten³;
And zit [yet] in many prive nokes [nooks]
May men find of Merlin bokes.
Merlin said thus with his mouth,
Out of the North into the Sowth,
Suld cum a Bare⁴ over the se, That suld mak many men to fle;
And in the se, he said, ful right,
Suld he schew⁵ ful mekill myght:
And in France he suld bigin [begin]
To make tham wrath that are thare in:
Untill the se his taile reche sale⁶,
All folk of France to mekill bale⁷.
Thus have I mater for to make For a nobill Prince⁸ sake.
Help me, God, my wit is thin⁹,
Now LAURENCE MINOT will bigin.
A Bore is broght on bankes bare,
With ful batail bifor his brest,
For John¹⁰ of France will he noght spare
In Normandy to take his rest.——
At Cressy whan thai brak the brig
That saw Edward with both his ine; [eyes]
Than liked him no langer to lig, [lie idle]
Ilk Inglis man on others rig¹¹;
Over that watir er thai went¹², To batail er thai baldly big,
With brade ax, and with bowes bent,
With bent bowes thai war ful bolde,
For to fell of [fall on] the Frankish men.
Thai gert them lig with cares cold.
Full sari [sorry] was sir Philip¹³ then:
He saw the town of Ferrum¹⁴ bren, [burn]
And folk for ferd war fast fleand¹⁵:
The teres he let ful rathly [fastly] ren
Out of his eghen [eyes], I understand.
Than cum Philip, ful redy dight,
Toward the toun with all his rowt;

¹ MSS. GALB. E. ix. ut supr.

² In another place Minot calls the book on which his narrative is founded, the ROMANCE.

How Edward, als the Romance saies,

Held his sege before Calais.

³ As scholars well know.

⁴ Should come a Boar. This Boar is king Arthur in Merlin's Prophecies.

⁵ Should he show.

⁶ His tail shall reach to the sea

⁷ To the great destruction of the French.

⁸ That is, king Edward III.

⁹ Weak. Tenuis.

¹⁰ King John.

¹¹ The English ran over one another. Pressed forward.

¹² Froissart calls this the passage or ford of Blanch taque. B. i. ch. cxxvii. Berners's Transl. fol. lxiii. a.

¹³ Philip of Valois, son of John king of France.

¹⁴ Perhaps Vernon.

¹⁵ Flying for fear.

With him come mani a kumly knight,
 And all umset [beset] the Boar about:
 The Boar made them ful law to lout,
 And delt tham knobbes to thair mede,
 He gert tham stumbell that war stowt.
 Thar helpid noather staf ne stede¹.

Stedes strong bileved still² Biside Cressy opon the grene³.

Sir Philip wanted all his will
 That was wele on his sembland⁴ sene,
 With spere and schelde, and helmis schene⁵,
 Thai Bare than durst thai noght habide⁶.
 The king of Berne⁷ was cant and kene,
 Bot thaire he left both play and pride.
 Pride in prese ne prais I noght⁸.
 Omong thair princes proud in pall,
 Princes should be well bithoght
 When kinges suld them tell [to] counsaill call.

The same boar, that is, Edward III., is introduced by Minot as resisting the Scottish invasion in 1347, at Nevil's Cross near Durham⁹.

¹ Lances and horses were now of no service.

² Stood still. Blevé. Sax. Chauc. TR. CR. iv. 1357.

³ A plain. So in Minot's Siege of Tournay, MSS. *ibid*.

A Bore with brenis bright
 That as a semely sizht,

Es broght opon zowre grene,
 With schilterouns faire and schene.

⁴ Countenance.

⁵ They could no longer withstand the Boar.

⁶ John king of Bohemia. By Froissart he is called inaccurately the king of Behaigne, or Charles of Luxembourg. The lord Charles of Bohemia, his son, was also in the battle and killed, being lately elected emperor. Hollinsh. iii. 372.

⁷ I cannot praise the mere pomp of royalty.

⁸ The reader will recollect, that this versification is in the structure of that of the LIVES OF THE SAINTS, where two lines are thrown into one, viz. VNDECIM MILLIA VIRGINUM. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 57.

Ellevene thousand virgines, that fair companye was,
 Imartird wer for godis sone, ich wille telle that cas.
 A kyng ther was in Bretaygne, Maur was his name,
 A douzter he hadde that het Vrse, a mayde of guod fame.
 So fair woman me nyste non, ne so guod in none poynte
 Cristene was al hire ken, swithe noble and queynte:
 Of hire fairhede and guodnesse me told in eche sonde side,
 That the word com into Engelonde, and elles wher wide.
 A kyng ther was in Engelonde, man of gret power,
 Of this maide he herde telle gret nobleize far and ner.

The minstrel, who used the perpetual return of a kind of plain chant, made his pause or close at every hemistic. In the same manner, the verses of the following poem were divided by the minstrel. MSS. Cott. JUL. V. fol. 175. Pergamen. [The transcript is not later than the year 1300.]

Als y yod on a Monday, by twene Wittingdon and Walle,
 Me ane after brade way, a litel man y mette withalle,
 The lest man that ever y sathe, to say owther in boure other in halle,
 His robe was nother grene ne gray, bot alle yt was of riche palle.
 On me he cald and bade me bide, well still y stooode ay little space:
 Fro Lanchester the Parke syde, then he come wel faire his pace:
 I biheld that litell man, bi the strete als we gon ae¹,
 His berde was syde ay large span, and glided als the fether pae².

¹ Went on.

² His beard was a span broad, and shone like a peacock's plumage.

Sir David the Bruse¹ Was at distance,
 When Edward the baliolfe, [warlike]
 Rade with his lance:
 The north end of England, Teached him to dance,
 When he was met on the more, With mekill mischance.
 Sir Philip the Valayce, May him not avance²,
 The flowres that faire wer, Er [are] fallen in France!
 The flowres er now fallen, That fers [fierce] wer and fell,
 A Bare [boar] with his bataille, Has done tham to dwell.
 Sir David the Bruse, Said he sulde fonde [attempt]
 To ride thurgh all England, Wold he noght wonde³:
 At the Westminster Hall, Sulde his stedes stonde,
 Whils oure king Edward War out of the londe⁴.

Also in Edward's victory over the Spaniard's in a sea-fight, in 1350, a part of Minot's general subject.

I wold noght spare for to speke, Wist I to spede,
 Of wight men with wapin⁵, And worthly in wede.
 That now are driven to dale, [sorrow]
 And ded all thaire dede,
 Thai saile in the sea-gronde, [bottom]
 Fisches for to fede!
 Fele [many] Fisches thai fede,
 For all thaire grete fare [feasts], It was in the waniand⁶
 That thai come thare. Thai sailed furth in the Swin
 In a somers tyde, With trompes and taburnes⁷,
 And mikell other pryde.

I have seen one of Merlin's PROPHESES, probably translated from the French, which begins thus.

Listeneth now to Merlin's saw, And I woll tell to aw,
 What he wrat for men to come, Nother by greffe ne by plume⁸.

The public pageantries of this reign are proofs of the growing fami-

His heved¹ was whyte as any snawe, his higehen² were gret and grai, &c.

His robe was al golde biganne, well cristlik made i undurstande,
 Botones asurd everwick ane, from his elbouthe to his hande³.

They enter a castle.

The bankers on the binkes lay⁴, and faire lordes sette y fonde,
 In ilk ay hirn y herd ay lay, and levedys southe me loud songe⁵.

¹ David Bruce, king of Scotland. See P. LANGTOFT, p. 116.

² Could do him no service.

³ Wander in going.

⁴ MSS. ut supr. GALB. E. ix.

⁵ Active with weapons.

⁶ Q. Waning of the Moon?

⁷ Tambourins. Tabours or drums. In Chaucer we have TABOURE, Fr. to drum

⁸ I know not when this piece was written. But the word *greffe* is old French for *Grapium* or *Stylus*. It is generally supposed, and it has been positively asserted by an old French antiquary, that the ancient Roman practice of writing with a style on waxen tablets, lasted not longer than the fifth century. Hearne also supposes that the pen had succeeded to the style long before the age of Alfred. LEL. ITIN. Vol. vii. PREF. p. xxi. I will produce an instance of this practice in England so late as the year 1395. In an account-roll of Winchester college, of that year, is the following disbursement. 'Et in i tabula ceranda cum viridi

¹ Head.

² Eyes.

³ Buttons, every one of them azure, from his elbow to his hand.

⁴ Cushions, or tapestry, on the benches laid.

⁵ In every corner I heard a Lay, and ladies, &c.

liarity and national diffusion of classical learning. I will select an instance, among others, from the shows exhibited with great magnificence at the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn, in the year 1533. The procession to Westminster abbey, began from the Tower; and

'cera pro intitulatione capellanorum et clericorum Capelle ad missas et alia psallenda, viija.' This very curious and remarkable article signifies, that a tablet covered with green wax was kept in the chapel, for noting down with a style, the respective courses of daily or weekly portions of duty, alternately assigned to the officers of the choir. So far, indeed, from having ceased in the fifth century, it appears that this mode of writing continued throughout all the dark ages. Among many express proofs that might be produced of the centuries after that period, Du Cange cites these verses from a French metrical romance, written about the year 1376, *Lat. Gloss. V. GRAPHIUM*².

Les uns se prennent a escrire,
Les autres suivent la coustume

Des greffe³ en tables de cire;
De fournir lettres a la plume.

Many ample and authentic records of the royal household of France, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, written on waxen tablets are still preserved. Waxen tablets were constantly kept in the French religious houses, for the same purpose as at Winchester college. Thus in the Ordinary of the Priour of St. Lo at Rouen, printed at Rouen, written about the year 1250. 'Qui, ad missam, lectiones aut tractus dicturi sunt, in tabula cerea primitus recitentur,' pag. 261. Even to this day, several of the collegiate bodies in France, more especially the chapter of the cathedral of Rouen, retain this usage of marking the successive rotation of the ministers of the choir. See the *Sieur le Brun's VOYAGE LITURGIQUE*, 1718. p. 275. The same mode of writing was used for registering the capitular acts of the monasteries in France. Du Cange, in reciting from an ancient MSS. the *signs* enjoined to the monks of the order of St. Victor at Paris, where the rule of silence was rigorously observed, gives us, among others, the tacit signals by which they called for the style and tablet. '*Pro Signo Grafiti*.—Signo metalli præmisso, extenso pollice cum indice similia [simula] scribentem. *Pro Signo Tabularum*.—Mannus ambas complica, et ita disjunge quasi aperiens Tabulas.' *Gloss. ut suprà V. SIGNA*. tom. iii. p. 306. col. 2. edit. vet. Among the implements of writing allowed to the Carthusians, *Tabula* and *Graphium* are enumerated. *Statut. Antiq. CARTUSIAN.* 2. part. cap. xvi. §. 8. This, however, at Winchester college, is the only express specification which I have found of the practice, in the religious houses of England⁴. Yet in many of our old collegiate establishments it seems to be pointed out by implication: and the article here extracted from the roll at Winchester college, explains the manner of keeping the following injunction in the Statutes of St. Elizabeth's college at Winchester, now destroyed, which is a direction of the same kind, and cannot be well understood without supposing a waxen tablet. These statutes were given in 1301. 'Habeat itaque idem præceptor unam Tabulam semper in capella appensam, in qua scribat quolibet die sabbati post prandium, et ordinet, qualem Missam quis eorum capellanorum in sequenti septimana debeat celebrare: quis qualem lectionem in crastino legere debeat; Et sic de cæteris divinis officiis in prædicta capella faciendis. Et sic cotidie post prandium ordinet idem præceptor de servicio diei sequentis: hoc diligentius observando, quod capellani Missam, ad quam die sabbati, ut præmittitur, intulerant, per integram celebrent septimanam.' *Dugd. MONAST.* tom. iii. *ECCLES. COLL.* i. 10. Nothing could have been a more convenient method of temporary notation, especially at a time when parchment and paper were neither cheap nor common commodities, and of carrying on an account, which was perpetually to be obliterated and renewed: for the written surface of the wax being easily smoothed by the round or blunt end of the style, was soon again prepared for the admission of new characters. And among the Romans, the chief use of the style was for fugitive and occasional entries. In the same light, we must view the following parallel passage of the Ordination of bishop Wykeham's sepulchral chantry, founded in Winchester cathedral, in the year 1404. 'Die sabbati cujuslibet septimane futuræ, monachi priores nostri in ordine sacerdotali constituti, valentes et dispositi ad celebrandum, ordinentur et intitulentur in Tabula seriatiim ad celebrandum Missas prædictas cotidie per septimanam tunc sequentem, &c.' *B. Lowth's WYKEHAM.* Append. p. xxxi. edit. 1777. Without multiplying superfluous citations⁵, I think we may fairly conclude, that whenever a *Tabula*

¹ Viz. 'COMPUTUS magistri Johis Morys Custodis a die Sabbati proxime post festum Annunciationis beate Marie anno regni Ricardi secundi post conquestum xvijmo, usque diem Veneris proxime ante festum sancti Michaelis extunc proxime sequens anno regis prædicti xvijvo, vidit per xxvj septimanas.' It is indorsed, 'Computus primus post ingressum in Collegium, Anno octavo post inceptiorem Operis.'

² See *ibid.* *STYLISONUS*.

³ *Styles.* *Lat. Graphium.*

⁴ But see Wanley's account of the text of S. Chad *CATAL. Codd. Anglo-Sax.* p. 289. seq.

⁵ See *Statut. Eccles. Cath. Lichf. Dugd. MON.* iii. p. 244. col. 2. 10. p. 247. col. 2. 20. *Statut. Eccles. Collegiat. de Tonge, ibid. ECCLES. COLL.* p. 152. col. 2. 40.

the queen, in passing through Gracechurch street, was entertained with a representation of mount Parnassus. The fountain of Helicon, by a bold fiction unknown to the bards of antiquity, ran in four streams of Rhenish wine from a bason of white marble. On the summit of the mountain sate Apollo, and at his feet Calliope. On either side of the declivity were arranged four of the Muses, playing on their respective musical instruments. Under them were written epigrams and poesies in golden letters, in which every Muse praised the queen, according to her character and office. At the Conduit in Cornhill appeared the three Graces? before whom, with no great propriety, was the spring of *Grace* perpetually running wine. But when a conduit came in the way, a religious allusion was too tempting and obvious to be omitted. Before the spring, however, sate a poet, describing in metre the properties or functions of every Grace : and then each of these four Graces allotted in a short speech to the queen, the virtue or accomplishment over which she severally presided. At the Conduit in Cheapside, as my chronicler says, she was saluted with ‘a rich pageaunt full of ‘melodie and song.’ In this pageant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus : before them stood Mercury, who presented to her majesty, in the name of the three goddesses, a golden ball or globe divided into three parts, signifying wisdom, riches, and felicity. At entering saint Paul’s *gate*, an ancient portal leading into the church-yard on the east, and long since destroyed, three ladies richly attired showered on her head wafers, in which were contained Latin distichs. At the eastern side of saint Paul’s Church-yard, 200 scholars of saint Paul’s school, addressed her in chosen and apposite passages from the Roman poets, translated into English rhymes. On the leads of saint Martin’s church stood a choir of boys and men, who sung, not spiritual hymns, but *new balads* in praise of her majesty. On the conduit without Ludgate, where the arms and angels had been refreshed, was erected a tower with four turrets, within each of which was placed a Cardinal Virtue, symbolically habited. Each of these personages in turn uttered an oration,

pro Clericis intitulantis occurs in the more ancient rituals of our ecclesiastical fraternities, a PUGILLARE or waxen tablet, and not a schedule of parchment or paper, is intended. The inquisitive reader, who wishes to see more foreign evidences of this mode of writing during the course of the middle ages, is referred to a Memoir drawn up with great diligence and research by M. L’Abbe Lebeuf. MEM. LITT. tom. xx. p. 267. edit. 4to.

The reasonings and conjectures of Wise and others, who have treated of the Saxon AESTEL, more particularly of those who contend that king Alfred’s STYLE is still in being at Oxford, may perhaps receive elucidation or correction from what is here casually collected on a subject, which needs and deserves a full investigation.

To a Note already labouring with its length I have only to add, that without supposing an allusion to this way of writing, it will be hard to explain the following lines in Shakespeare’s TIMON OF ATHENS, Act. i. Sc. i.

——— My free drift

Halts not particularly, but moves itself

‘In a wide sea of wax.’——

Why Shakespeare should here allude to this peculiar and obsolete fashion of writing, to express a poet’s design of describing general life, will appear, if we consider the freedom and facility with which it is executed. It is not yet, I think, discovered, on what original Shakespeare formed this drama.

promising to protect and accompany the queen on all occasions¹. Here we see the pagan history and mythology predominating in those spectacles, which were once furnished from the Golden Legend. Instead of saints, prophets, apostles, and confessors, we have Apollo, Mercury, and the Muses. Instead of religious canticles, and texts of scripture, which were usually introduced in the course of these ceremonies, we are entertained with profane poetry, translations from the classics, and occasional verses; with exhortations, not delivered by personified doctors of the church, but by the heathen divinities.

It may not be foreign to our purpose, to give the reader some distinct idea of the polite amusements of this reign, among which, the Masque, already mentioned in general terms, seems to have held the first place. It chiefly consisted of music, dancing, gaming, a banquet, and a display of grotesque personages and fantastic dresses. The performers, as I have hinted, were often the king, and the chief of the nobility of both sexes, who under proper disguises executed some preconcerted stratagem, which ended in mirth and good humour. With one of these shows, in 1530, the king formed a scheme to surprise cardinal Wolsey, while he was celebrating a splendid banquet at his palace of Whitehall². At night his majesty in a masque, with twelve more masquers all richly but strangely dressed, privately landed from Westminster at Whitehall stairs. At landing, several small pieces of cannon were fired, which the king had before ordered to be placed on the shore near the house. The cardinal, who was separately seated at the banquet in the presence-chamber under the cloth of state, a great number of ladies and lords being seated at the side-tables, was alarmed at this sudden and unusual noise: and immediately ordered lord Sandys, the king's chamberlain, who was one of the guests, and in the secret, to enquire the reason. Lord Sandys brought answer, that thirteen foreign noblemen of distinction were just arrived, and were then waiting in the great hall below; having been drawn thither by the report of the cardinal's magnificent banquet, and of the beautiful ladies which were present at it. The cardinal ordered them immediately into the banquetting-room, to which they were conducted from the hall with twenty new torches and a concert of drums and fifes. After a proper refreshment, they requested in the French language to dance with the ladies, whom they kissed, and to play with them at mumchance³; producing at the same time a great golden cup filled with many hundred crowns. Having played for sometime with the ladies, they designedly lost all that remained in the cup to the cardinal; whose

¹ Hall's CHRONICLE, fol. ccxii. Among the Orations spoken to the Queen, is one too curious to be omitted. At Leadenhall sate saint Anne with her numerous progeny, and Mary Cleophas with her four children. One of the children made a goodlie oration to the queene, 'of the *fruitfulness* of St. Anne, and of her generation; trusting the *like fruit should come of hir*.'

² It then belonged to Wolsey.

³ A game of hazard with dice.

sagacity was not easily to be deceived, and who now began, from some circumstances, to suspect one of them to be the king. On finding their plot in danger, they answered, 'If your grace can point him out, he will readily discover himself.' The cardinal pointed to a masque with a black beard, but he was mistaken, for he was sir Edward Nevil. At this, the king could not forbear laughing aloud; and pulling off his own and sir Edward Nevill's masque, convinced the cardinal, with much arch complaisance, that he had for once guessed wrong. The king and the masquers then retired into another apartment to change their apparel: and in the meantime the banquet was removed, and the table covered afresh with perfumed clothes. Soon afterwards the king, with his company, returned, and took his seat under the cardinal's canopy of state. Immediately 200 dishes of the most costly cookery and confectionary were served up; the contrivance and success of the royal joke afforded much pleasant conversation, and the night was spent in dancing, dice-playing, *banketting and other triumphs*¹. The old chronicler Edward Hall, a cotemporary and a curious observer, acquaints us, that at Greenwich, in 1512, 'on the daie of the Epiphanie' 'at night, the king with eleven others was disguised after the manner' 'of Italie, called a Maske, a thing not seene before in England: they' 'were apparalled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold,' 'with visors and caps of gold. And after the banket doone, these' 'maskers came in, with six gentlemen disguised in silke, bearing staffe- torches and desired the ladies to danse; some were content, and some' 'refused; and after they had danced and communed together, as the' 'fashion of the maske is, they tooke their leave and departed, and so' 'did the queene and all the ladies².'

I do not find that it was a part of their diversion in these entertainments to display humour and character. Their chief aim seems to have been, to surprise, by the ridiculous and exaggerated oddity of the visors, and by the singularity and splendor of the dresses. Every thing was out of nature and propriety. Frequently the Masque was attended with an exhibition of some gorgeous machinery, resembling the wonders of a modern pantomime. For instance, in the great hall of the palace, the usual place of performance, a vast mountain covered with tall trees arose suddenly, from whose opening caverns issued hermits, pilgrims, shepherds, knights, damsels, and gypsies, who being regaled with spices and wine danced a morisco, or morris-dance. They were then again received into the mountain, which with a symphony of rebecs and recorders closed its caverns; and tumbling to pieces, was replaced by a ship in full sail, or a castle besieged. To be more particular. The following device was shewn in the hall of the palace at Greenwich. A castle was reared, with numerous towers, gates, and

¹ Hollinsh. CHRON. iii. 921. seq.² CHRON. fol. xv. [See supr. Vol. i, p. 239.]

battlements; and furnished with every military preparation for sustaining a long siege. On the front was inscribed *Le fortresse dangereux*. From the windows looked out six ladies, cloathed in the richest russet sattin, 'laid all over with leaves of gold, and every one 'knit with laces of blue silk and gold, on their heads coifs and caps 'all of golde.' This castle was moved about the hall; and when the queen had viewed it for a time, the king entered the hall with five knights, in embroidered vestments, spangled and plated with gold, of the most curious and costly workmanship. They assaulted the castle; and the six ladies, finding them to be champions of redoubted prowess, after a parley, yielded their perilous fortress, descended, and danced with their assailants. The ladies then led the knights into the castle, which immediately vanished, and the company retired. [Hollinsh. iii. 812.] Here we see the representation of an action. But all these magnificent mummeries, which were their evening-amusements on festivals, notwithstanding a parley, which my historian calls a *communication*, is here mentioned, were yet in dumb show¹, and without any dialogue.

But towards the latter part of Henry's reign, much of the old cumbersome state began to be laid aside. This I collect from a set of new regulations given to the royal household about the year 1526, by cardinal Wolsey. In the Chapter *For keeping the Hall and ordering of the Chapel*, it is recited, that by the frequent intermission and disuse of the solemnities of dining and supping in the great hall of the palace, the proper officers had almost forgot their duty, and the manner of conducting that very long and intricate ceremonial. It is therefore ordered, that when his majesty is not at Westminster, and with regard to his palaces in the country, the formalities of the Hall, which ought not entirely to fall into desuetude, shall be at least observed, when he is at Windsor, Beaulieu, or Newhall², in Essex, Richmond, Hampton-court, Greenwich, Eltham, and Woodstock. And that at these places only, the whole choir of the chapel shall attend. This attempt to revive that which had began to cease from the nature of things, and from the growth of new manners, perhaps had but little or no lasting effect. And with respect to the Chapel, my record adds, that when the king is on journies or progresses, only six singing boys and six gentlemen of the choir shall make a part of the royal retinue; who 'daylie in 'absence of *the residue* of the chapel shall have a Masse of our Ladie

¹ But at a most sumptuous Disguising in 1510, in the hall at Greenwich, the figure of FAME is introduced, who, 'in French, declared the meaning of the trees, the rocke, and 'turneie.' But as this shew was a political compliment, and many foreigners present, an explanation was necessary. Hall, CHRON. fol. lxxvi. This was in 1512. But in the year 1509, a more rational evening amusement took place in the Hall of the old Westminster palace, several foreign ambassadors being present. 'After supper, his grace [the king] with the queene, lords, and ladies, came into the White Hall, which was hang'd richlie; the hall 'was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an ENTRELUDE of the gentlemen of his 'chappell before his grace, and diverse freshe songes.' Hall, CHRON. fol. xi. xii.

² A new house built by Henry VIII. Hollinsh. CHRON. iii. 852,

'bifore noon, and on Sondaies and holidaiies, masse of the day besides 'our Lady-masse, and an anthempne in the afternoone: for which purpose, no *great carriage* of either vestiments or bookes shall require¹.' Henry never seems to have been so truly happy, as when he was engaged in one of these progresses: in other words, moving from one seat to another, and enjoying his ease and amusements in a state of royal relaxation. This we may collect from a curious passage in Holinshed; who had pleased and perhaps informed us less, had he never deserted the dignity of the historian. 'From thence the whole court 'remooved to Windsor, then beginning his progresse, and exercising 'himselfe dailie in shooting, singing, dansing, wrestling, casting of the 'barre, plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songes, 'and making of ballades.—And when he came to Oking², there were 'kept both justes turneies.' [Chron. iii. 806.] I make no apology for these seeming digressions. The manners and the poetry of a country are so nearly connected, that they mutually throw light on each other.

The same connection subsists between the state of poetry and of the arts; to which we may now recall the reader's attention with as little violation of our general subject.

We are taught in the mythology of the ancients, that the three Graces were produced at a birth. The meaning of the fable is, that the three most beautiful imitative arts were born and grew up together. Our poetry now beginning to be divested of its monastic barbarism, and to advance towards elegance, was accompanied by proportionable improvements in Painting and Music. Henry employed many capital painters, and endeavoured to invite Raphael and Titian into England. Instead of allegorical tapestry, many of the royal apartments were adorned with historical pictures. Our familiarity with the manners of Italy; and affectation of Italian accomplishments, influenced the tones and enriched the modulation of our musical composition. Those who could read the sonnets of Petrarch must have relished the airs of Palestrina. At the same time, Architecture, like Milton's lion *pawing to get free*, made frequent efforts to disentangle itself from the massy incumbrances of the Gothic manner; and began to catch the correct graces, and to copy the true magnificence, of the Grecian and Roman models. Henry was himself a great builder; and his numerous edifices, although constructed altogether on the ancient system, are sometimes interspersed with chaste ornaments and graceful mouldings, and often marked with a legitimacy of proportion, and a purity of design, before unattempted. It was among the literary plans of Leland, one of the most classical scholars of this age, to write

¹ 'ORDENAUNCES made for the kinges household and chambres.' Bibl. Bodl. MSS. LAUD. K. 48. fol. It is the original on vellum. In it, Sir Thomas More is mentioned as Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancaster.

² Woking in Surrey, near Guildford, a royal seat.

an account of Henry's palaces, in imitation of Procopius, who is said to have described the palaces of the emperor Justinian. Frequent symptoms appeared, that perfection in every work of taste was at no great distance. Those clouds of ignorance which yet remained, began now to be illuminated by the approach of the dawn of truth.

SECTION XLV.

THE reformation of our church produced an alteration for a time in the general system of study, and changed the character and subjects of our poetry. Every mind, both learned and unlearned, was busied in religious speculation; and every pen was employed in recommending, illustrating, and familiarising the Bible, which was now laid open to the people.

The poetical annals of Edward VI., who removed those chains of bigotry which Henry had only loosened, are marked with metrical translations of various parts of the sacred scripture. Of these the chief is the versification of the Psalter by Sternhold and Hopkins; a performance, which has acquired an importance, and consequently claims a place in our series, not so much from any merit of its own, as from the circumstances with which it is connected.

It is extraordinary, that the protestant churches should be indebted to a country in which the reformation had never begun to make any progress, and even to the indulgence of a society which remains to this day the grand bulwark of the catholic theology, for a very distinguishing and essential part of their ritual.

About the year 1540, Clement Marot, a valet of the bed-chamber to Francis I., was the favorite poet of France. This writer, having attained an unusual elegance and facility of style, added many new embellishments to the rude state of the French poetry. It is not the least of his praises, that La Fontaine used to call him his master. He was the inventor of the rondeau, and the restorer of the madrigal: but he became chiefly eminent for his pastorals, ballads, fables, elegies, epigrams, and translations from Ovid and Petrarch. At length, being tired of the vanities of profane poetry, or rather privately tinctured with the principles of Lutheranism, he attempted, with the assistance of his friend Theodore Beza, and by the encouragement of the professor of Hebrew in the university of Paris, a version of David's Psalms into French rhymes. This translation, which did not aim at any innovation in the public worship, and which received the sanction of the Sorbonne as containing nothing contrary to sound doctrine, he

dedicated to his master Francis I., and to the Ladies of France. In the dedication to the Ladies or *les Dames de France*, whom he had often before addressed in the tenderest strains of passion or compliment, he seems anxious to deprecate the raillery which the new tone of his versification was likely to incur, and is embarrassed how to find an apology for turning saint. Conscious of his apostacy from the levities of life, in a spirit of religious gallantry, he declares that his design is to add to the happiness of his fair readers, by substituting divine hymns in the place of *chansons d'amour*, to inspire their susceptible hearts with a passion in which there is no torment, to banish that fickle and fantastic deity CUPID from the world, and to fill their apartments with the praises, not of the *little god*, but of the true Jehovah.

E voz doigts sur les espinettes
Pour dire SAINTES CHANSONNETTES.

He adds, that the golden age would now be restored, when we should see, the peasant at his plough, the carman in the streets, and the mechanic in his shop, solacing their toils with psalms and canticles: and the shepherd and shepherdess, reposing in the shade, and teaching the rocks to echo the name of the Creator.

Le Labourer a sa charrue,	Le Charretier parmy le rue,
Et l'Artisan en sa boutique	Avecques un PSEAUME ou CANTIQUE,
En son labour se soulager	Heureux qui orra le Berger
Et la Begere au bois estans	Fair que rochers et estangs,
Après aux chantant la hauteur	Du saint nom de createur ¹ .

Marot's Psalms soon eclipsed the brilliancy of his madrigals and sonnets. Not suspecting how prejudicial the predominant rage of psalm-singing might prove to the ancient religion of Europe, the catholics themselves adopted these sacred songs as serious ballads, and as a more rational species of domestic merriment. They were the common accompaniments of the fiddle. They were sold so rapidly, that the printers could not supply the public with copies. In the festive and splendid court of Francis I., of a sudden nothing was heard but the psalms of Clement Marot. By each of the royal family and the principal nobility of the court a psalm was chosen, and fitted to the ballad-tune which each liked best. The dauphin prince Henry, who delighted in hunting, was fond of *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire*, or, *Like as the Hart desireth the water-brooks*, which he constantly sung in going out to the chase. Madame de Valentinois, between whom and the young prince there was an attachment, took *Du fond de ma pensee*, or, *From the depth of my heart, O Lord*. The queen's favorite was, *Ne vueilles pas, O Sire*, that is, *O Lord, rebuke me not in thine indig-*

¹ LES OEUVRES de Clement Morat de Cahors, valet de chambre du roy, &c. A Lyon. 1551. 12mo. See ad calc. TRANSLATIONS, &c. p. 192.

nation, which she sung to a fashionable jig. Antony king of Navarre sung, *Revenge moy, pren le querelle*, or, *Stand up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel*, to the air of a dance of Poitou. [Bayle's *DICTIONNAIRE*. V. MAROT.] It was on very different principles that psalmody flourished in the gloomy court of Cromwell. This fashion does not seem in the least to have diminished the gaiety and good humour of the court of Francis.

At this period John Calvin, in opposition to the discipline and doctrines of Rome, was framing his novel church at Geneva : in which the whole substance and form of divine worship was reduced to praying, preaching, and singing. In the last of these three, he chose to depart widely from the catholic usage : and, either because he thought that novelty was sure to succeed, that the practice of antiphonal chanting was superstitious, or that the people were excluded from bearing a part in the more solemn and elaborate performance of ecclesiastical music, or that the old papistic hymns were unedifying, or that verse was better remembered than prose, he projected, with the advice of Luther, a species of religious song, consisting of portions of the psalms intelligibly translated into the vernacular language, and adapted to plain and easy melodies, which all might learn, and in which all might join. This scheme, either by design or accident, was luckily seconded by the publication of Marot's metrical psalms at Paris, which Calvin immediately introduced into his congregation at Geneva. Being set to simple and almost monotonous notes by Guillaume de Franc, they were soon established as the principal branch in that reformer's new devotion, and became a characteristical mark or badge of the Calvinistic worship and profession. Nor were they sung only in his churches. They exhilarated the convivial assemblies of the Calvinists, were commonly heard in the streets, and accompanied the labours of the artificer. The weavers and woollen manufacturers of Flanders, many of whom left the loom and entered into the ministry, are said to have been the capital performers in this science. At length Marot's psalms formed an appendix to the catechism of Geneva, and were interdicted to the catholics under the most severe penalties. In the language of the orthodox, psalm-singing and heresy were synonymous terms.

It was Calvin's system of reformation, not only to strip religion of its superstitious and ostensible pageantries, of crucifixes, images, tapers, superb vestments, and splendid processions, but of all that was estimable in the sight of the people, and even of every simple ornament, every significant symbol, and decent ceremony ; in a word, to banish every thing from his church which attracted or employed the senses, or which might tend to mar the purity of an abstracted adoration, and of a mental intercourse with the deity. It is hard to determine, how Calvin could reconcile the use of singing, even when purged

from the corruptions and abuses of popery, to so philosophical a plan of worship. On a parallel principle, and if any artificial aids to devotion were to be allowed, he might at least have retained the use of pictures in the church. But a new sect always draws its converts from the multitude and the meanest of the people, who can have no relish for the more elegant externals. Calvin well knew that the manufacturers of Germany were no judges of pictures. At the same time it was necessary that his congregation should be kept in good humour by some kind of pleasurable gratification and allurements, which might qualify and enliven the attendance on the more rigid duties of praying and preaching. Calvin therefore, intent as he was to form a new church on a severe model, had yet too much sagacity to exclude every auxiliary to devotion. Under this idea, he permitted an exercise, which might engage the affections, without violating the simplicity of his worship : and sensible that his chief resources were in the rabble of a republic, and availing himself of that natural propensity which prompts even vulgar minds to express their more animated feelings in rhyme and music, he conceived a mode of universal psalmody, not too refined for common capacities, and fitted to please the populace. The rapid propagation of Calvin's religion, and his numerous proselytes, are a strong proof of his address in planning such a sort of service. France and Germany were instantly infatuated with a love of psalm-singing : which being admirably calculated to kindle and diffuse the flame of fanaticism, was peculiarly serviceable to the purposes of faction, and frequently served as a trumpet to rebellion. These energetic hymns of Geneva, under the conduct of the Calvinistic preachers, excited and supported a variety of popular insurrections ; they filled the most flourishing cities of the Low-countries with sedition and tumult, and fomented the fury which defaced many of the most beautiful and venerable churches of Flanders.

This infectious frenzy of sacred song soon reached England, at the very critical point of time, when it had just embraced the reformation : and the new psalmody was obtruded on the new English liturgy by some few officious zealots, who favoured the discipline of Geneva, and who wished to abolish, not only the choral mode of worship in general, but more particularly to suppress the *TE DEUM*, *BENEDICTUS*, *MAGNIFICAT*, *JUBILATE*, *NUNC DIMITTIS*, and the rest of the liturgic hymns, which were supposed to be contaminated by their long and ancient connection with the Roman missal, or at least in their prosaic form, to be unsuitable to the new system of worship.

Although Wyat and Surrey had before made translations of the Psalms into metre, Thomas Sternhold was the first whose metrical version of the Psalms was used in the church of England. Sternhold was a native of Hampshire, and probably educated at Winchester college. Having passed some time at Oxford, he became groom of

the robes to Henry VIII. In this department, either his diligent services or his knack at rhyming so pleased the king, that his majesty bequeathed him a legacy of 100 marks. He continued in the same office under Edward VI., and is said to have acquired some degree of reputation about the court for his poetry. Being of a serious disposition, and an enthusiast to reformation, he was much offended at the lascivious ballads which prevailed among the courtiers: and, with a laudable design to check these indecencies, undertook a metrical version of the Psalter, 'thinking thereby,' says Antony Wood, that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, *but did not*, only some few excepted.' [ATH. Oxon. i. 76.] Here was the zeal, if not the success, of his fellow labourer Clement Marot. A singular coincidence of circumstances is, notwithstanding, to be remarked on this occasion. Vernacular versions for general use of the Psalter were first published both in France and England, by laymen, by court-poets, and by servants of the court. Nor were the respective translations entirely completed by themselves: and yet they translated nearly an equal number of psalms, Marot having versified 50, and Sternhold 51. Sternhold died in the year 1549. His 51 psalms were printed the same year by Edward Whitchurch, under the following title. 'All such Psalms of David as 'Thomas Sternholde late grome of the kinges Maiestyes robes did in 'his lyfe tyme drawe into Englyshe metre.' They are without the musical notes, as is the second edition in 1552. He probably lived to prepare the first edition for the press, as it is dedicated by himself to Edward VI.

Contemporary with Sternhold, and his coadjutor, was John Hopkins: of whose life nothing more is known, than that he was a clergyman and schoolmaster of Suffolk, and perhaps a graduate at Oxford about the year 1544. Of his abilities as a teacher of the classics, he has left a specimen in some Latin stanzas prefixed to Fox's MARTYROLOGY. He is rather a better English poet than Sternhold; and translated 58 of the psalms, distinguished by the initials of his name.

Of the rest of the contributors to this undertaking, the chief at least in point of rank and learning, was William Whyttingham, promoted by Robert earl of Leicester to the deanery of Durham, yet not without a strong reluctance to comply with the use of the canonical habitments. Among our religious exiles in the reign of Mary, he was Calvin's principal favorite, from whom he received ordination. So pure was his faith, that he was thought worthy to succeed to the congregation of Geneva, superintended by Knox, the Scotch reformer; who, from a detestation of idols, proceeded to demolish the churches in which they were contained. It was one of the natural consequences of Whyttingham's translation from Knox's pastorship at Geneva to an English deanery, that he destroyed or removed many beautiful and harmless monuments of ancient art in his cathedral.

To a man, who had so highly spiritualised his religious conceptions, as to be convinced that a field, a street, or a barn, were fully sufficient for all the operations of christian worship, the venerable structures raised by the magnificent piety of our ancestors could convey no ideas of solemnity, and had no other charms than their ample endowments. Beside the psalms he translated¹, all which bear his initials, by way of innovating still further on our established formulary, he versified the Decalogue, the Nicene, Apostolic, and Athanasian Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, the TE DEUM, the Song of the three Children, with other hymns which follow the book of psalmody. How the Ten Commandments and the Athanasian Creed, to say nothing of some of the rest, should become more edifying and better suited to common use, or how they could receive improvement in any respect or degree, by being reduced into rhyme, it is not easy to perceive. But the real design was, to render that more tolerable which could not be entirely removed, to accommodate every part of the service to the psalmodic tone, and to clothe our whole liturgy in the garb of Geneva. All these, for he was a lover of music, were sung in Whyttingham's church of Durham under his own directions. Heylin says, that from vicinity of situation, he was enabled to lend considerable assistance to his friend Knox in the introduction of the presbyterian hierarchy into Scotland. I must indulge the reader with a stanza or two of this dignified fanatic's divine poetry from his Creeds and the Decalogue. From the Athanasian Creed.

The Father God is God the Son,
 God Holy Ghost *also*,
 Yet are there not three Gods *in all*
 But one God and *no mo*.

From the Apostolic Creed.

From thence shall he come for to judge,
 All men both dead and quick;
 I in the holy ghost believe,
 And church that's catholick.

The Ten Commandments are thus closed.

Nor his man-servant, nor his maid,
 Nor oxe, nor asse *of his*;
 Nor any other thing that *to*
 Thy neighbour *proper is*.

These were also versified by Clement Marot.

Twenty-seven of the psalms were turned into metre by Thomas Norton, [marked N.] who perhaps was better employed, at least as a poet, in writing the tragedy of GORDOBUCKE in conjunction with lord Buckhurst, It is certain that in Norton's psalms we see none of those

¹ Among them is the hundreth, and the hundred and nineteenth.

sublime strokes which sir Philip Sydney discovered in that venerable drama. He was of Sharpenhoe in Bedfordshire, a barrister, and in the opinion and phraseology of the Oxford biographer, a bold and busy Calvinist about the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth. He was patronised by the Protector Somerset; at whose desire he translated an epistle addressed by Peter Martyr to Somerset, into English, in 1550. Under the same patronage he probably translated also Calvin's Institutes.

Robert Wisdome, a protestant fugitive in the calamitous reign of queen Mary, afterwards archdeacon of Ely, and who had been nominated to an Irish bishoprick by Edward VI., rendered the twenty-fifth psalm of this version¹. But he is chiefly memorable for his metrical prayer, intended to be sung in the church, against the Pope and the Turk, of whom he seems to have conceived the most alarming apprehensions. It is probable, that he thought popery and mahometanism were equally dangerous to christianity, at least the most powerful and the sole enemies of our religion. This is the first stanza.

Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word,
From POPE and TURK defend us, Lord!
Which both would thrust out of thy throne
Our Lord Jesus Christ, thy dear son!

Happily we have hitherto survived these two formidable evils! Among other orthodox wits, the facetious bishop Corbet has ridiculed these lines. He supposes himself seized with a sudden impulse to hear or to pen a puritanical hymn, and invokes the ghost of Robert Wisdome, as the most skilful poet in this mode of composition, to come and assist. But he advises Wisdome to steal back again to his tomb, which was in Carfax church at Oxford, silent and unperceived, for fear of being detected and intercepted by the Pope or the Turk. But I will produce Corbet's epigram, more especially as it contains a criticism written in the reign of Charles I., on the style of this sort of poetry.

TO THE GHOST OF ROBERT WISDOME.

Thou once a body, now but ayre,
Arch-botcher of a psalm or prayer,
From Carfax come!
And patch us up by a zealous lay,
With an old *ever and for ay*,
Or *all and some*.

Or such a spirit lend me,
As may a hymne down send me
To purge my braine:

¹ See Strype's CRANMER, p. 274, 276, 277. PSALMS 79, 104, 112, 122, 125, and 134, are marked with W. K. PSALM 136, with T. C. It is not known to whom these initials belong.

But, Robert, looke behind thee,
Lest TURK or POPE do find thee,
And go to bed againe¹.

The entire version of the psalter was at length published by John Day, in 1562, attached for the first time to the common prayer, and entitled, 'The whole Booke of Psalmes collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall.' Calvin's music was intended to correspond with the general parsimonious spirit of his worship: not to captivate the passions, and seduce the mind, by a levity, a variety, or a richness of modulation, but to infuse the more sober and unravishing ecstasies. The music he permitted, although sometimes it had wonderful effects, was to be without grace, elegance, or elevation. These apt notes were about forty tunes, of one part only, and in one unisonous key; remarkable for a certain uniform strain of sombre gravity, and applicable to all the psalms in their turns, as the stanza and sense might allow. They also appear in the subsequent impressions, particularly of 1564, and 1577. They are believed to contain some of the original melodies, composed by French and German musicians. Many of them, particularly the celebrated one of the hundredth psalm, are the tunes of Goudimel and Le Jeune, who are among the first composers of Marot's French psalms². Not a few were probably imported by the protestant manufacturers of cloth, of Flanders, and the Low Countries, who fled into England from the persecution of the Duke de Alva, and settled in those counties where their art now chiefly flourishes. It is not however unlikely, that some of our own musicians, who lived about the year 1562, and who could always tune their harps to the religion of the times, such as Marbeck, Tallis, Tye, Parsons, and Munday, were employed on this occasion; yet under the restriction of conforming to the jejune and unadorned movements of the foreign composers. I presume much of the primitive harmony of all these ancient tunes is now lost, by additions, variations, and transpositions.

This version is said to be *conferred with the Ebrue*. But I am inclined to think, that the translation was altogether made from the vulgate text, either in Latin or English.

It is evident that the prose psalms of our liturgy were chiefly consulted and copied, by the perpetual assumption of their words and combinations: many of the stanzas are literally nothing more than the prose-verses put into rhyme. As thus,

Thus were they stained with the workes
Of their owne filthie way;
And with their owne inventions did
A whoring go astray. [PSALM cvi. 38.]

¹ POEMS, Lond. 1647. quod. p. 49.

² See this matter traced with great skill and accuracy by Hawkins, HIST. MUS. iii. 518.

Whyttingham, however, who had travelled to acquire the literature then taught in the foreign universities, and who joined in the translation of Coverdale's Bible, was undoubtedly a scholar, and an adept in the Hebrew language.

It is certain that every attempt to clothe the sacred Scripture in verse, will have the effect of misrepresenting and debasing the dignity of the original. But this general inconvenience, arising from the nature of things, was not the only difficulty which our versifiers of the psalter had to encounter, in common with all other writers employed in a similar task. Allowing for the state of our language in the middle of the sixteenth century, they appear to have been but little qualified either by genius or accomplishments for poetical composition. It is for this reason that they have produced a translation entirely destitute of elegance, spirit, and propriety. The truth is, that they undertook this work, not so much from an ambition of literary fame, or a consciousness of abilities, as from motives of piety, and in compliance with the cast of the times. I presume I am communicating no very new criticism when I observe, that in every part of this translation we are disgusted with a languor of versification, and a want of common prosody. The most exalted effusions of thanksgiving, and the most sublime imageries of the divine majesty, are lowered by a coldness of conception, weakened by frigid interpolations, and disfigured by a poverty of phraseology. Thomas Hopkins expostulates with the deity in these ludicrous, at least trivial, expressions.

Why doost withdrawe thy hand aback,
And hide it in thy lappe?
O plucke it out, and be not slack
To give thy foes a rappe¹!

What writer who wished to diminish the might of the supreme Being, and to expose the style and sentiments of Scripture, could have done it more skilfully, than by making David call upon God, not to *consume his enemies* by an irresistible blow, but to give them a rap? Although some shadow of an apology may be suggested for the word *rap*, that it had not then acquired its present burlesque acceptation,

¹ Ps. lxxiv. 12. Perhaps this verse is not much improved in the translation of king James I., who seems to have rested entirely on the image of *why withdrawest thou not thine hand*, which he has expressed in Hopkin's manner.

Why dost thou thus withdraw thy hand,
Out of thy bosom, for our good,

Even thy right hand restraints?
Drawe backe the same againe!

In another stanza he has preserved Hopkin's rhymes and expletives, and, if possible, lowered his language and cadences. Ps. lxxiv. 1.

Oh why, our God, for evermore
Why *smoaks* thy wrath against the sheep

Hast thou neglected us?
Of thine owne pasture *thus*?

Here he has chiefly displayed the *smoking* of God's wrath, which *kindles* in Hopkins. The particle *thus* was never so distinguished and dignified. And it is hard to say, why his majesty should chuse to make the divine indignation *smoke*, rather than *burn*, which is suggested by the original.

or the idea of a petty stroke, the vulgarity of the following phrase, in which the practice or profession of religion, or more particularly God's covenant with the Jews, is degraded to *a trade*, cannot easily be vindicated on any consideration of the fluctuating sense of words.

For why, their hearts were nothing bent
To him, nor to his *trade*. [Ps. lkviii. 37.]

Nor is there greater delicacy or consistency in the following stanza.

Confound them that apply
And seeke to worke my shame ;
And at my harme do laugh, and cry,
So, So, *there goeth the game*. [Ps. lxx. 3.]

The psalmist says, that God has placed the sun in the heavens, 'which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber.' Here is a comparison of the sun rising, to a bridegroom ; who, according to the Jewish custom, was ushered from his chamber at midnight, with great state, preceded by torches and music. Sternhold has thus metrified the passage. [Ps. xix. iv.]

In them the Lord made for the sun,
A place of great renown,
Who like a bridegroom ready trimm'd
Doth from his chamber come.

The translator had better have spared his epithet to the bridegroom ; which, even in the sense of *ready-dressed*, is derogatory to the idea of the comparison. But *ready-trimm'd*, in the language of that time, was nothing more than *fresh-shaved*. Sternhold as often impairs a splendid description by an impotent redundancy, as by an omission or contraction of the most important circumstances.

The miraculous march of Jehovah before the Israelites through the wilderness in their departure from Egypt, with other marks of his omnipotence, is thus imaged by the inspired psalmist. 'O God, when thou wentest forth before the people, when thou wentest through the wilderness: the earth shook, and the heavens dropped at the presence of God ; even as Sinai also was moved at the presence of God, who is the God of Israel. Thou, O God, sendest a gracious rain upon thine inheritance, and refreshedst it when it was weary.—The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels ; and the Lord is among them, as in the holy place of Sinai.' Sternhold has thus represented these great ideas.

When thou didst march before thy folk
The Egyptians from among,
And brought them from the wilderness,
Which was both wide and long ;
The earth did quake, the raine *pourde downe*,
Heard were great claps of thunder ;

The mount Sinai shooke in such sorte,
As it would cleave in sunder.

Thy heritage with drops of rain
 And *if so be* it barren was,

Abundantly was *washt*,
 By thee it was *refresht*.

God's *army is two millions*, Of warriours *good and strong*,
 The Lord also in Sinai Is present them among. [Ps. lxxviii. 7. seq.]

If there be here any merit, it arises solely from preserving the expressions of the prose version. And the translator would have done better had he preserved more, and had given us no feeble or foreign enlargements of his own. He has shown no independent skill or energy. When once he attempts to add or dilate, his weakness appears. It is this circumstance alone, which supports the two following well-known stanzas¹.

The Lord descended from above,
 And bowde the heavens high;
 And underneath his feet he cast
 The darknesse of the skie.

On Cherubs and on Cherubims
 Full roiallie he rode;
 And on the winges of all the windes
 Came flying all abrode. [Ps. xviii. 9, 10.]

Almost the entire contexture of the prose is here literally transferred, unbroken and without transposition, allowing for the small deviations necessarily occasioned by the metre and rhyme. It may be said, that the translator has testified his judgment in retaining so much of the original, and proved he was sensible the passage needed not any adventitious ornament. But what may seem here to be judgment or even taste, I fear, was want of expression in himself. He only adopted what was almost ready done to his hand.

To the disgrace of sacred music, sacred poetry, and our established worship; these psalms still continue to be sung in the church of England. It is certain, had they been more poetically translated, they would not have been acceptable to the common people. Yet however they may be allowed to serve the purposes of private edification, in administering spiritual consolation to the manufacturer and mechanic, as they are extrinsic to the frame of our liturgy, and incompatible with the genius of our service, there is perhaps no impropriety in wishing, that they were remitted and restrained to that church in which they sprung, and with whose character and constitution they seem so aptly to correspond. Whatever estimation in point of composition they might have attracted at their first appearance in a ruder age, and however instrumental they might have been at the infancy of the reformation in weaning the minds of men from the papistic ritual, all

these considerations can now no longer support even a specious argument for their being retained. From the circumstances of the times, and the growing refinements of literature, of course they become obsolete and contemptible. A work grave, serious, and even respectable for its poetry, in the reign of Edward VI., at length in a cultivated age, has contracted the air of an absolute travestie. Voltaire observes, that in proportion as good taste improved, the psalms of Clement Marot inspired only disgust : and that although they charmed the court of Francis I., they seemed only to be calculated for the populace in the reign of Louis XIV. [HIST. MOD. ch. ccvii.]

To obviate these objections, attempts have been made from time to time to modernise this ancient metrical version, and to render it more tolerable and intelligible by the substitution of more familiar modes of diction. But, to say nothing of the unskilfulness with which these arbitrary corrections have been conducted, by changing obsolete for known words, the texture and integrity of the original style, such as it was, has been destroyed : and many stanzas, before too naked and weak, like a plain old Gothic edifice stripped of its few signatures of antiquity, have lost that little and almost only strength and support which they derived from ancient phrases. Such alterations, even if executed with prudence and judgment, only corrupt what they endeavour to explain ; and exhibit a motley performance, belonging to no character of writing, and which contains more improprieties than those which it professes to remove. Hearne is highly offended at these unwarrantable and incongruous emendations, which he pronounces to be *abominable* in any book, 'much more in a sacred work : ' and is confident, that were Sternhold and Hopkins 'now living, they would be 'so far from owning what is ascribed to them, that they would proceed against the innovators as CHEATS.' [GLOSS. ROB. GL. p. 699.] It is certain, that this translation in its genuine and unsophisticated state, by ascertaining the signification of many radical words now perhaps undeservedly disused, and by displaying original modes of the English language, may justly be deemed no inconsiderable monument of our ancient literature, if not of our ancient poetry. In condemning the practice of adultering this primitive version, I would not be understood to recommend another in its place, entirely new. I reprobate any version at all, more especially if intended for the use of the church.

In the mean time, not to insist any longer on the incompatibility of these metrical psalms with the spirit of our liturgy, and the barbarism of their style, it should be remembered, that they were never admitted into our church by lawful authority. They were first introduced by the puritans, and afterwards continued by connivance. But they never received any royal approbation or parliamentary sanction, notwithstanding it is said in their title page, that they are 'set forth and

‘ALLOWED to be ‘sung in all churches of all the people together before ‘and after evening prayer, and also before and after sermons : and ‘moreover in private houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying ‘apart all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend only to the nourish- ‘ing of vice and the corrupting of youth.’ At the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, when our ecclesiastical reformation began to be placed on a solid and durable establishment, those English divines who had fled from the superstitions of queen Mary to Frankfort and Geneva, where they had learned to embrace the opposite extreme, and where, from an abhorrence of catholic ceremonies, they had contracted a dislike to the decent appendages of divine worship, endeavoured, in conjunction with some of the principal courtiers, to effect an abrogation of our solemn church service, which they pronounced to be antichristian and unevangelical. They contended that the metrical psalms of David, set to plain and popular music, were more suitable to the simplicity of the gospel, and abundantly adequate to all the purposes of edification : and this proposal they rested on the authority and practice of Calvin, between whom and the church of England the breach was not then so wide as at present. But the queen and those bishops to whom she had delegated the business of supervising the liturgy, among which was the learned and liberal archbishop Parker, objected, that too much attention had already been paid to the German theology. She declared, that the foreign reformers had before interposed, on similar deliberations, with unbecoming forwardness : and that the Common Prayer of her brother Edward had been once altered, to quiet the scruples, and to gratify the cavils, of Calvin, Bucer, and Fagius. She was therefore invariably determined to make no more concessions to the importunate partisans of Geneva, and peremptorily decreed that the choral formalities should still be continued in the celebration of the sacred offices. [CANONS and INJUNCTIONS A.D. 1559. NUM. xlix.]

SECTION XLVI.

THE spirit of versifying the psalms, and other parts of the Bible, at the beginning of the reformation, was almost as epidemic as psalm-singing. William Hunnis, a gentleman of the chapel under Edward VI. and afterwards chapel-master to queen Elizabeth, rendered into rhyme many select psalms, which had not the good fortune to be rescued from oblivion by being incorporated into Hopkins's collection, nor to be sung in the royal chapel. They were printed in 1550, with

this title, 'Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and 'drawen furth into Englysh meter by William Hunnis servant to the 'ryght honourable syr William Harberd knight. Newly collected and 'imprinted¹.'

I know not if among these are his SEVEN SOBS *of a sorrowful soul for sin, comprehending the SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS in metre*. They are dedicated to Frances countess of Sussex, whose attachment to the gospel he much extols, and who was afterwards the foundress of Sydney college in Cambridge. Hunnis also, under the happy title of a HANDFUL OF HONEYSUCKLES, published *Blessings out of Deuteronomie, Prayers to Christ, Athanasius's Creed, and Meditations*, in metre, with musical notes. But his spiritual nosegays are numerous. To say nothing of his RECREATIONS on *Adam's banishment, Christ his Cribb*, and the *Lost Sheep*, he translated into English rhyme the whole book of GENESIS, which he calls a HIVE FULL OF HONEY². But his honeysuckles and his honey are now no longer delicious. He was a large contributor to the PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVICES, of which more will be said in its place. In the year 1550, were also published by John Hall, or Hawle, a surgeon or physician of Maidstone in Kent, and author of many tracts in his profession, 'Certayne chapters taken 'out of the proverbes of Solomon, with other chapters of the holy 'Scripture, and certayne Psalmes of David translated into English 'metre by John Hall³.' By the remainder of the title it appears, that the proverbs had been in a former impression unfairly attributed to Thomas Sternhold. The other chapters of Scripture are from Ecclesiasticus and St. Paul's Epistles. We must not confound this John Hall with his cotemporary Eliseus Hall, who pretended to be a missionary from heaven to the queen, prophesied in the streets, and wrote a set of metrical visions⁴. Metre was now become the vehicle of enthusiasm, and the puritans seem to have appropriated it to themselves, in opposition to our service, which was in prose.

William Baldwyn, of whom more will be said when we come to the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES, published a *Phraselike declaration in English meeter on the CANTICLES OR SONGES OF SOLOMON*, in 1549. It is dedicated to Edward VI⁵. Nineteen of the psalms in

¹ I have also seen Hunnis's 'Abridgement or brief meditation on certaine of the Psalmes 'in English metre,' printed by R. Wier. 4to.

² Printed by T. Marshe, 1578. 4to

³ There is an edition in quarto dedicated to Edward VI., with this title, 'The Psalmes of 'David translated into English metre by T. Sternhold, sir T. Wyat, and William Hunnis, 'with certayne chapters of the Proverbes and select Psalmes by John Hall.' I think I have seen a book by Hall called the COURT OF VIRTUE, containing some or all of these sacred songs, with notes, 1565. 8vo. He has a copy of verses prefixed to Gale's ENCHIRIDION OF SURGERY, Lond. 1563. John Reade's Preface to his translation of F. Arcæus's ANATOMY.

⁴ Strype, ANN. i. p. 291. ch. xxv. ed. 1725.

⁵ In 4to. I have seen also 'The Ballads or Canticles of Solomon in Prose and Verse.' Without date, or name of printer or author.

rhyme are extant by Francis Seagar, printed by William Seres in 1553, with musical notes, and dedicated to lord Russel¹.

Archbishop Parker also versified the psalter; not from any opposition to our liturgy, but, either for the private amusement and exercise of his religious exile, or that the people, whose predilection for psalmody could not be suppressed, might at least be furnished with a rational and proper translation. It was finished in 1557. And a few years afterwards printed by Day, the archbishop's printer, in quarto, with this title, 'The whole Psalter translated into English metre, which containeth an hundredth and fifty psalmes. The first Quinquagene². *Quoniam omnis terræ deus, psallite sapienter.* Ps. 14. 47. Imprinted at London by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate beneath Saint Martyn's. Cum privilegio per decennium³'. Without date of the printer⁴, or name of the translator. In the metrical preface prefixed, he tries to remove the objections of those who censured versifications of Scripture, he pleads the comforts of such an employment to the persecuted theologist who suffers voluntary banishment, and thus displays the power of sacred music.

The psalmist stayde with tuned songe
The rage of myndes agast,
As David did with harpe among
To Saule in fury cast.

With golden stringes such harmonie
His harpe so sweete did wrest,
That he relieved his phrenesie
Whom wicked sprites possess⁵.

Whatever might at first have been his design, it is certain that his version, although printed, was never published: and notwithstanding the formality of his metrical preface above-mentioned, which was professedly written to shew the spiritual efficacy or virtue of the psalms in metre, and in which he directs a distinct and audible mode of congregational singing, he probably suppressed it, because he saw that the practice had been abused to the purposes of fanaticism, and adopted by the puritans in contradiction to the national worship; or at least that such a publication, whatever his private sentiments might have been, would not have suited the nature and dignity of his high office in the church. Some of our musical antiquaries, however, have

¹ At the end is a poem entitled, 'A Description of the Lyfe of Man, the World and Vanities thereof.' Princ. 'Who on earth can justly rejoyce.'

² The second quinquagene follows, fol. 146. The third and last, fol. 280.

³ In black letter. Among the prefaces are four lines from lord Surrey's ECCLESIASTES. Attached to every psalm is a prose collect. At the end of the psalms are versions of *Te Deum, Benedictus, Quicunque vult, &c. &c.*

⁴ Day had a licence, Jun. 3, 1561, to print the psalms in metre. Ames, p. 238.

⁵ He thus remonstrates against the secular ballads,

Ye songs so nice, ye sonnets all,
Ye worke mens myndes but bitter gall

Of lothly lovers layes
By phansies peevish playes

justly conjectured, that the archbishop, who was skilled in music, and had formerly founded a music-school in his college of Stoke Clare, intended these psalms, which are adapted to complicated tunes of four parts, probably constructed by himself and here given in force, for the use of cathedrals; at a time, when compositions in counterpoint were uncommon in the church, and when that part of our choir-service called the motet or anthem, which admits a more artificial display of harmony, and which is recommended and allowed in queen Elizabeth's earliest ecclesiastical injunctions, was yet almost unknown, or but in a very imperfect state. Accordingly, although the direction is not quite comprehensible, he orders many of them to be sung by the *rector chori*, or chantor, and the *quier*, or choir, alternately. That at least he had a taste for music, we may conclude from the following not inelegant scale of modulation, prefixed to his eight tunes above-mentioned.

‘THE NATURE OF THE EYGT TUNES.

The first is meke, devout to see,
 The second sad, in maiesty :
 The third doth rage, and roughly brayth,
 The fourth doth fawne, and flattry playth :
 The fifth deligth, and laugheth the more,
 The sixth bewayleth, it wepeth full sore.
 The seventh tredeth stoute in froward race,
 The eyghte goeth milde in modest pace.’

What follows is another proof, that he had proposed to introduce the psalms into the choir-service. ‘The tenor of these partes be ‘for the people when they will syng alone, the other partes put for the ‘greater quiers, or to suche as will syng or play them privately¹.’

How far this memorable prelate, perhaps the most accomplished scholar that had yet filled the archbishoprick of Canterbury, has succeeded in producing a translation of the psalter preferable to the common one, the reader may judge from these stanzas of a psalm highly poetical, in which I have exactly preserved the translator's peculiar use of the hemistic punctuation.

To feede my neede : he will me leade
 To pastures greene and fat :

¹ As the singing-psalms were never a part of our liturgy, no rubrical directions are any where given for the manner of performing them. In one of the PREFACES, written about 1550, it is ordered, ‘Whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity of saying and singing in churches within this realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some ‘the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole ‘realm shall have but one use.’ But this is said in reference to the chants, responds, suffrages, versicles, introites, kyrie-eleeysons, doxologies, and other melodies of the Book of Common Prayer, then newly published under lawful authority, with musical notes by Marbeck, and which are still used; that no arbitrary variations should be made in the manner of singing these melodies, as had been lately the case with the Roman missal, in performing which some cathedral affected a manner of their own. The Salisbury missal was most famous and chiefly followed.

He forth brought me : in libertie,
To waters delicate.

My soule and hart : he did conuert,
To me he shewth the path :
Of right wisnesse : in holiness,
His name such vertue hath.

Yea though I go : through death his wo
His vale and shadow wyde :
I feare no dart : with me thou art
With rod and staffe to guide.

Thou shalt provyde : a table wyde,
For me against theyr spite :
With oyle my head : thou hast bespred,
My cup is fully dight. [Fol. 13.]

I add, in the more sublime character, a part of the eighteenth psalm, in which Sternhold is supposed to have exerted his powers most successfully, and without the interruptions of the pointing which perhaps was designed for some regulations of the music, now unknown.

The earth did shake, for feare did quake,
The hills theyr bases shooke ;
Removed they were, in place most fayre,
At God's ryght fearfull looke.

Darke smoke rose to hys face therefro,
Hys mouthe as fire consumde,
That coales at it were kyndled bright
When he in anger fumde.

The heavens full lowe he made to bowe,
And downe dyd he ensue ;
And darkness great was undersete
His feete in clowdy hue.

He rode on hye, and dyd so flye,
Upon the Cherubins ;
He came in sight, and made his flight
Upon the wyng of wyndes.

The Lorde from heaven sent downe his leaven
And thundred thence in ire ;
He thunder cast in wondrous blast
With hayle and coales of fyre. [Fol. 35.]

Here is some degree of spirit, and a choice of phraseology. But on the whole, and especially for this species of stanza, Parker will be found to want facility, and in general to have been unpractised in writing English verses. His abilities were destined to other studies, and adapted to employments of a more archiepiscopal nature.

The industrious Strype, Parker's biographer, after a diligent search never could gain a sight of this translation : nor is it even mentioned

by Ames, the inquisitive collector of our typographical antiquities. In the late Mr. West's library there was a superb copy, once belonging to bishop Kennet, who has remarked in a blank page, that the archbishop permitted his wife dame Margaret to present the book to some of the nobility. It is certainly at this time extremely scarce, and would be deservedly deemed a fortunate acquisition to those capricious students who labour only to collect a library of rarities. Yet it is not generally known, that there are two copies in the Bodleian library of this anonymous version, which have hitherto been given to an obscure poet by the name of John Keeper. One of them, in 1643, appears to have been the property of bishop Barlow : and on the opposite side of the title, in somewhat of an ancient hand, in this manuscript insertion. 'The auctor of this booke is one John Keeper, who was brought upp 'in the close of Wells.' Perhaps Antony Wood had no better authority than this slender unauthenticated note, for saying, that John Keeper, a native of Somersetshire, and a graduate at Oxford in the year 1564, and who afterwards studied music and poetry at Wells, 'translated *The whole Psalter into English metre which containeth 150 psalms, etc. printed at London by John Day living over Aldersgate, about 1570, in 4to. : and added thereunto The Gloria Patri, Te Deum, The song of the three children, Quicunque vult, Benedictus, &c., all in metre. At the end of which, are musical notes set in four parts to several psalms. What other things, he adds, of poetry, music, or other faculties, he has published, I know not, nor any thing more ; yet I suppose he had some dignity in the church of Wells.*' [ATH. OXON. i. 181.] If this version should really be the work of Keeper, I fear we are still to seek for archbishop Parker's psalms, with Strype and Ames¹.

A considerable contributor to the metrical theology was Robert Crowley, educated in Magdalene college at Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1542. In the reign of Edward VI., he commenced printer and preacher in London. He lived in Ely-rents in Holborn : 'where, says Wood, he sold books, and at leisure times exercised the 'gift of preaching in the great city and elsewhere.' [ATH. OXON. i. 235.] In 1550 he printed the first edition of PIERCE PLOWMAN'S VISION, but with the ideas of a controversialist, and with the view of helping forward the reformation by the revival of a book which exposed the absurdities of popery in strong satire, and which at present is only valuable or useful, as it serves to gratify the harmless researches of those peaceable philosophers who study the progression of ancient literature. His pulpit and his press, those two prolific sources of faction, happily co-operated in propagating his principles of predestination : and his shop and his sermons were alike frequented. Possessed

¹ There is a metrical English version of the Psalms among the Cotton MSS. about the year 1320, which has merit. See also *supr.* Vol. i. 23.

of those talents which qualified him for captivating the attention and moving the passions of the multitude, under queen Elizabeth he held many dignities in a church, whose doctrines and polity his undiscerning zeal had a tendency to destroy. He translated into popular rhyme, not only the psalter, but the litany, with hymns, all which he printed together in 1549. In the same year, and in the same measure, he published *The Voice of the last Trumpet blown by the seventh angel*. This piece contains twelve several lessons, for the instruction or amendment of those who seemed at that time chiefly to need advice: and among whom he enumerates *lewd* priests, scholars, physicians, beggars, yeomen, gentlemen, magistrates, and women. He also attacked the abuses of his age in 31 EPIGRAMS, first printed in 1551. The subjects are placed alphabetically. In his first alphabet are *Abbayes, Alehouses, Allys, and Almshouses*. The second, *Bailiffs, Bawds, Beggars, Bear-bayting, and Brablers*. They display, but without spirit or humour, the reprehensible practices and licentious manners which then prevailed. He published in 1551, a kind of metrical sermon on Pleasure and Pain, Heaven and Hell. Many of these, to say nothing of his almost innumerable controversial tracts in prose, had repeated editions, and from his own press. But one of his treatises, to prove that Lent is a human invention and a superstitious institution, deserves notice for its plan: it is a Dialogue between Lent and Liberty. The personification of Lent is a bold and a perfectly new prosopopeia. In an old poem of this age against the papists, written by one doctor William Turner a physician, but afterwards dean of Wells, the Mass, or mistress MISSA, is personified, who, arrayed in all her meretricious trappings, must at least have been a more theatrical figure¹. Crowley likewise wrote, and printed in 1581, a rhyming manual, *The School of Vertue and Book of good Nurture*. This is a translation into metre, of many of the less exceptionable Latin hymns anciently used by the catholics, and still continuing to retain among the protestants a degree of popularity. One of these begins, *Jam Lucis orto sydere*. At the end are prayers and graces in rhyme. This book, which in Wood's time had been degraded to the stall of the ballad-singer, and is now only to be found on the shelf of the antiquary, was intended to supersede or abolish the original Latin hymns, which were only offensive because they were in Latin, and which were the recreation of scholars in our universities after dinner on festival days. At an archiepiscopal visitation of Merton college in Oxford, in the year 1562, it was a matter of enquiry, whether the *superstitious* hymns appointed to be sung in the Hall on holidays, were changed for the psalms in metre: and one of the fellows is

¹ Strype, ECCLE. MEM. ii. p. 138. See the speakers in Ochin's Dialogue against the Pope, englished by Poynt, printed in 1549. Strype, *ibid.* 128.

accused of having attempted to prevent the singing of the metrical *Te Deum* in the refectory on All-saints day.¹

It will not be foreign to our purpose to remark here, that when doctor Cosins, prebendary of Durham, afterwards bishop, was cited before the parliament in 1640, for reviving or supporting papistic usages in his cathedral, it was alledged against him, that he had worn an embroidered cope, had repaired some ruinous cherubims, had used a consecrated knife for dividing the sacramental bread, had renovated the blue cap and golden beard of a little image of Christ on bishop Hatfield's tomb, had placed two lighted tapers on the altar which was decorated with emblematic sculpture, and had forbidden the psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins to be sung in the choir².

SECTION XLVII.

BUT among the theological versifiers of these times, the most notable is Christopher Tye, a doctor of music at Cambridge in 1545, and musical preceptor to prince Edward, and probably to his sisters the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. In the reign of Elizabeth he was organist of the royal chapel, in which he had been educated. To his profession of music, he joined some knowledge of English literature: and having been taught to believe that rhyme and edification were closely connected, and being persuaded that every part of the Scripture would be more instructive and better received if reduced into verse, he projected a translation of the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES into familiar metre. It appears that the BOOK OF KINGS had before been versified, which for many reasons was more capable of shining under the hands of a translator. But the most splendid historical book, I mean the most susceptible of poetic ornament, in the Old or New Testament, would have become ridiculous when clothed in the fashionable ecclesiastical stanza. Perhaps the plan of setting a narrative of this kind to music, was still more preposterous and exceptionable. However, he completed only the first fourteen chapters: and they were printed in 1553, by William Serres, with the following title, which by the reader, who is not acquainted with the peculiar complexion of this period, will hardly be suspected to be serious. 'The ACTES OF THE APOSTLES translated into Englyshe metre, and dedicated to the kinges most excellent maiestye by Cristofer Tye, doctor in musyke,

¹ Strype's Parker, B. II. Ch. ii. p. 116, 117. Compare LIFE OF SIR THOMAS POPE, 2d edit. p. 354.

² Neale's HIST. PURIT. vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 387. edit. 1733. Nalson's COLLECTIONS vol. i. p. 789.

'and one of the Gentylnmen of hys graces most honourable Chappell, 'with notes to eche chapter to synge and also to play upon the Lute, 'very necessarye for studentes after theyr studye to fyle their wittes, 'and alsoe for all christians that cannot synge, to reade the good and 'godlye storyes of the lives of Christ his apostles.' It is dedicated in Sternhold's stanza, 'To the vertuous and godlye learned prynce 'Edward VI.' As this singular dedication contains, not only anecdotes of the author and his work, but of his majesty's eminent attention to the study of the scripture, and of his skill in playing on the lute, I need not apologise for transcribing a few dull stanzas; especially as they will also serve as a specimen of the poet's native style and manner, unconfined by the fetters of translation.

Your Grace may note, from tyme to tyme,
That some doth undertake
Upon the Psalms to write in ryme,
The verse plesaunt to make :

And some doth take in hand to wryte
Out of the Booke of Kynges ;
Because they se your Grace delyte
In suche like godlye thynges¹.

And last of all, I youre poore man,
Whose doinges are full base,
Yet glad to do the best I can
To give unto your Grace,
Have thought it good now to recyte
The stories of the Actes
Even of the Twelve, as Luke doth wryte,
Of all their worthy factes.——

Unto the text I do not ad,
For nothyng take awaye ;
And though my style be gros and bad,
The truth perceyve ye may.——

My callynge is another waye,
Your Grace shall herein fynde
My notes set forth to synge or playe,
To recreate the mynde.

And though they be not curious²,
But for the letter mete ;
Ye shall them fynde harmonious,
And eke plesaunt and swete.

A young monarch singing the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES in verse to

¹ Strype says, that 'Sternhold composed several psalms at first for his own solace. 'For he set and sung them to his organ. Which music king Edward VI. sometime 'hearing, for he was a gentleman of the privy-chamber, was much delighted with them. 'Which occasioned his publication and dedication of them to the said king.' ECCLES. MEMOR. B. i. ch. 2. p. 86.

² That is, they are plain and unisonous ; the established character of this sort of music.

his lute, is a royal character of which we have seldom heard. But he proceeds,

That such good thynges your Grace might move
Your Lute when he assaye,
In stede of songes of wanton love,
These stories then to play.

So shall your Grace plesse God the lorde
In walkyng in his waye,
His lawes and statutes to recorde
In your heart night and day.

And eke your realme shall florish styll,
No good thyng shall decaye,
Your subjectes shall with right good will,
These wordes recorde and saye ;

'Thy lyf, O kyng, to us doth shyne,
'As God's boke doth thee teache ;
'Thou dost us feede with such doctrine
'As God's elect dyd preache.'

From this sample of his original vein, my reader will not perhaps hastily predetermine, that our author has communicated any considerable decorations to his ACTS OF THE APOSTLES in English verse. There is as much elegance and animation in the two following initial stanzas of the fourteenth chapter, as in any of the whole performance, which I shall therefore exhibit.

It chaunced in Iconium,
As they [apostles] oft tymes did use,
Together they into did come
The Sinagoge of Jues.

Where they did preache and only seke
God's grace them to atcheve ;
That so they speke to Jue and Greke
That many did bileve.

Doctor Tye's ACTS OF THE APOSTLES were sung for a time in the royal chapel of Edward VI. But they never became popular. The impropriety of the design, and the impotency of the execution, seem to have been perceived even by his own prejudiced and undiscerning age. This circumstance, however, had probably the fortunate and seasonable effect, of turning Tye's musical studies to another and a more rational system : to the composition of words judiciously selected from the prose psalms in four or five parts. Before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, at a time when the more ornamental and intricate music was wanted in our service, he concurred with the celebrated Tallis and a few others in setting several anthems, which are not only justly supposed to retain much of the original strain of our ancient choral melody before the reformation, but in respect of har-

mony, expression, contrivance, and general effect, are allowed to be perfect models of the genuine ecclesiastic style. Fuller informs us, that Tye was the chief restorer of the loss which the music of the church had sustained by the destruction of the monasteries¹. Tye also appears to have been a translator of Italian. *The History of Nastagio and Traversari translated out of Italian into English by C. T.* perhaps Christopher Tye, was printed at London in 1569².

It is not my intention to pursue any farther the mob of religious rhymers, who, from principles of the most unfeigned piety, devoutly laboured to darken the lustre, and enervate the force, of the divine pages. And perhaps I have been already too prolix in examining a species of poetry, if it may be so called, which even impoverishes prose; or rather, by mixing the style of prose with verse, and of verse with prose, destroys the character and effect of both. But in surveying the general course of a species of literature, absurdities as well as excellencies, the weakness and the vigour of the human mind, must have their historian. Nor is it unpleasing to trace and to contemplate those strange incongruities, and false ideas of perfection, which at various times, either affectation, or caprice, or fashion, or opinion, or prejudice, or ignorance, or enthusiasm, present to the conceptions of men, in the shape of truth.

I must not, however, forget, that Edward VI. is to be ranked among the religious poets of his own reign. Fox has published his metrical instructions concerning the eucharist, addressed to sir Antony Saint Leger. Bale also mentions his comedy called the WHORE OF BABYLON, which Holland the heroologist, who perhaps had never seen it, and knew not whether it was a play or a ballad, in verse or prose, pronounces to be a most elegant performance. [HEROOLQG. p. 27.] Its elegance, with some, will not perhaps apologise or atone for its subject: and it may seem strange, that controversial ribaldry should have been suffered to enter into the education of a great monarch. But the genius, habits, and situation, of his age should be considered. The reformation was the great political topic of Edward's court. Intricate discussions in divinity were no longer confined to

¹ WORTHIES, ii. 244. Tallis here mentioned, at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and by proper authority, enriched the music of Marbeck's liturgy. He set to music the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis*, and other offices, to which Marbeck had given only the *canto fermo*, or plain chant. He composed a new Litany still in use; and improved the simpler modulation of Marbeck's Suffrages, Kyries after the Commandments, and other versicles, as they are sung at present. There are two chants of Tallis, one to the *Venite Exultemus*, and another to the Athanasian Creed.

² In duodecimo.—I had almost forgot to observe, that John Mardiley, clerk of the king's Mint, called *Suffolk-house* in Southwark, translated 24 of David's Psalms into English verse, about 1550. He wrote also *Religious Hymns*. Bale, par. post. p. 106. There is extant his *Complaint against the stiffnecked papist in verse*. Lond. by T. Raynold, 1548. 8vo. And, a *Short Resytal of certyne holie doctors*, against the real presence, collected in *myter* [metre] by John Mardiley. Lond. 12mo. See another of his pieces on the same subject, and in rhyme, presented and dedicated to queen Elizabeth, MSS. REG. 17 B. xxxvii. The Protector Somerset was his patron.

the schools or the clergy. The new religion, from its novelty, as well as importance, interested every mind, and was almost the sole object of the general attention. Men emancipated from the severities of a spiritual tyranny, reflected with horror on the slavery they had so long suffered, and with exultation on the triumph they had obtained. These feelings were often expressed in a strain of enthusiasm. The spirit of innovation, which had seized the times, often transgressed the bounds of truth. Every change of religion is attended with those ebullitions, which growing more moderate by degrees, afterwards appear eccentric and ridiculous.

We who live at a distance from this great and national struggle between popery and protestantism, when our church has been long and peaceably established, and in an age of good sense, of politeness and philosophy, are apt to view these effusions of royal piety as weak and unworthy the character of a king. But an ostentation of zeal and example in the young Edward, as it was natural so it was necessary, while the reformation was yet immature. It was the duty of his preceptors, to impress on his tender years, an abhorrence of the principles of Rome, and a predilection to that happy system which now seemed likely to prevail. His early diligence, his inclination to letters, and his seriousness of disposition, seconded their active endeavours to cultivate and to bias his mind in favour of the new theology, which was now become the fashionable knowledge. These and other amiable virtues his contemporaries have given young Edward in an eminent degree. But it may be presumed, that the partiality which youth always commands, the specious prospects excited by expectation, and the flattering promises of religious liberty secured to a distant posterity, have had some small share in dictating his panegyric.

The new settlement of religion, by counteracting inveterate prejudices of the most interesting nature, by throwing the clergy into a state of contention, and by disseminating theological opinions among the people, excited so general a ferment, that even the popular ballads and the stage, were made the vehicles of the controversy between the papal and protestant communions.

The Ballad of LUTHER, the POPE, a CARDINAL, and a HUSBANDMAN, written in 1550, in defence of the reformation, has some spirit, and supports a degree of character in the speakers. There is another written about the same time, which is a lively satire on the English Bible, the vernacular liturgy, and the book of homilies, [Percy BALL. ii. 102.] The measure of the last is that of PIERCE PLOWMAN, with the addition of rhyme: a sort of versification which now was not uncommon.

Strype has printed a poem called the PORE HELP, of the year

1550, which is a lampoon against the new preachers or gospellers, not very elegant in its allusions, and in Skelton's style. The anonymous satirist mentions with applause *Mayster Huggarde*, or Miles Hoggard, a shoemaker of London, and who wrote several virulent pamphlets against the reformation, which were made important by extorting laboured answers from several eminent divines¹. He also mentions a *nobler clarke*, whose learned *Balad* in defence of the *holy Kyrke* had triumphed over all the raillery of its numerous opponents². The same industrious annalist has also preserved *A song on bishop Latimer*, in the octave rhyme, by a poet of the same persuasion³. And in the catalogue of modern English prohibited books delivered in 1542 to the parish priests, to the intent that their authors might be discovered and punished, there is the *Burying of the Mass in English rithme*⁴. But it is not my intention to make full and formal collection of these fugitive religious pasquinades, which died with their respective controversies.

In the year 1547, a proclamation was published to prohibit preaching. This was a temporary expedient to suppress the turbulent harangues of the catholic ministers, who still composed no small part of the parochial clergy: for the court of augmentations took care perpetually to supply the vacant benefices with the disincorporated monks, in order to exonerate the exchequer from the payment of their annuities. These men, both from inclination and interest, and hoping to restore the church to its ancient orthodoxy and opulence, exerted all their powers of declamation in combating the doctrines of protestantism, and in alienating the minds of the people from the new doctrines and reformed rites of worship. Being silenced by authority, they had recourse to the stage: and from the pulpit removed their polemics to the play-house. Their farces became more successful than their sermons. The people flocked eagerly to the play-house, when deprived not only of their ancient pageantries, but of their pastoral discourses, in the church. Archbishop Cranmer and the protector Somerset were the chief objects of these dramatic invectives⁵. At length, the same authority which had checked the preachers, found it expedient to control the players: and a new proclamation, which I think has not yet appeared in the history of the British drama, was promulgated in the following terms. [Dat. 3. Edw. vi. Aug. 8.] The inquisitive reader will observe, that from this instrument plays appear to have been long before a general and familiar

¹ One of these pieces is, 'A Confutation to the answer of a wicked ballad,' printed in 1550. Crowley above-mentioned wrote, 'A Confutation of Miles Hoggard's wicked ballad made in defence of the transubstantiation of the Sacrament.' Lond. 1548. oct.

² Strype, ECCLES. MEM. II. APPEND. I. p. 34.

³ Ibid. vol. I. APPEND. XLIV. p. 121.

⁴ Burnet, HIST. REF. vol. I. REC. NUM. XXVI. p. 257.

⁵ Full, CHURCH HISTORY B. VII. Cent. XVI. p. 390.

'or private within this realm, upon pain, that whosoever shall PLAY in 'ENGLISH any such PLAY, ENTERLUDE, DIALOGUE, or other MATTER 'shall suffer imprisonment, or other punishment at the pleasure of his' 'Majestie¹.' But when the short date of this proclamation expired, the reformers, availing themselves of the stratagems of an enemy, attacked the papists with their own weapons. One of the comedies on the side of reformation still remains². But the writer, while his own religion from its simple and impalpable form was much less exposed to the ridicule of scenic exhibition, has not taken advantage of that opportunity which the papistic ceremonies so obviously afforded to burlesque and drollery, from their visible pomp, their number, and their absurdities : nor did he perceive an effect which he might have turned to use, suggested by the practice of his catholic antagonists in the drama, who, by way of recommending their own superstitious solemnities, often made them contemptible by theatrical representation.

This piece is entitled, *An Enterlude called LUSTY JUVENTUS: lively describing the Frailltie of youth: of Nature prone to Vyce: by Grace and Good Councell traynable to vertue*³. The author, of whom nothing more is known, was one R. Wever, as appears from the colophon. 'Finis, quod R. Wever. Imprinted at London in Paules church ye' 'by Abraham Vele at the signe of the Lambe.' Hypocrisy is its best character : who laments the loss of her superstitions to the devil, and recites a long catalogue of the trumpery of the popish worship in the metre and manner of Skelton⁴. The chapter and verse of Scripture are often announced : and in one scene, a personage, called GOD'S MERCYFULL PROMISES, cites Ezekiel as from the pulpit.

The Lord by his prophet Ezekiel sayeth in this wise playnlye.
As in the xxiii chapter it doth appere :
Be converted, O ye children, &c. [Ibid. p. 159.]

From this interlude we learn, that the young men, which was natural were eager to embrace the new religion, and that the old were unwilling to give up those doctrines and modes of worship, to which they had been habitually attached, and had paid the most implicit and reverential obedience, from their childhood. To this circumstance the devil, who is made to represent the Scripture as a novelty, attributes, the destruction of his spiritual kingdom.

The old people would beleve stil in my lawes,
But the yonger sort lead them a contrary way ;
They wyll not beleve, they playnly say.

¹ Fuller, *ibid.* p. 391. STAT. 2, 3. Edw. vi. A.D. 1548. Gibs. COD. i. p. 261. edit. 1761.

² Gibs. COD. i. p. 191. edit. 1761.

³ Hawkins's OLD PLAYS, i. p. 135

⁴ Bale's THREE LAWES abovementioned, SIGN. B. v.

Here have I prayte gynnes,
With soch as the people wynnes

Both brouches, beades, and pyennes,
Unto idolatrye, &c.

In old traditions as made by men,
But they wyll 'leve as the Scripture teachest them. [Ibid. p. 133.]

The devil then, in order to recover his interest, applies to his son Hypocrisy, who attempts to convert a young man to the ancient faith, and says that the Scripture can teach no more, than that *God is a good man*, [Ibid. 141.] a phrase which Shakespeare with great humour has put into the mouth of Dogberry. [MUCH ADO. iii. 8.] But he adds an argument in jest, which the papists sometimes seriously used against the protestants, and which, if we consider the poet's ultimate intention, had better been suppressed.

The world was never so mery
Since children were so bolde :
Now every boy will be a teacher,
The father a foole, the chylde a preacher. [Ibid. p. 143.]

It was among the reproaches of protestantism, that the inexperienced and the unlearned thought themselves at liberty to explain the Scriptures, and to debate the most abstruse and metaphysical topics of theological speculation. The two songs in the character of YOUTH, at the opening and close of this interlude, are flowery and not inelegant. [Ibid. p. 121. 153.]

The protestants continued their plays in Mary's reign: for Strype has exhibited a remonstrance from the Privy-council to the lord President of the North, representing, that 'certain lewd [ignorant] persons, to the number of six or seven in a company, naming themselves 'to be servants of sir Frauncis Lake, and wearing his livery or badge 'on their sleeves, have wandred about those north parts, and representing certain Plays and Enterludes,' reflecting on her majesty and king Philip, and the formalities of the mass¹. These were family-minstrels or players, who were constantly distinguished by their master's livery or badge.

When the English liturgy was restored at the accession of Elizabeth, after its suppression under Mary, the papists renewed their hostilities from the stage; and again tried the intelligible mode of attack by ballads, farces, and interludes. A new injunction was then necessary, and it was again enacted in 1559, that no person, but under heavy forfeitures, should abuse the Common Prayer in 'any Enterludes, Plays, 'songs or rimes.' [Ann. i. Eliz.] But under Henry VIII., so early as the year 1542, before the reformation was fixed or even intended on its

¹ ECCL. MEM. iii. APPEND. lii. p. 185. Dat. 1556. Sir Francis Lake is ordered to correct his servants so offending.

One Henry Nicholas a native of Amsterdam, who imported his own translations of many enthusiastic German books into England, about the year 1550, translated and published, 'COMOEDIA, a worke in rhyme, conteyning an interlude of Myndes witnessing man's fall 'from God and Cryst, set forth by H. N. and by him newly perused and amended. Tran- 'slated out of base Almayne into Englysh.' Without date, in duodecimo. It seems to have been printed abroad. Our author was the founder of one of the numerous offsets of calvinistic fanaticism, called the FAMILY OF LOVE.

present liberal establishment, yet when men had begun to discern and to reprobate many of the impostures of popery, it became an object of the legislature to curb the bold and seditious spirit of popular poetry. No sooner were the Scriptures translated and permitted in English, than they were brought upon the stage: they were not only misinterpreted and misunderstood by the multitude, but profaned or burlesqued in comedies and mummeries. Effectually to restrain these abuses, Henry, who loved to create a subject for persecution, who commonly proceeded to disannul what he had just confirmed, and who found that a freedom of enquiry tended to shake his ecclesiastical supremacy, framed a law, that not only Tyndale's English Bible, and all the printed English commentaries, expositions, annotations, defences, replies, and sermons, whether orthodox or heretical, which it had occasioned, should be utterly abolished; but that the kingdom should also be *purged* and *cleansed* of all religious plays, interludes, rhymes, ballads, and songs, which are equally *pestiferous* and *noysome* to the peace of the church¹.

Henry appears to have been piqued as an author and a theologist in adding the clause concerning his own INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN, which had been treated with the same sort of ridicule. Yet under the general injunction of suppressing all English books on religious subjects, he formally excepts, among others, some not properly belonging to that class, such as the CANTERBURY TALES, the works of Chaucer and Gower, CRONICLES, and STORIES OF MENS LIVES. [Ibid. Artic. vii.] There is also an exception added about plays, and those only are allowed which were called MORALITIES, or perhaps interludes of real character and action, 'for the rebuking and reproaching of vices and the setting forth of virtue.' MYSTERIES are totally rejected. [Ibid. Artic. ix.] The reservations which follow, concerning the use of a corrected English Bible, which was permitted, are curious for their quaint partiality, and they shew the embarrassment of administration, in the difficult business of confining that benefit to a few, from which all might reap advantage, but which threatened to become a general evil, without some degrees of restriction. It is absolutely forbidden to be read or expounded in the church. The lord chancellor, the speaker of the house of commons, *captaines of the wars*, justices of the peace, and recorders of cities, may quote passages to enforce their public harangues, *as has been accustomed*. A nobleman or gentleman may read it, in his house, *orchards*, or *garden*, yet quietly, and without disturbance 'of good order.' A merchant also may read it *to himself privately*. But the common people, who had already abused this liberty to the purpose of division and dissensions, and under the denomination of *women*, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, and servingmen,

¹ STAT. Ann. 34, 35. Henr. VIII. Cap. i. Tyndale's Bible was printed at Paris 1536.

are to be punished with one month's imprisonment, as often as they are detected in reading the Bible either privately or openly.

It should be observed, that few of these had now learned to read. But such was the privilege of peerage, that ladies of quality might read 'to themselves and alone, and not to others,' any chapter either in the Old or New Testament. [Ibid. Artic. x. seq.] This has the air of a sumptuary law, which indulges the nobility with many superb articles of finery, that are interdicted to those of inferior degree.¹ Undoubtedly the duchesses and countesses of this age, if not from principles of piety, at least from motives of curiosity, became eager to read a book which was made inaccessible to three parts of the nation. But the partial distribution of a treasure to which all had a right could not long remain. This was a MANNA to be *gathered by every man*. The claim of the people was too powerful to be overruled by the bigotry, the prejudice, or the caprice of Henry.

I must add here, in reference to my general subject, that the translation of the Bible, which in the reign of Edward VI. was admitted into the churches, is supposed to have fixed our language. It certainly has transmitted and perpetuated many ancient words which would otherwise have been obsolete or unintelligible. I have never seen it remarked, that at the same time this translation contributed to enrich our native English at an early period, by importing and familiarising many Latin words².

These were suggested by the Latin vulgate, which was used as a medium by the translators. Some of these, however, now interwoven into our common speech, could not have been understood by many readers even above the rank of the vulgar, when the Bible first appeared in English. Bishop Gardiner had therefore much less reason than we now imagine, for complaining of the too great clearness of the translation, when with an insidious view of keeping the people in their ancient ignorance, he proposed, that instead of always using English phrases, many Latin words should still be preserved, because they contained an inherent significance and a genuine dignity, to which

¹ And of an old DIETARIE FOR THE CLERGY, I think by archbishop Cranmer, in which an archbishop is allowed to have two swans or two capons in a dish, a bishop two. An archbishop six blackbirds at once, a bishop five, a dean four, an archdeacon two. If a dean has four dishes in his first course, he is not afterwards to have custards or fritters. An archbishop may have six snipes, an archdeacon only two. Rabbits, larks, pheasants, and partridges, are allowed in these proportions. A canon residentiary is to have a swan only on a Sunday. A rector of sixteen marks, only three blackbirds in a week. See a similar instrument, Strype's PARKER, APPEND. p. 65.

In the British Museum, there is a beautiful MSS. on vellum of a French translation of the Bible, which was found in the tent of king John, king of France, after the battle of Poitiers. Perhaps his majesty possessed this book on the plan of an exclusive royal right.

² More particularly in the Latin derivative substantives, such as, *divination, perdition, adoption, manifestation, consolation, contribution, administration, consummation, reconciliation, operation, communication, retribution, preparation, immortality, principality, &c. &c.* And in other words, *frustrate, inexcusable, transfigure, concupiscence, &c.*

the common tongue afforded no correspondent expressions of sufficient energy.¹

To the reign of Edward VI. belongs Arthur Kelton, a native of Shropshire or Wales. He wrote the *CRONICLE OF THE BRUTES* in English verse. It is dedicated to the young king, who seems to have been the general patron; and was printed in 1547². Wood allows that he was an able antiquary; but laments, that he 'being withall 'poetically given, must forsooth write and publish his lucubrations in 'verse; whereby, for rhyme's sake, many material matters, and the 'due timing of them, are omitted, and so consequently rejected by 'historians and antiquarians.' [Ath. Oxon. i. 73.] Yet he has not supplied his want of genealogical and historical precision with those strokes of poetry which his subject suggested; nor has his imagination been any impediment to his accuracy. At the end of his *CHRONICLE* is the *GENEALOGY OF THE BRUTES*, in which the pedigree of Edward VI. is lineally drawn through 32 generations, from Osiris the first king of Egypt. Here too Wood reproaches our author for his ignorance in genealogy. But in an heraldic enquiry, so difficult and so new, many mistakes are pardonable. It is extraordinary that a Welshman should have carried his genealogical researches into Egypt, or rather should have wished to prove that Edward was descended from Osiris: but this was with a design to shew, that the Egyptian monarch was the original progenitor of Brutus, the undoubted founder of Edward's family. Bale says that he wrote, and dedicated to sir William Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke, a most elegant poetical panegyric on the Cambro-Britons. [Bale, xi. 97.] But Bale's praises and censures are always regulated according to the religion of the authors he notices.

The first *CHANSON A POIRE*, or *DRINKING-BALLAD*, of any merit, in our language, appeared in the year 1551. It has a vein of ease and humour, which we should not expect to have been inspired by the simple beverage of those times. I believe I shall not tire my reader by giving it at length; and am only afraid that in this specimen the transition will be thought too violent, from the poetry of the puritans to a convivial and *ungodlie* ballad.

I cannot eat, but little meat,
My stomach is not good;
But sure I think, that I can drink
With him that wears a hood. [A monk.]
Though I go bare, take ye no care,
I nothing am a colde;
I stuffe my skin so full within,

Such as, *Idolâtrâ, contritus, holocausta, sacramentum, clementia, humilitas, satisfactio, ceremonia, absolutio, mysterium, penitentia, &c.* See Gardiner's proposals in Burnet, *HIST. REF.* vol. i. B. iii. p. 315. And Fuller, *CH. HIST.* B. v. Cent. xvi. p. 238.

² Lond. Octavo. Pr. 'In the golden time when all things.'

Of joly goode ale and olde.
Backe and side go bare,
Booth foot and hand go colde;
But, belly, God send thee good ale inoughe,
Whether it be new or olde!

I love no rost, but a nut-browne toste,
 And a crab laid in the fire;
 A little bread shall do me stead,
 Moche bread I noght desire.
 No frost no snow, no winde, I trowe,
 Can hurt me if I wolde,
 I am so wrapt, and throwly lapt
 Of joly good ale and olde.
Backe and side, &c.

And TIB my wife, that as her life
 Loveth well good ale to seeke,
 Full oft drinkes shee, till ye may see
 The teares run downe her cheeke.
 Then doth she trowle to me the bowle
 Even as a mault-worm sholde;
 And¹, saith, 'sweet heart, I tooke my part
 'Of this joly good ale and olde.'
Backe and side, &c.

Now let them drinke, till they nod and winke,
 Even as good fellows should do:
 They shall not misse to have the blisse
 Good ale doth bringe men to.
 And al goode sowles that have scoured bowles,
 Or have them lustely trolde,
 God save the lives, of them and their wives,
 Whether they be yong or olde!
Backe and side, &c.

This song opens the second act of GAMMER GURTON'S NEEDLE, a comedy, written and printed in 1551⁵, and soon afterwards acted at Christ's College in Cambridge. In the title of the old edition it is said to have been written 'by Mr. S. master of artes,' who probably was a member of that society. This is held to be the first comedy in our language: that is, the first play which was neither Mystery nor Morality, and which handled a comic story with some disposition of plot, and some discrimination of character. The writer has a degree of jocularly which sometimes rises above buffoonery, but is often disgraced by lowness of incident. Yet in a more polished age he would have chosen, nor would he perhaps have disgraced, a better subject. It has been thought surprising

¹ Having drank she says.

² On the authority of MSS. Oldys. A valuable black-letter copy, in the possession of Mr. Steevens, is the oldest I have seen.

that a learned audience could have endured some of these indelicate scenes. But the established festivities of scholars were gross and agreeable to their general habits ; nor was learning in that age always accompanied by gentleness of manners. When the sermons of Hugh Latimer were in vogue at court, the university might be justified in applauding GAMMER GURTON'S NEEDLE

SECTION XLVIII.

TRUE genius, unseduced by the cabals and unalarmed by the dangers of faction, defies or neglects those events which destroy the peace of mankind, and often exerts its operations amidst the most violent commotions of a state. Without patronage and without readers, I may add without models, the earlier Italian writers, while their country was shook by the intestine tumults of the Guelfes and Guibelines, continued to produce original compositions both in prose and verse, which yet stand unrivalled. The age of Pericles and of the Peloponnesian war was the same. Careless of those who governed or disturbed the world, and superior to the calamities of a quarrel in which two mighty leaders contended for the prize of universal dominion, Lucretius wrote his sublime didactic poem on the system of nature, Virgil his *bucolics*, and Cicero his books of philosophy. The proscriptions of Augustus did not prevent the progress of the Roman literature.

In the turbulent and unpropitious reign of queen Mary, when controversy was no longer confined to speculation, and a spiritual warfare polluted every part of England with murders more atrocious than the slaughters of the most bloody civil contest, a poem was planned, although not fully completed, which illuminates with no common lustre that interval of gross darkness, which occupies the annals of English poetry from Surrey to Spenser, entitled, *A MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES*.

More writers than one were concerned in the execution of this piece: but its primary inventor, and most distinguished contributor, was Thomas Sackville the first lord Buckhurst, and first earl of Dorset. Much about the same period, the same author wrote the first genuine English tragedy, which I shall consider in its proper place.

Sackville was born at Buckhurst, a principal seat of his ancient and illustrious family in the parish of Withiam in Sussex. His birth is placed, but with evident inaccuracy, under the year 1536¹. At least it

¹ Archbishop Abbot, in Sackville's Funeral-sermon, says he was aged 72 when he died, in the year 1608. If so, he was not twenty years of age when he wrote *GORDONBUCK*.

should be placed six years before. Discovering a vigorous understanding in his childhood, from a domestic tuition he was removed, as it may reasonably be conjectured, to Hart Hall, near Hertford college, in Oxford. But he appears to have been a master of Arts at Cambridge. [Wood, ATH. OXON. i. F. 767.] At both universities he became celebrated as a Latin and English poet; and he carried his love of poetry, which he seems to have almost solely cultivated, to the Inner Temple. It was now fashionable for every young man of fortune, before he began his travels, or was admitted into parliament, to be initiated in the study of the law. But instead of pursuing a science, which could not be his profession, and which was unaccommodated to the bias of his genius, he betrayed his predilection to a more pleasing species of literature, by composing the tragedy just mentioned, for the entertainment and honour of his fellow-students. His high birth, however, and ample patrimony, soon advanced him to more important situations and employments. His eminent accomplishments and abilities having acquired the confidence and esteem of queen Elizabeth, the poet was soon lost in the statesman, and negotiations and embassies extinguished the milder ambitions of the ingenuous Muse. Yet it should be remembered, that he was uncorrupted amidst the intrigues of an artful court, that in the character of a first minister he preserved the integrity of a private man, and that his family refused the offer of an apology to his memory, when it was insulted by the malicious insinuations of a rival party. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to remark, that his original elegance and brilliancy of mind sometimes broke forth, in the exercise of his more formal political functions. He was frequently disgusted at the pedantry and official barbarity of style, with which the public letters and instruments were usually framed: and Naunton relates, that his 'secretaries had difficulty to please him, 'he was so *facete* and choice in his style.' [FRAGM. REGAL. p. 70.] Even in the decisions and pleadings of that rigid tribunal the star-chamber, which was never esteemed the school of rhetoric, he practiced and encouraged an unaccustomed strain of eloquent and graceful oratory: on which account, says Lloyd, 'so flowing was his invention, 'that he was called the star-chamber bell.' [Lloyd's WORTHIES, p. 678.] After he was made a peer by the title of lord Buckhurst, and had succeeded to a most extensive inheritance, and was now discharging the business of an envoy to Paris, he found time to prefix a Latin epistle to Clerke's Latin translation of Castilio's COURTIER, printed at London in 1571, which is not an unworthy recommendation of a treatise remarkable for its polite Latinity. It was either because his mistress Elizabeth paid a sincere compliment to his singular learning and fidelity, or because she was willing to indulge an affected fit of indignation against the object of her capricious passion, that when Sackville, in 1591, was a candidate for the chancellorship of the uni-

versity of Oxford, she condescended earnestly to solicit the university in his favour, and in opposition to his competitor the earl of Essex. At least she appears to have approved the choice, for her majesty soon afterwards visited Oxford, where she was entertained by the new chancellor with splendid banquets and much solid erudition. It is neither my design nor my province, to develope the profound policy with which he conducted a peace with Spain, the address with which he penetrated or baffled the machinations of Essex, and the circum-spection and success with which he managed the treasury of two opulent sovereigns. I return to Sackville as a poet, and to the history of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*¹.

About the year 1557, he formed the plan of a poem, in which all the illustrious but unfortunate characters of the English history, from the conquest to the end of the fourteenth century, were to pass in review before the poet, who descends like Dante into the infernal region, and is conducted by SORROW. Although a descent into hell had been suggested by other poets, the application of such a fiction to the present design, is a conspicuous proof of genius and even of invention. Every personage was to recite his own misfortunes in a separate soliloquy. But Sackville had leisure only to finish a poetical preface called an *INDUCTION*, and one legend, which is the life of Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham. Relinquishing therefore the design abruptly, and hastily adapting the close of his *INDUCTION* to the appearance of Buckingham, the only story he had yet written, and which was to have been the last in his series, he recommended the completion of the whole to Richard Baldwyne and George Ferrers.

Baldwyne seems to have been graduated at Oxford about the year 1532. He was an ecclesiastic, and engaged in the education of youth. I have already mentioned his metrical version of *SOLOMON'S SONG*, dedicated to Edward VI. His patron was Hen. lord Stafford².

George Ferrers, a man of superior rank, was born at saint Albans, educated at Oxford, and a student of Lincoln's-inn. Leland, who has given him a place in his *ENCOMIA*, informs us, that he was patronised by lord Cromwell. [Fol. 66.] He was in parliament under Henry VIII.; and in 1542, imprisoned by that whimsical tyrant, perhaps very unjustly, and for some cabal now not exactly known. About the same time, in his juridical capacity, he translated the *MAGNA CHARTA* from French into Latin and English, with some other statutes of England³. In a scarce book, William Patten's *Expedition into Scotlande of the*

¹ Many of his Letters are in the *CABALA*. And in the university register at Oxford, (Mar. 21. 1591,) see his Letter about the Habits. See also Howard's *COLL.* p. 297.

² Ut inter. He wrote also *Three books of Moral Philosophy*. And *The Lives and Sayings of Philosophers, Emperors, Kings, &c.*, dedicated to lord Stafford, often printed at London in quarto. Altered by Thomas Palfreyman, Lond. 1608. 12mo. Also, *Similis* and *Proverbs*. And *The Use of Adagies*. Bale says, that he wrote, 'Comœdias etiam aliquot,' p. 108.

³ For Robert Redman. No date. After 1540. At the end he is called George Ferrerz. In duodecimo. Redman printed *MAGNA CHARTA* in French, 1529. Duodecim. oblong.

most woorthely fortunate prince Edward duke of Somerset, printed at London in 1548¹, and partly incorporated into Hollinshead's history, it appears from the following passage that he was of the suite of the protector Somerset. 'George Ferrers a gentleman of my lord Protectors, and one of the commissioners of the carriage of this army.' He is said to have compiled the history of queen Mary's reign, which makes a part of Grafton's CHRONICLE. [Stowe, CHRON. p. 632.] He was a composer almost by profession of occasional interludes for the diversion of the court : and in 1553, being then a member of Lincoln's-inn, he bore the office of LORD OF MISRULE at the royal palace of Greenwich during the 12 days of Christmas. Stowe says, 'George Ferrers gentleman of Lincoln's-inn, being lord of the disportes all the 12 days of Christmas anno MDLIII, [Hollinshead says 1552. fol. '1067] at Greenwich : who so pleasantly and wisely behaved himself, that the king had great delight in his pastymes.' [CHRON, p. 608.] No common talents were required for these festivities. Bale says that he wrote some rhymes, *rhythmos aliquot*. [p. 108. SCRIPT. NOSTR. TEMP.] He died at Flamstead in Hertfordshire in 1579. Wood's account of George Ferrers, our author, who misled by Puttenham the author of the ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, has confounded him with Edward Ferrers a writer of plays, is full of mistakes and inconsistencies². Our author wrote the epitaph of his friend Thomas Phayer, the old translator of the Eneid into English verse, who died in 1560, and is buried in the church of Kilgarran in Pembrokeshire.

Baldwyne and Ferrers, perhaps deterred by the greatness of the attempt, did not attend to the series prescribed by Sackville; but inviting some others to their assistance, among which are Churchyard and Phayer, chose such lives from the newly published chronicles of Fabyan and Hall, as seemed to display the most affecting catastrophes, and which very probably were pointed out by Sackville. The civil wars of York and Lancaster, which Hall had compiled with laborious investigation appear to have been their chief resource³.

These legends with their authors, including Sackville's part, are as follows. Robert Tresilian chief Justice of England, in 1388, by

¹ Dedicated to sir William Paget. Duodecimo. Compare Leland, ut supr. fol. 66.

² ATH. OXON. i. 193. The same mistake is in Meres's WITS TREASURY, printed in 1598. In reciting the dramatic poets of those times he says, 'Master Edward Ferris the author of the MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES.' fol. 282. None of his plays, which, Puttenham says, 'were written with much skill and magnificence in his meter, and wherein the king had so much good recreation that he had thereby many good rewards,' are now remaining, and as I suppose were never printed. He died and was buried in the church of Badesley-Clinton in Warwickshire 1564. He was of Warwickshire, and educated at Oxford. See Philipps's THEATR. POET. p. 221. SUPPL. Lond. 1674. 12mo. Another Ferris [Richard] wrote *The dangerous adventure of Richard Ferris and others who undertooke to rowe from Towere wharfe to Bristowe in a small wherry-boate*, Lond. 1590. 4to. I believe the names of all three should be written FERRERS.

³ Hall's *Union of the two noble and illustrious families of Yorke and Lancaster* was printed at London, for Berthelette, 1524. fol. Continued by Grafton the printer, from Hall's MSS., London, 1548. fol.

Ferrers. The two Mortimers, surnamed Roger, in 1829, and 1387, by Baldwyne. Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard II., murdered in 1397, by Ferrers. Lord Mowbray, preferred and banished by the same king in 1398, by Churchyard. King Richard II., deposed in 1399, by Baldwyne. Owen Glendour, the pretended prince of Wales, starved to death in 1401, by Phayer. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, executed at York in 1407, by Baldwyne. Richard Plantagenet, earl of Cambridge, executed at Southampton in 1415, by Baldwyne. Thomas Montague, earl of Salisbury, in 1428, by Baldwyne. James I. of Scotland, by Baldwyne. William de la Poole, duke of Suffolk, banished for destroying Humphry duke of Gloucester in 1450, by Baldwyne. Jack Cade, the rebel in 1450, by Baldwyne. Richard Plantagenet, duke of Yorke, and his son, the earl of Rutland, killed in 1460, by Baldwyne. Lord Clifford, in 1461, by Baldwyne. Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, in 1470, by Baldwyne. Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick, and his brother John, lord Montacute, killed in the battle of Barnet, 1471, by Baldwyne. King Henry VI. murdered in the Tower of London, in 1471, by Baldwyne. George Plantagenet, third son of the duke of York, murdered by his brother Richard in 1478, by Baldwyne. Edward IV., who died suddenly in 1483, by Skelton¹. Sir Anthony Woodville, lord Rivers and Scales, governor of prince Edward, murdered with his nephew lord Gray in 1483, by Baldwyne². Lord Hastings betrayed by Catesby, and murdered in the Tower by Richard duke of Gloucester in 1483³. Sackville's INDUCTION. Sackville's Duke of Buckingham. Collingbourne, *cruelly executed for making a foolish rhyme*, by Baldwyne. Richard, duke of Gloucester, slain in Bosworth field by Henry VII in 1485, by Francis Seagers. [A translator of the PSALMS.] Jane Shore, by Churchyard⁴. Edmund, duke of Somerset killed in the first battle of St. Albans in 1454, by Ferrers. Michael Joseph, the blacksmith and lord Audely, in 1496, by Cavyl.

It was injudicious to choose so many stories which were then recent. Most of these events were at that time too well known to become the proper subject of poetry, and must have lost much of their solemnity by their notoriety. But Shakespeare has been guilty of the same fault. The objection, however, is now worn away, and age has given a dignity to familiar circumstances.

¹ Printed in his WORKS. But there is an old edition of this piece alone, without date, in duodecimo.

² The SECONDE PARTE begins with this Life.

³ Subscribed in Niccols's edition, '*Maister D.*' that is, John Dolman. It was intended to introduce here The two Princes murdered in the tower, 'by the lord Vaulx, who undertooke to penne it, says Baldwyne, but what he hath done therein I am not certaine,' fol. cxviii. b. Dolman above-mentioned was of the Middle-temple. He translated into English Tully's TUSCULANE QUESTIONS, dedicated to Jewel bishop of Salisbury, and printed in 1561. duodecimo.

⁴ In the Prologue which follows, Baldwyne says, he was 'exhorted to procure Maister Churchyarde to undertake and to penne as many more of the remaynder, as myght be at-
'tayned, &c.' fol. clvi. a.

This collection, or set of poems, was printed in quarto, in 1559, with the following title. 'A MYRROVRE FOR MAGISTRATES, Wherein may be seen by example of others, with howe greuous plages vices are punished, and howe frayl and vnstable wordly prosperity is founde, euen of those whom Fortvne seemeth most highly to favour. *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* Anno 1559. Londini, in ædibus Thomæ Marshe.' A *Mirroure* was a favorite title of a book, especially among the old French writers. Some anecdotes of the publication may be collected from Baldwyne's DEDICATION TO THE NOBILITIE, prefixed. 'The wurke was begun and parte of it prynted in Queene Maries tyme, but hyndred by the Lord Chancellour that then was¹: nevertheles, through the meanes of my lord Stafford², the fyrst parte was licenced, and imprynted the fyrst yeare of the raygne of this our most noble and vertuous queene [Elizabeth], and dedicated then to your honours with this preface. Since whych time, although I have been called to another trade of lyfe, yet my good lord Stafford hath not ceassed to call upon me to publyshe so much as I had gotten at other mens hands, so that through his lordshyppes earnest meanes I have now also set furth another parte, conteyning as little of myne owne as the fyrst parte doth of other mens.' [SIGNAT. C ii.]

The plan was confessedly borrowed from Boccace's DE CASIBUS PRINCIPUM, a book translated, as we have seen, by Lydgate, but which never was popular, because it had no English examples. But Baldwyne's scope and conduct, with respect to this and other circumstances, will best appear from his Preface, which cannot be easily found, and which I shall therefore insert at large. 'When the printer had purposed with himselfe to printe Lydgate's books of the FALL OF PRINCES, and had made pryvye therto many both honourable and worshipfull, he was counsayled by dyvers of them, to procure to have the story contynewed from where as Bochas left, unto this present time; chiefly of such as Fortune had dalyed with in this ylande.—Which advyse lyked him so well, that he requyred me to take paines therin. But because it was a matter passyng my wit and skyll, and more thankles than gaineful to meddle in, I refused utterly to undertake it, except I might have the help of suche, as in wit were apte, in learnyng allowed, and in judgement and estymacyon able to wield and furnysh so weighty an enterpryse, thinkyng even so to shift my handes. But he, earnest and diligent in his affayres, procured Atlas to set under his

¹ This chancellor must have been bishop Gardiner.

² Henry lord Staford, son and heir of Edward, late duke of Buckingham, a scholar and a writer. Wood, ATH, OXON. i. 108. One of his books is dedicated to the Protector Somerset. Aubrey gives us a rhyming epitaph in Howard's chapel in Lambeth church, written by this nobleman to his sister the duchess of Norfolk. SURREY, vol. v. p. 236. It is subscribed 'by thy most bounden brother Henry lord Stafford.' Bale says that he was 'vir multarum rerum ac disciplinarum notitia ornatus,' and that he died in 1558, par. post. 112.

'shoulder. For shortly after, divers learned men, whose manye giftes
'nede fewe prayses, consented to take upon them parte of the travayle.
'And when certaine of them, to the numbre of seven, were through a
'general assent at an appoynted tyme and place gathered together to
'devyse thereupon, I resorted unto them, bearing the booke of Bochas
'translated by Dan Lidgate, for the better observation of his order.
'Which although we liked wel, yet would it not cumly serve, seeing that
'both Bochas and Lidgate were dead; neither were there any alive
'that meddled with like argument, to whom the UNFORTUNATE might
'make their mone. To make therefore a state mete for the matter,
'they all agreed that I should usurpe Bochas rowme, and the WRETCHED
'PRINCES complayne unto me: and take upon themselves every man
'for his parte to be sundry personages, and in their behalves to bewaile
'unto ME their greevous chances, heavye destinies, and wofull mis-
'fortunes. This done, we opened such bookes of Cronicles as we had
'there present. And maister Ferrers, after he had found where Bochas
'left, which was about the ende of kinge Edward the thirdes raigne,
'to begin the matter sayde thus.'

'I marvayle what Bochas meaneth, to forget among his MISERABLE
'PRINCES such as wer of our nacion, whose numbre is as great, as
'their adventures wunderfull. For to let passe all, both Britons, Danes,
'and Saxons, and to come to the last Conquest, what a sorte are they¹,
'and some even in his [Boccace's] owne time! As for example, king
'Richard the fyrst, slayne with a quarle in his chyefe prosperitie. Also
'king John his brother, as sum saye, poysoned. Are not their histories
'ruffull, and of rare example? But as it should appeare, he being an
'Italian, minded most the Roman and Itallike story, or els perhaps he
'wanted our countrey Cronicles. It were therefore a goodly and a
'notable matter, to search and discourse our whole story from the first
'beginning of the inhabiting of the yle. But seeing the printer's minde
'is, to have us folowe where Lidgate left, we will leave that great labour
'to other that may intend it, and (as blinde Bayard is always boldest) I
'will begyn at the time of Rychard the second, a time as unfortunate as
'the ruler therein. And forasmuch, frënd Baldwyne, as it shal be
'your charge to note and pen orderlye the whole proces, I will, so
'far as my memorie and judgements serveth, sumwhat further you in
'the truth of the storye. And therefore omittinge the ruffle of Jack
'Strawe and his meyney, and the murther of manye notable men
'which therby happened, for Jacke, as ye knowe, was but a *poor prynce*;
'I will begin with a notable example which within a while after ensued.
'And although he be no Great Prynce, yet sithens he had a princely
'office, I will take upon me the miserable person of syr ROBERT TRE-
'SILIAN chyefe justyce of England, and of other which suffered with

¹ How many they are.² Quarell. The bolt of a cross-brow.³ Multitude. Crew.

'him. Therby to warne all of his authoritye and profession, to take 'hede of wrong judgements, misconstruyng of lawes, or wresting the 'same to serve the princes turnes, which ryghtfully brought theym to 'a miserable ende, which they may justly lament in manner ensuing.' [SIGNAT. A. ii.] Then follows sir ROBERT TRESILIAN's legend or history, supposed to be spoken by himself, and addressed to Baldwyne.

Here we see that a company was feigned to be assembled, each of which, one excepted, by turns personates a character of one of the great Unfortunate : and that the stories were all connected, by being related to the silent person of the assembly, who is like the chorus in the Greek tragedies, or the Host in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. The whole was to form a sort of dramatic interlude, including a series of independent soliloquies. A continuity to this imagined representation is preserved by the introduction, after every soliloquy, of a prose epilogue, which also serves as a prologue to the succeeding piece, and has the air of a stage-direction. Boccace had done this before. We have this interposition, which I give as a specimen, and which explains the method of the recital, between the tragedies of king RICHARD II. and OWEN GLENDOUR. 'Whan he had ended this so wofull a tragedye, 'and to all PRINCES a right worthy instruction, we paused : having 'passed through a miserable tyme, full of pyteous tragedyes. And 'seyng the reygne of Henry IV. ensued, a man more ware and prosperous in hys doynge, although not untroubled with warres both 'of outforthe and inward enemyes, we began to serch what Pyers '[peers] were fallen therein, whereof the number was not small : and 'yet because theyr examples were not muche to be noted for our purpose, we passed over all the Maskers, of whom kynge Rycharde's 'brother was chiefe : whych were all slayne and put to death for theyr 'trayterous attempt. And fyndyng Owen Glendoure next one of Fortune's owne whelpes, and the Percyes his confederates, I thought them 'unmete to be overpassed, and therefore sayd thus to the sylent company, What, my maysters, is every one at once in a browne study, and 'hath no man affection to any of these storyes ? You mynd so much 'some other belyke, that those do not move you. And to say the 'trouth, there is no special cause why they should. Howbeyt Owen 'Glendoure, becaus he was one of Fortune's darlynges, rather than 'he should be forgotten, I will tel his tale for him, under the privelidge of Martine hundred. Which OWEN, cuming out of the wilde 'mountains lyke the Image of Death in all pointes, (his darte onlie 'excepted,) so sore hath famyne and hunger consumed hym, may 'lament his folly after this maner.' This process was a departure from Sackville's idea : who supposes, as I have hinted, the scene laid in hell, and that the unfortunate princes appeared to him in succes-

sion, and uttered their respective complaints, at the gates of Elysium, under the guidance of SORROW.

Many stanzas in the legends written by Baldwyne¹ and Ferrers, and their friends, have considerable merit, and often shew a command of language and versification². But their performances have not the pathos which the subject so naturally suggests. They give us, yet often with no common degree of elegance and perspicuity, the chronicles of Hall and Fabyan in verse. I shall therefore, in examining this part of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, confine my criticism to Sackville's *INDUCTION* and *Legend of Buckingham*.

SECTION XLIX.

SACKVILLE'S INDUCTION, which was to have been placed at the head of our English tragical story, and which loses much of its dignity and propriety by being prefixed to a single life, and that of no great historical importance, is opened with the following poetical landscape of winter. [Fol. cxvi.]

The wrathfull winter, proching on apace,
With blustering blasts had all ybard the treene;
And old Saturnus with his frosty face
With chilling colde had pearst the tender greene:
The mantels rent, wherein enwrapped been
The gladsome groves, that nowe laye overthrowen,
The tapets torne, and every bloom downe blowne.

The soile that earst so seemly was to seen,
Was all despoyled of her beauty's hewe;
And soote freshe flowres, wherewith the sommers queen
Had clad the earth, now Boreas blastes downe blewe;
And small fowles flocking in theyr song did rewe
The winters wrath, wherewith eche thing defaste
In wofull wise bewayld the sommer paste.

Hawthorne had lost his motley lyverye,
The naked twigges were shivering all for colde;
And droppinge downe the teares abundantly,
Eche thing, methought, with weping eye me tolde
The cruell season, bidding me witholde
Myselfe within: for I was gotten out
Into the felde where as I walkt about.

¹ That is, Baldwyne had previously prepared and written his legend or monologue, and one of the company was to act his part, and assume this appearance. fol. xviii. b.

These lines in *COLLINGBOURNE'S* legend are remarkable, fol. cxliiii. a.

Like Pegasus a poet must have wynges, To flye to heaven, or where him liketh best
He must have knowledge of eternal thynges, Almightye Jove must harbor in his brest.

When loe the night, with mistie mantels spred,
 Gan darke the daye, and dim the azure skies, &c.

The altered scene of things, the flowers and verdure of summer deformed by the frosts and storms of winter, and the day suddenly overspread with darkness, remind the poet of the uncertainties of human life, the transient state of honour, and the instability of prosperity.

And sorrowing I to see the sommer flowers,
 The lively greene, the lusty leas forlorne,
 The sturdy trees so shattred with the showers,
 The fieldes so fade, that floorisht so beforne;
 It taught we wel, all earthly thinges be borne
 To dye the death, for nought long time may last:
 If sommers beauty yeelds to winters blast.

Then looking upwards to the heavens beams,
 With nightes starres thick-powdred every where,
 Which erst so glistened with the golden streames
 That chearfull Phebus spred downe from his sphere,
 Beholding darke, oppressing day, so neare;
 The sodayne sight reduced to my mynde
 The sundry chaunges that in earth we fynde.

Immediately the figure of SORROW suddenly appears, which shews the poet in a new and bolder mode of composition.

And strait forth stalking with redoubled pace,
 For that I sawe the night drew on so fast,
 In black all clad there fell before my face
 A piteous wight, whom woe had all forwest;
 Furth from her iyen the crystall teares outbrast,
 And syghing sore her haunds she wronge and folde,
 Tare al her haire that ruth was to beholde.

Her body small, forwithered and forespent,
 As is the stalke that sommers drougth opprest;
 Her wealked face with wofull teares besprent.
 Her colour pale, and, as it seemed her best,
 In woe and playnt reposed was her rest:
 And as the stone that droppes of water weares,
 So dented were her cheekes with fall of teares.—

I stooode agast, beholding all her plight,
 Tween dread and dolour so distreynd in hart,
 That while my heares upstart with the sight,
 The teares outstreamde for sorowe of her smart.
 But when I sawe no ende, that could aparte
 The deadly dole which she so sore dyd make,
 With dolefull voyce then thus to her I spake.

Unwrap thy woes, whatever wight thou be!
 And stint betime to spill thyselfe with playnt.
 Tell what thou art, and whence, for well I see

Thou canst not dure with sorowe thus attaynt,
And with that worde, of sorrowe all forfaynt,
She looked up, and prostrate as she laye,
With piteous sounde, lo! thus she gan to saye.

Alas, I wretche, whom thus thou seest distrayned,
With wasting woes, that never shall aslake,
SORROWE I am, in endeles tormentes payned,
Among the Furies in the infernall lake;
Where Pluto god of hell so grieslie blake
Doth holde his throne, and Lethes deadly taste
Doth reive remembrance of eche thyng forepast.

Whence come I am, the drery destinie,
And luckles lot, for to bemone of those,
Whom Fortune in this maze of miserie,
Of wretched chaunce, most wofull myrrours chose:
That when thou seest how lightly they did lose
Theyr pompe, theyr power, and that they thought most sure.
Thou mayest soon deme no earthlye joye may dure.

SORROW then conducts the poet to the classical hell, to the place of torments and the place of happiness.

I shall thee guyde first to the griesly lake,
And thence unto the blissful place of rest:
Where thou shalt see and heare the playnt they make,
That whilom here bare swinge [sway] among the best.
This shalt thou see. But great is the unrest
That thou must byde, before thou canst attayne
Unto the dreadfull place where those remayne.

And with these wordes as I uprayed stood
And gan to folowe her that straight forth paste,
Ere I was ware, into a desert wood
We nowe were come: where hand in hand embraced
She led the way, and through the thicke so traced
As, but I had beene guyded by her might,
It was no waye for any mortal wight.

But loe! while thus amid the deserte darke
We passed on, with steppes and pace unmeete,
A rumbling roar confusde, with howle and barke
Of dogs, shooke all the grounde under our feete,
And strooke the din within our cares so deepe,
As half distraught unto the grounde I fell,
Besought returne, and not to visit hell.—

An hydeous hole al vast, withouten shape,
Of endles depth, orewhelmde with ragged stone,
With oughly mouth and griesly jawes doth gape,
And to our sight confounds itself in one.
Here entred we, and yeding [going] forth, anone
An horrible lothly lake we might discerne,
As black as pitche, that cleped [called] is Avene.

A deadly gulfe where nought but rubbish growes,
 With fowle blake swelth in thickened lumps that lyes,
 Which upp in th' ayre such stinking vapour throwes,
 That over there may flye no fowle, but dyes
 Choakt with the noysom vapours that aryse.
 Hither we come, whence forth we still did pace,
 In dreadfull feare amid the dreadfull place.

Our author appears to have felt and to have conceived with true taste, that very romantic part of Virgil's Eneid which he has here happily copied and heightened. The imaginary beings which sate within the porch of hell, are all his own. I must not omit a single figure of this dreadful groupe, nor one compartment of the portraitures which are feigned to be sculptured or painted on the SHIELD of WAR, indented *with gashes deepe and wide*.

And, first, within the porch and jaws of hell
 Sat deep REMORSE OF CONSCIENCE, all besprent
 With tears ; and to herself oft would she tell
 Her wretchedness, and, cursing, never stent
 To sob and sigh, but ever thus lament
 With thoughtful care ; as she that, all in vain,
 Would wear and waste continually in pain :

Her eyes unsteadfast, rolling here and there,
 Whirl'd on each place, as place that vengeance brought,
 So was her mind continually in fear,
 Tost and tormented with the tedious thought
 Of those detested crimes which she had wrought ;
 With dreadful cheer, and looks thrown to the sky,
 Wishing for death, and yet she could not die.

Next, saw we DREAD, all trembling how he shook
 With foot uncertain, profer'd here and there ;
 Benumb'd with speech ; and, with a gastly look,
 Search'd every place, all pale and dead for fear,
 His cap born up with staring of his hair ;
 'Stoin'd and amazed at his own shade for dread,
 And fearing greater dangers than was need.

And, next, within the entry of this lake,
 Sat fell REVENGE, gnashing her teeth for ire ;
 Devising means how she may vengeance take ;
 Never in rest, 'till she have her desire ;
 But frets within so far forth with the fire
 Of wreaking flames, that now determines she
 To die by death, or 'veng'd by death to be.

When fell REVENGE, with bloody foul pretence,
 Had show'd herself, as next in order set,
 With trembling limbs we softly parted thence,
 'Till in our eyes another sight we met ;
 When fro my heart a sign forthwith I fet,

Ruing, alas, upon the woeful plight
Of MISERY, that next appear'd in sight :

His face was lean, and some-deal pin'd away,
And eke his hands consumed to the bone ;
But, what his body was, I cannot say,
For on his carkass rayment had he none,
Save clouts and patches pieced one by one ;
With staff in hand, and scrip on shoulders cast,
His chief defence against the winter's blast :

His food, for most, was wild fruits of the tree,
Unless sometime some crums fell to his share,
Which in his wallet long, God wot, kept he,
As on the which full daint'ly would he fare ;
His drink, the running stream, his cup, the bare
Of his palm closed ; his bed, the hard cold ground :
To this poor life was MISERY ybound.

Whose wretched state when we had well beheld,
With tender ruth on him, and on his feers,
In thoughtful cares forth then our pace we held .
And, by and by, another shape appears
Of greedy CARE, still brushing up the breers ;
His knuckles knob'd, his flesh deep dinted in,
With tawed hands, and hard ytanned skin :

The morrow grey no sooner hath begun
To spread his light, e'en peeping in our eyes,
But he is up, and to his work yrun ;
But let the night's black misty mantles rise,
And with foul dark never so much disguise
The fair bright day, yet ceaseth he no while,
But hath his candles to prolong his toil.

By him lay heavy SLEEP, the cousin of Death,
Flat on the ground, and still as any stone,
A very corpse, save yielding forth a breath ;
Small keep took he, whom fortune frowned on,
Or whom she lifted up into the throne
Of high renown, but, as a living death,
So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath .

The body's rest, the quiet of the heart,
The travel's ease, the still night's feer was he,
And of our life in earth the better part ;
Rever of sight, and yet in whom we see
Things oft that chance and oft that never be ;
Without respect, esteemed equally
King CROESUS' pomp and IRUS' poverty.

And next, in order sad, OLD-AGE we found :
His beard all hoar, his eyes hollow and blind ;
With drooping cheer still poring on the ground,

As on the place where nature him assign'd
To rest, when that the sisters had untwin'd
His vital thread, and ended with their knife
The fleeting course of fast-declining life :

There heard we him with broken and hollow plaint
Rue with himself his end approaching fast,
And all for nought his wretched mind torment
With sweet remembrance of his pleasures past,
And fresh delights of lusty youth forewaste ;
Recounting which, how would he sob and shriek,
And to be young again of JOVE beseech !

But, an' the cruel fates so fixed be
That time forepast cannot return again,
This one request of JOVE yet prayed he,——
That, in such wither'd plight, and wretched pain,
As eld, accompany'd with her loathsome train,
Had brought on him, all were it woe and grief,
He might awhile yet linger forth his lief,

And not so soon descend into the pit ;
Where Death, when he the mortal corpse hath slain,
With réchless hand in grave doth cover it ;
Thereafter never to enjoy again
The gladsome light, but, in the ground ylain,
In depth of darkness waste and wear to nought,
As he had ne'er into the world been brought :

But who had seen him sobbing how he stood
Unto himself, and how he would bemoan
His youth forepast,—as though it wrought him good
To talk of youth, all were his youth foregone,—
He would have mus'd, and marvel'd much, whereon
This wretched Age should life desire so fain,
And knows full well life doth but length his pain :

Crook-back'd he was, tooth-shaken, and blear-eyed ;
Went on three feet, and, sometimes, crept on four ;
With old lame bones, that rattled by his side ;
His scalp all pil'd, and he with eld forelore,
His wither'd fist still knocking at death's door ;
Fumbling, and driveling, as he draws his bread ;
For brief, the shape and messenger of Death.

And fast by him pale MALADY was placed :
Sore sick in bed, her colour all foregone ;
Bereft of stomach, savour, and of taste,
Ne could she brook no meat but broths alone ;
Her breath corrupt ; her keepers every one
Abhorring her ; her sickness past recure,
Detesting physick, and all physick's cure.

But, O, the doleful sight that then we see !
We turn'd our look, and on the other side

A grisly shape of FAMINE mought we see :
 With greedy looks, and gaping mouth, that cry'd
 And roar'd for meat, as she should there have dy'd ;
 Her body thin and bare as any bone,
 Whereto was left nought but the case alone,

And that, alas, was gnaw'n on every where,
 And full of holes ; that I ne mought refrain
 From tears, to see how she her arms could tear,
 And with her teeth gnash on the bones in vain,
 When, all for nought, she fain would so sustain
 Her starven corpse, that rather seem'd a shade
 That any substance of a creature made :

Great was her force, whom stone-wall could not stay :
 Her tearing nails snatching at all she saw :
 With gaping jaws, that by no means ymay
 Be satisfy'd from hunger of her maw,
 But eats herself as she that hath no law :
 Gnawing, alas, her carkass all in vain,
 Where you may count each sinew, bone, and vein.

On her while we thus firmly fix'd our eyes,
 That bled for ruth of such a dreary sight,
 Lo, suddenly she shright in so huge wise
 As made hell gates to shiver with the might ;
 Wherewith, a dart we saw, how it did light
 Right on her breast, and, therewithal, pale DEATH
 Enthrilling it, to reve her of her breath :

And, by and by, a dumb dead corpse we saw,
 Heavy, and cold, the shape of Death aright,
 That daunts all earthly creatures to his law,
 Against whose force in vain it is to fight ;
 Ne peers, ne princes, nor no mortal wight,
 No towns, ne realms, cities, ne strongest tower,
 But all, perforce, must yield unto his power :

His dart, anon, out of the corpse he tooke,
 And in his hand (a dreadful sight to see)
 With great triumph eftsoons the same he shook,
 That most of all my fears affrayed me ;
 His body dight with nought but bones, pardy ;
 The naked shape of man there saw I plain,
 All save the flesh, the sinew, and the vein.

Lastly stood WAR, in glittering arms yclad,
 With visage grim, stern look'd, and blackly hued :
 In his right hand a naked sword he had,
 That to the hilts was all with blood imbrued ;
 And in his left (that kings and kingdoms rued)
 Famine and fire he held, and therewithal
 He razed towns, and threw down towers and all :

Cities he sack'd, and realms (that whilom flower'd
 In honour, glory, and rule, above the rest)
 He overwhelm'd, and all their fame devour'd,
 Consum'd, destroy'd, wasted, and never ceas'd
 'Till he their wealth, their name, and all oppress'd :
 His face forehew'd with wounds ; and by his side
 There hung his TARGE, with gashes deep and wide :

In mids of which depainted there we found
 Deadly DEBATE, all full of snaky hair
 That with a bloody fillet was ybound,
 Outbreathing nought but discord every where :
 And round about were pourtray'd, here and there,
 The hugy hosts ; DARIUS and his power,
 His kings, his princes, peers, and all his flower.—

XERXES, the Persian king, yet saw I there,
 With his huge host, that drank the rivers dry,
 Dismounted hills, and made the vales uprear ;
 His host and all yet saw I slain, pardy :
 Thebes too I saw, all razed how it did lie
 In heaps of stones ; and Tyrus put to spoil,
 With walls and towers flat-even'd with the soil.

But Troy, (alas !) methought, above them all,
 It made mine eyes in very tears consume ;
 When I beheld the woeful word befall,
 That by the wrathful will of gods was come,
 And JOVE'S unmoved sentence and foredoom
 On PRIAM king and on his town so bent,
 I could not lin but I must there lament ;

And that the more, sith destiny was so stern
 As, force perforce, there might no force avail
 But she must fall : and, by her fall, we learn
 That cities, towers, wealth, world, and all shall quail ;
 No manhood, might, nor nothing mought prevail ;
 All were there prest, full many a prince and peer,
 And many a knight that sold his death full dear :

Not worthy HECTOR, worthiest of them all,
 Her hope, her joy, his force is now for nought :
 O Troy, Troy, Troy, there is no boot but bale !
 The hugy horse within thy walls is brought ;
 Thy turrets fall ; thy knights, that whilom fought
 In arms amid the field, are slain in bed ;
 Thy gods defil'd, and all thy honour dead :

The flames upspring, and cruelly they creep
 From wall to roof, 'till all to cinders waste :
 Some fire the houses where the wretches sleep ;
 Some rush in here, some run in there as fast ;
 In every where or sword, or fire, they taste :
 The walls are torn, the towers whirl'd to the ground ;
 There is no mischief but may there be found.

CASSANDRA yet there saw I how they hal'd
 From PALLAS' house, with spercled tress undone,
 Her wrists fast bound, and with Greek rout impal'd ;
 And PRIAM eke, in vain how he did run
 To arms, whom PYRRHUS with despite hath done
 To cruel death, and bath'd him in the baign
 Of his son's blood before the altar slain.

But how can I describe the doleful sight
 That in the shield so lively fair did shine ?
 Sith in this world, I think, was never wight
 Could have set forth the half not half so fine :
 I can no more, but tell how there is seen
 Fair ILIUM fall in burning red gledes down,
 And, from the soil, great Troy, NEPTUNUS' town.

These shadowy inhabitants of hell-gate are conceived with the vigour of a creative imagination, and described with great force of expression. They are delineated with that fulness of proportion, that invention of picturesque attributes, distinctness, animation, and amplitude of which Spenser is commonly supposed to have given the first specimens in our language, and which are characteristical of his poetry. We may venture to pronounce that Spenser, at least, caught his manner of designing allegorical personages from this model, which so greatly enlarged the former narrow bounds of our ideal imagery, as that it may justly be deemed an original in that style of painting. For we must not forget, that it is to this INDUCTION that Spenser alludes, in a sonnet prefixed to his Pastorals, in 1579, addressed *To the right honourable THE LORD OF BUCKHURST, one of her maiesties priuie counsell.*

In vaine I thinke, right honourable lord,
 By this rude rime to memorize thy name,
 Whose learned Muse hath writ her owne record
 In golden verse, worthy immortal fame.

Thou much more fit, were leisure for the same,
 Thy gracious soveraignes prayeses to compile,
 And her imperiall majestie to frame
 In loftie numbers and heroick stile.

The readers of the FAERIE QUEENE will easily point out many particular passages Sackville's INDUCTION suggested to Spenser.

From this scene SORROW, who is well known to Charon and to Cerberus the *hideous hound of hell*, leads the poet over the loathsome lake of *rude* Acheron, to the dominions of Pluto, which are described in numbers too beautiful to have been relished by his cotemporaries, or equalled by his successors.

Thence come we to the horreur and the hell,
 The large great kyngdomes, and the dreadful raygne
 Of Pluto in his trone where he dyd dwell,

The wide waste places, and the hugie playne :
 The waylinges, shrykes, and sundry sorts of payne,
 The syghes, the sobbes, the depe and deadly groane,
 Earth, ayer, and all resoundieg playnt and moane¹.

Thence did we passe the threefold emperie
 To the utmost boundes where Rhadamanthus raignes,
 Where proud folke waile their wofull miserie ;
 Where dreadfull din of thousand dragging chaines,
 And baleful shriekes of ghosts in deadly paines
 Torturd eternally are heard most brim [cruel]
 Through silent shades of night so darke and dim.

From hence upon our way we forward passe,
 And through the groves and uncoth pathes we goe,
 Which leade unto the Cyclops walles of brasce :
 And where that mayne broad flood for aye doth floe,
 Which parts the gladsome fields from place of woe :
 Whence none shall ever passes t' Elizium plaine,
 Or from Elizium ever turne againe.

Here they are surrounded by a troop of men, *the most in armes bedight*. who met an untimely death, and of whose destiny, whether they were sentenced to *eternal night* or to *blissful peace*, it was uncertain.

Loe here, quoth SORROWE, Princes of renowne
 That whilom sate on top of Fortunes wheele,
 Now laid full low, like wretches whurled downe
 Even with one frowne, that staid but with a smile, &c.

They pass in order before sorrow and the poet. The first is Henry duke of Buckingham, a principal instrument of Richard III.

Then first came Henry duke of Buckingham,
 His cloake of blacke, all pild, and quite forlorne,
 Wringing his handes, and Fortune oft doth blame,
 Which of a duke hath made him now her skorne ;
 With gastly lokes, as one in maner lorne,
 Oft spred his armes, stretcht handes he joynes as fast,
 With rufull cheere and vaped eyes upcast,

His cloake he rent, his manly breast he beat ;
 His hair al torne, about the place it layne :
 My hart so molt [melted] to see his grief so great,
 As feelingly, methought, it dropt away :
 His eyes they whurled about withouten staye :

¹ The two next stanzas are not in the first edition, of 1559. But instead of them, the following stanza.

Here pul'd the babes, and here the maids unwed
 With folded hands their sorry chance bewayl'd ;
 Here wept the guiltless Slain, and lovers dead
 That slew themselves when nothing else avayl'd.
 A thousand sorts of sorrows here that wayl'd
 With sighs, and teares, sobs, shrieks, and all yfere,
 That, O alas ! it was a hell to here, &c.

With stormy syghes the place did so complayne,
As if his hart at eche had burst in twayne.

Thryse he began to tell his doleful tale,
And thryse the syghes did swalowe up his voyse ;
At eche of whiche he shryked so withale,
As though the heavens ryved with the noyse :
Til at the last recovering his voyse :
Supping the teares that all his breast beraynde
On cruell Fortune weping thus he playnde.

Nothing more fully illustrates and ascertains the respective merits and genius of different poets, than a juxtaposition of their performances on similar subjects. Having examined at large Sackville's Descent into Hell, for the sake of throwing a still stronger light on his manner of treating a fiction which gives so large a scope to fancy, I shall employ the remainder of this section in setting before my reader a general view of Dante's Italian poem, entitled *COMMEDIA*, containing a description of Hell, Paradise, and Purgatory, and written about the year 1310. In the meantime, I presume that most of my readers will recollect and apply the sixth Book of Virgil : to which, however, it may be necessary to refer occasionally.

Although I have before insinuated that Dante has in this poem used the ghost of Virgil for a mystagogue, in imitation of Tully, who in the *SOMNIUM Scipionis* supposes Scipio to have shewn the other world to his ancestor Africanus, yet at the same time in the invention of his introduction, he seems to have had an eye on the exordium of an old forgotten Florentine poem called *TESORETTO*, written in *Frottola*, or a short irregular measure, exhibiting a cyclopede of theoretic and practic philosophy, and composed by his preceptor Brunetto Latini about the year 1270. Brunetto supposes himself lost in a wood, at the foot of a mountain covered with animals, flowers, plants, and fruits of every species, and subject to the supreme command of a wonderful Lady, whom he thus describes. 'Her head touched the heavens, which served at once for a veil and an ornament. The sky grew dark or serene at her voice, and her arms extended to the extremities of the earth.' This bold personification, one of the earliest of the rude ages, is of NATURE. She converses with the poet, and describes the creation of the world. She enters upon a most unphilosophical and indeed unpoetical detail of the physical system : develops the head of man, and points out the seat of intelligence and of memory. From physics she proceeds to morals : but her principles are here confined to the theology and the laws of the church, which she couches in technical rhymes¹.

¹ Brunetto's *TESORETTO* was abstracted by himself from his larger prose work on the same subject, written in old French and never printed, entitled *TESORO*. *HIST. ACAD. INSCRIPT.* tom. vii. 296. seq. The *TESORO* was afterwards translated into Italian by one Eono Giamboni, and printed at Trevisa, viz. 'IL TESORO di Messer Brunetto Latino, Fiorentino,

Dante, like his master Brunetto, is bewildered in an unfrequented forest. He attempts to climb a mountain, whose summit is illuminated by the rising sun. A furious leopard, pressed by hunger, and a lion, at whose aspect the *air is affrighted*, accompanied by a she-wolf, oppose his progress; and force him to fly precipitately into the profundities of a pathless valley, where, says the poet, *the sun was silent*.

Mi ripingeva dove'l sol tace¹.

In the middle of a vast solitude he perceives a spectre, of whom he implores pity and help. The spectre hastens to his cries: it was the shade of Virgil whom Beatrix, Dante's mistress, had sent, to give him courage, and to guide him into the regions of hell. Virgil begins a long discourse with Dante: and expostulates with him for chusing to wander through the rough obscurities of a barren and dreary vale, when the top of the neighbouring mountain afforded every delight. The conversation of Virgil, and the name of Beatrix, by degrees dissipate the fears of the poet, who explains his situation. He returns to himself, and compares this revival of his strength and spirits to a flower smitten by the frost of a night, which again lifts its shrinking head, and expands its vivid colours, at the first gleamings of the morning-sun.

Qual' il fioretti dal notturno gelo Chinati et chiusi, &c².—

Dante, under the conduct of Virgil, penetrates hell. But he does not on this occasion always avail himself of Virgil's descriptions and mythologies. At least the formation of Dante's imageries are of another school. He feigns his hell to be a prodigious and almost bottomless abyss, which from its aperture to its lowest depth preserves a rotund shape: or rather, an immense perpendicular cavern, which opening as it descends into different circles, forms so many distinct subterraneous regions. We are struck with horror at the commencement of this dreadful adventure.

* Precettore del divino poeta Dante: nel qual si tratta di tutte le cose che a mortali se appar- tengono. *In Trivisa*, 1474. fol. After a table of chapters is another title, 'Qui inchomin- cia el Tesoro di S. Brunetto Latino di firenze: e parla del nascimento e della natura di tutte le cose.' It was printed again at Venice, by Marchio Sessa, 1533. oct. Mabillon seems to have confounded this Italian translation with the French original. *IT. ITALIC.* p. 169. Salvati, *AVERTIS. DECAM.* ii. xii. Dante introduces Brunetto in the fifteenth Canto of the *INFERNO*: and after the colophon of the first edit. of the Italian *TESORO* abovementioned, is this insertion. 'Risposta di Dante a Brunetto Latino ritrovato da lui nel quintodecimo canto nel suo inferno.' The *TESORETTO* or Little Treasure, mentioned above in the text, has been printed, but is exceedingly scarce.

¹ *INF. CANT. i.* The same bold metaphor occurs below, *CANT. v.*

Evenni in luogo d'ogni *LUCE MUTO*.

² *CANT. ii.* In another part of the *INFERNO*, Virgil is angry with Dante, but is soon reconciled. Here the poet compares himself to a cottager in the early part of a promising spring, who looks out in the morning from his humble shed, and sees the fields covered with a severe and unexpected frost. But the sun soon melts the ground, and he drives his goats afield. *CANT. xxiv.* This poem abounds in comparisons. Not one of the worst is a comic one, in which a person looking sharply and eagerly, is compared to an old taylor threading a needle. *INF. CANT. xv.*

The first object which the poet perceives is a gate of brass, over which were inscribed in characters of a dark hue, *di colore ofcuro*, these verses.

Per me si va nella citta dolente :
 Per me si va nel eterno dolore :
 Per me si va tra la perduta gente.
 Giustizia mosse'l mio alto fattore :
 Fece me li divina potestate,
 La somma Sapienzia, e l'primo Amore.¹
 Dinanzi a me non fur cose create :
 Se non eterne, el io duro eterno.
 Lassate ogni speranza voi ch'entraste. [CANT. iii.]

That is, 'By me is the way to the woeful city. By me is the way to the eternal pains. By me is the way to the damned race. My mighty maker was divine Justice and Power, the Supreme Wisdom, and the First Love. Before me nothing was created. If not eternal, I shall eternally remain. Put away all hope, ye that enter.'

There is a severe solemnity in these abrupt and comprehensive sentences, and they are a striking preparation to the scenes that ensue. But the idea of such an inscription on the brazen portal of hell, was suggested to Dante by books of chivalry ; in which the gate of an impregnable enchanted castle, is often inscribed with words importing the dangers or wonders to be found within. Over the door of every chamber in Spenser's necromantic palace of Busyrane, was written a threat to the champions who presumed to attempt to enter. [FAIR. QU. iii. xi. 54.] This total exclusion of hope from hell, here so finely introduced and so forcibly expressed, was probably remembered by Milton, a disciple of Dante, where he describes,

Regions of sorrow, dolefull shades, where peace
 And rest can never dwell, HOPE NEVER COMES
 THAT COMES TO ALL. [PAR. L. i. 65.]

I have not time to follow Dante regularly through his dialogues and adventures with the crowds of ghosts, ancient and modern, which he meets in the course of this infernal journey. In these interviews, there is often much of the party and politics of his own times, and of allusion to recent facts. Nor have I leisure particularly to display our author's punishments and phantoms. I observe in general, that the ground-work of his hell is classical, yet with many Gothic and extravagant innovations. The burning lakes, the fosses, and fiery towers which surround the city of DIS, and the three Furies which wait at its entrance, are touched with new strokes. [See CANT. ix. vii.] The Gorgons, the Hydra, the Chimera, Cerberus, the serpent of Lerna, and the rest of Virgil's, or rather Homer's, infernal apparitions, are dilated with new touches of the terrible, and sometimes made ridiculous by

¹ He means the Platonic 'Ερως. The Italian expositors will have it to be the Holy Ghost.

the addition of comic or incongruous circumstances, yet without any intention of burlesque. Because Virgil had mentioned the Harpies in a single word only¹, in one of the loathsome groves which Dante passes, consisting of trees whose leaves are black, and whose knotted boughs are hard as iron, the Harpies build their nests. [CANT. xiii.]

Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco,
Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e'nvolti,
Non pomi v'eran, ma stecchi con toscò.

Cacus, whom Virgil had called *Semifer* in his seventh book, appears in the shape of a Centaur covered with curling snakes, and on whose neck is perched a dragon hovering with expanded wings. [CANT. xxv.] It is supposed that Dante took the idea of his INFERNO from a magnificent nightly representation of hell, exhibited by the pope in honour of the bishop of Ostia on the river Arno at Florence, in the year 1304. This is mentioned by the Italian critics in extenuation of Dante's choice of so strange a subject. But why should we attempt to excuse any absurdity in the writings or manners of the middle ages? Dante chose this subject as a reader of Virgil and Homer. The religious MYSTERY represented on the river Arno, however magnificent, was perhaps a spectacle purely orthodox, and perfectly conformable to the ideas of the church. And if we allow that it might hint the subject, with all its inconsistencies, it never could have furnished any considerable part of this wonderful compound of classical and romantic fancy, of pagan and christian theology, of real and fictitious history, of tragical and comic incidents, of familiar and heroic manners, and of satirical and sublime poetry. But the grossest improprieties of this poem discover an originality of invention, and its absurdities often border on sublimity. We are surprised that a poet should write one hundred cantos on hell, paradise, and purgatory. But this prolixity is partly owing to the want of art and method: and is common to all early compositions, in which every thing is related circumstantially and without rejection, and not in those general terms which are used by modern writers.

Dante has beautifully enlarged Virgil's short comparison of the souls lingering on the banks of Lethe, to the numerous leaves falling from the trees in Autumn.

Come d'Autumno si levan le foglie
L'un appresso dell'altra, infin che'l ramo
Vede a la terre tutte le sue spoglie;
Similmente, il mal seme d'Adamo
Getta sì di quel lito ad una ad una
Per cenni, com'augel per suo richiamo. [CANT. iii.]

In the Fields inhabited by unhappy lovers he sees Semiramis,

¹ Gorgones, HARPYLÆQUE, vi. 289.

Achilles, Paris, and Tristan, or sir Tristram. One of the old Italian commentators on this poem says, that the last was an English knight born in *Cornovaglio*, or Cornwall, a city of England¹.

Among many others of his friends, he sees Francisca the daughter of Guido di Polento, in whose palace Dante died at Ravenna, and Paulo one of the sons of Malatesta lord of Rimini. This lady fell in love with Paulo ; the passion was mutual, and she was betrothed to him in marriage : but her family chose rather that she should be married to Lanciotto, Paulo's eldest brother. This match had the most fatal consequences. The injured lovers could not dissemble or stifle their affection : they were surprised, and both assassinated by Lanciotto. Dante finds the shades of these distinguished victims of an unfortunate attachment at a distance from the rest, in a region of his INFERNO desolated by the most violent tempests. He accosts them both, and Francisca relates their history : yet the conversation is carried on with some difficulty, on account of the impetuosity of the storm which was perpetually raging. Dante, who from many circumstances of his own amours, appears to have possessed the most refined sensibilities about the delicacies of love, enquires in what manner, when in the other world, they first communicated their passion to each other. Francisca answers, that they were one day sitting together, and reading the romance of LANCELOT ; where two lovers were represented in the same critical situation with themselves. Their changes of colour and countenance, while they were reading, often tacitly betrayed their yet undiscovered feelings. When they came to that passage in the romance, where the lovers, after many tender approaches, are gradually drawn by one uniform reciprocation of involuntary attraction to kiss each other, the book dropped from their hands. By a sudden impulse and an irresistible sympathy, they are tempted to do the same. Here was the commencement of their tragical history.

Noi leggiavam' un giorno per diletto
 Di LANCIOTTO, comme amor le strinse ;
 Soli eravamo, et senza alcun sospetto.
 Per piu fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
 Quella lettura et scolorocc' il viso :
 Ma sol un punto fu qual che ci vinse.
 Quando legemmo il disiato riso
 Ésser baciato da cotanto amante
 Questi che mai da me no fia diviso
 La bocca mi bascio tutto tremante :
 GALEOTTO² fu il libro, et chi lo scrisse
 Quel giorno piu non vi legemmo avant. [Cant v.]

¹ In the xvi. Canto of the PARADISO, king Arthur's queen GENEURA, who belongs to sir Tristram's romance, is mentioned.

² He is one of the knights of the Round Table, and is commonly called Sir GALHAAD, in ARTHUR'S romance.

But this picture, in which nature, sentiment, and the graces are concerned, I have to contrast with scenes of a very different nature. *Salvator Rosa* has here borrowed the pencil of *Correggio*. *Dante's* beauties are not of the soft and gentle kind.

— — Through many a dark and dreary vale
They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen many a fiery Alp. [Milton, *PAR. L. ii.* 618.]

A hurricane suddenly rising on the banks of the river *Styx* is thus described.

Et gia venia su per le torbid onde
Un fracasso d'un suon pien di spavento,
Per cui tremavan amendue le sponde ;
Non altrimenti fatto che d'un vento
Impetuoso per gli avversi ardori
Che fier la salva senz' alcun rattento
Gli rami schianta i abatte, et porta i fiori,
Dinanzi polveroso va superbo,
Et fa fuggir le fiere et glipastori. [CANT. ix.]

Dante and his *mystagogue* meet the monster *Geryon*. He has the face of a man with a mild and benign aspect, but his human form ends in a serpent with a voluminous tail of immense length, terminated by a sting, which he brandishes like a scorpion. His hands are rough with bristles and scales. His breast, back, and sides have all the rich colours displayed in the textures of *Tartary* and *Turkey*, or in the labours of *Arachne*. To speak in *Spenser's* language, he is,

——A dragon, horrible and bright [FAIR. QU. i. ix. 52.]

No monster of romance is more savage or superb.

Lo dosso, e'l petto, ad amenduo le coste,
Dipinte avea di nodi, e di rotelle,
Con piu color sommesse e sopraposte
Fon fur ma, in drappo *Tartari* ne *Turchi*,
Ne fur tar tale per *Aragne* imposte¹.

The conformation of this heterogeneous beast, as a fabulous hell is the subject, perhaps immediately gave rise to one of the *formidable shapes* which sate on either side of the gates of hell in *Milton*. Although the fiction is founded in the classics.

The one seem'd woman to the waste and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
With mortal sting. [PAR. L. ii. 649.]

Virgil, seeming to acknowledge him as an old acquaintance,

¹ CANT. xvii. *Dante* says, that he lay on the banks of a river like a *Beaver*, the *CASTOR*. But this foolish comparison is affectedly introduced by our author for a display of his natural knowledge from *Pliny*, or rather from the *TESORO* of his master *Brunetto*.

mounts the back of Geryon. At the same time Dante mounts, whom Virgil places before, 'that you may not, says he, be exposed to the 'monster's venomous sting.' Virgil then commands Geryon not to move too rapidly, 'for, consider, what a new burthen you carry !'

——— 'Gerion muoviti omai,
'Le ruote large, e lo scender sia poco :
'Pensa la nuova soma che tu hai.' [Cant xvii.]

In this manner they travel in the air through Tartarus : and from the back of the monster Geryon, Dante looks down on the burning lake of Phlegethon. This imagery is at once great and ridiculous. But much later Italian poets have fallen into the same strange mixture. In this horrid situation says Dante,

I sentia gia dalla man destra il gorgo
Far sotto noi un orribile stroschio :
Perche con gli occhi in giu la testa sporsi
Allor fu io piu timido allo scoscio
Perioch i vidi fuochi, e sente pianti,
Oud' io tremando tutto mi rancosco. [Cant. xvii.]

This airy journey is copied from the flight of Icarus and Phaeton, and at length produced the Ippogrifo of Ariosto. Nor is it quite improbable, that Milton, although he has greatly improved and dignified the idea, might have caught from hence his fiction of Satan soaring over the infernal abyss. At length Geryon, having circuited the air like a falcon towering without prey, deposits his burthen and vanishes¹.

While they are wandering along the banks of Phlegethon, as the twilight of evening approaches, Dante suddenly hears the sound of a horn more loud than thunder, or the horn of Orlando⁴.

Ma io senti sonare alto corno :———
Non sono si terribilmente Orlando. [Cant xxxi.]

Dante describes through the gloom, what he thinks to be many high and vast towers, *molte alti torri*. These are the giants who warred against heaven, standing in a row, half concealed within and half extant without an immense abyss or pit.

Gli orribili giganti, cui minaccia
Giove del cielo ancora quando tuona. [Cant xxxi.]

But Virgil informs Dante that he is deceived by appearances, and that these are not towers but the giants.

¹ In CANTO 34, Dante and Virgil return to light on the back of Lucifer, who (like Milton's Satan, ii. 927,) is described as having wings like sails,

Vele di mar non vid' io mai est celi.

And again,

—— Quando l'ale furo aperte assai.

This Canto begins with a Latin line,

Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni.

² Or Roland, the subject of archbishop Turpin's romance.

Sappi, che non son torri ma giganti
 E son nel pezzo intorno della ripa
 D'all umbilico in guiso, tutti quanti. [Cant xxxi.]

One of them cries out to Dante with horrible voice. Another, Ephialtes, is cloathed in iron and bound with huge chains, Dante wishes to see Briareus : he is answered, that he lies in an interior cavern, biting his chain. Immediately Ephialtes arose from another cavern, and shook himself like an earthquake.

Non fu tremuoto gia tanto rubesto,
 Che schotesse una torri cosi forte,
 Come Fialte a scuotersi fu presto. [Cant. xxxi.]

Dante views the horn which had sounded so vehemently hanging by a leathern thong from the neck of one of the giants. Antaeus, whose body stands ten ells high from the pit, is commanded by Virgil to advance. They both mount on his shoulders, and are thus carried about Cocytus. The giant, says the poet, moved off with us like a mast of a ship¹. One cannot help observing, what has been indeed already hinted, how judiciously Milton, in a similar argument, has retained the just beauties, and avoided the childish or ludicrous excesses of these bold inventions. At the same time we may remark, how Dante has sometimes heightened, and sometimes diminished by improper additions or misrepresentations, the legitimate descriptions of Virgil.

One of the torments of the Damned in Dante's INFERNO, is the punishment of being eternally confined in lakes of ice.

Eran l'ombre dolenti nell ghiaccia
 Mettendo i denti in nota di cicogna. [CANT. xxxii.]

The ice is described to be like that of the Danube or Tanais. This species of infernal torment, which is neither directly warranted by scripture, nor suggested in the systems of the Platonic fabulists, and which has been adopted both by Shakespeare and Milton, has its origin in the legendary hell of the monks. The hint seems to have been taken from an obscure text in the Book of JOB, dilated by saint Jerom and the early commentators. [JOB, xxiv. 19.] The torments of hell, in which the punishment by cold is painted at large, had formed a visionary romance, under the name of saint Patrick's Purgatory or Cave, long before Dante wrote. The venerable Bede, who lived in the seventh century, has framed a future mansion of existence for departed souls with this mode of torture. In the hands of Dante it has assumed many fantastic and grotesque circumstances, which make us laugh and shudder at the same time.

¹ Dante says, if I understand the passage right, that the face of one of the giants resembled the Cupola, shaped like a pine-apple, of saint Peter's church at Rome. CANT. xxxi.

Come la pina di san Pietro a Roma.

In another department, Dante represents some of his criminals rolling themselves in human ordure. If his subject led him to such a description, he might at least have used decent expressions. But his diction is not here less sordid than his imagery.

It is not to be supposed, that a man of strong sense and genius, whose understanding had been cultivated by a most exact education, and who had passed his life in the courts of sovereign princes, would have indulged himself in these disgusting fooleries, had he been at all apprehensive that his readers would have been disgusted. But rude and early poets describe every thing. They follow the public manners: and if they are either obscene or indelicate, it should be remembered that they wrote before obscenity or indelicacy became offensive.

Some of the Guilty are made objects of contempt by a transformation into beastly or ridiculous shapes. This was from the fable of Circe. In others, the human figure is rendered ridiculous by distortion. There is one set of criminals whose faces are turned round towards their backs.

—— E'l piante de gli occhi
Le natiche bagnava per lo fesso. [CANT. xx.]

But Dante has displayed more true poetry in describing a real event than in the best of his fictions. This is in the story of Ugolino count of Pisa, the subject of a very capital picture by Reynolds. The poet, wandering through the depths of hell, sees two of the Damned gnawing the skulls of each other, which was their daily food. He enquires the meaning of this dreadful repast.

La bocca sollevo dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, forbendola a capelli
Del capo ch'egli havea di retro guasto¹.

Ugolino quitting his companion's half-devoured skull, begins his tale to this effect. 'We are Ugolin count of Pisa, and archbishop 'Ruggieri. Trusting in the perfidious counsels of Ruggieri, I was 'brought to a miserable death. I was committed with four of my 'children to the dungeon of hunger. The time came when we expected food to be brought. Instead of which, I heard the gates of 'the horrible tower more closely barred. I looked at my children, 'and could not speak.

—— 'L'horà s'appressava
'Che'l cibo ne soleva essere adotto;
'E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava:
'Ed io senti chiavar l'uscio di sotto
'A l'ORRIBILE TORRE, ond'io guardai
'Nel viso a miei figliuoli, senza far metta.

¹ CANT. xxxiii. They are both in the lake of ice.

'I could not complain. I was petrified. My children cried : and my 'little Anselm, *Anselmuccio mio*, said *Father, you look on us, what is the matter ?*

— 'Tu guardi sì, padre, che hai?'

'I could neither weep, nor answer, all that day and the following 'night. When the scanty rays of the sun began to glimmer through 'the dolorous prison,

'Com'un poco di raggio si fu messo Nel doloroso carcere,——

'and I could again see those four countenances on which my own 'image was stamped, I gnawed both my hands for grief. My children 'supposing I did this through a desire to eat, lifting themselves suddenly up, exclaimed, *O father, our grief would be less, if you would eat us !*

'Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi :

'E quei pensando ch'io'l fessi per voglia

'Di manicar, di subito levorsi

'Et disser, *Padre, assai ci fia men doglia*

'*Se tu mangi di noi !* ——— ———

'I restrained myself that I might not make them more miserable. 'We were all silent, that day and the following. Ah cruel earth, why 'didst thou not swallow us up at once !

'Quel di, et l'altro, stemmo tutta muti.

'Ahi ! dura terra, perche non l'apristi ?

'The fourth day being come, Gaddo falling all along at my feet, cried 'out, *My father, why do not you help me*, and died. The other three 'expired, one after the other, between the fifth and sixth days, 'famished as you see me now. And I being seized with blindness 'began to crawl over them, *sovra ciascuno*, on hands and feet ; and 'for three days after they were dead, continued calling them by their 'names. At length, famine finished my torments.' Having said this, the poet adds, with distorted eyes he again fixed his teeth on the mangled skull. It is not improbable, that the shades of unfortunate men, who described under peculiar situations and with their proper attributes, are introduced relating at large their histories in hell to Dante, might have given the hint to Boccace's book *DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM*, On the Misfortunes of Illustrious Personages, the original model of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*.

Dante's PURGATORY is not on the whole less fantastic than his HELL. As his hell was a vast perpendicular cavity in the earth, he supposes Purgatory to be a cylindric mass elevated to a prodigious height. At intervals are recesses projecting from the outside of the cylinder. In these recesses, some higher and some lower, the wicked expiate their crimes, according to the proportion of their guilt. From one department they pass to another by steps of stone exceedingly

steep. On the top of the whole, or the summit of Purgatory, is a platform adorned with trees and vegetables of every kind. This is the Terrestrial Paradise, which has been transported hither we know not how, and which forms an avenue to the Paradise Celestial. It is extraordinary that some of the Gothic painters should not have given us this subject.

Dante describes not disagreeably the first region which he traverses on leaving Hell.¹ The heavens are tinged with sapphire, and the star of love, or the sun, makes all the orient laugh. He sees a venerable sage approach. This is Cato of Utica, who, astonished to see a living man in the mansion of ghosts, questions Dante and Virgil about the business which brought them thither. Virgil answers: and Cato advises Virgil to wash Dante's face, which was soiled with the smoke of hell, and to cover his head with one of the reeds which grew on the borders of the neighbouring river. Virgil takes his advice; and having gathered one reed, sees another spring up in its place. This is the golden bough of the Eneid, *uno avulso non deficit alter*. The shades also, as in Virgil, crowd to be ferried over Styx: but an angel performs the office of Charon, admitting some into the boat, and rejecting others. This confusion of fable and religion destroys the graces of the one and the majesty of the other.

Through adventures and scenes more strange and wild than any in the Pilgrim's Progress, we at length arrive at the twenty-first Canto. A concussion of the earth announces the deliverance of a soul from Purgatory. This is the soul of Statius, the favourite poet of the dark ages. Although a very improper companion for Virgil, he immediately joins our adventurers, and accompanies them in their progress. It is difficult to discover what pagan or christian idea regulates Dante's dispensation of rewards and punishments. Statius passes from Purgatory to Paradise, Cato remains in the place of expiation, and Virgil is condemned to eternal torments.

Dante meets his old acquaintance Forese, a debauchee of Florence. On finishing the conversation, Forese asks Dante when he shall have the pleasure of seeing him again. This question in Purgatory is diverting enough. Dante answers with much serious gravity, 'I know not the time of death: but it cannot be too near. Look back 'on the troubles in which my country is involved!' [CANT. xxiv.] The dispute between the pontificate and the empire, appears to have been the predominant topic of Dante's mind. This circumstance has filled Dante's poem with strokes of satire. Every reader of Voltaire must remember that lively writer's paraphrase from the INFERNO, of the story of count Guido, in which are these inimitable lines. A Franciscan friar abandoned to Beelzebub thus exclaims,

— — ‘Monsieur de Lucifer !
 ‘Je suis un Saint ; voyes ma robe grise :
 ‘Je fus absous par le Chef de l’Eglise.
 ‘J’aurai, toujours, repondit le Demon,
 ‘Un grand respect pour l’Absolution ;
 ‘On est lave de ses vieilles sotises,
 ‘Pourvu qu’apres autres ne soient commises.
 ‘J’ai fait souvent cette distinction
 ‘A tes pareils : et, grace a l’Italie,
 ‘Le Diable sait la Theologie.
 ‘Il dit et rit. Je ne repliquai rien A Belzebut, il raisonneit trop bien.
 ‘Lors il m’empoigne, et d’un bras roide et ferme
 ‘Il appliqua sur ma triste epiderme
 ‘Vingt coups de fouet, dont bien fort il me cuit :
 ‘Que Dieu le rend a Boniface huit.’

Dante thus translated would have had many more readers than at present. I take this opportunity of remarking, that our author’s perpetual reference to recent facts and characters is in imitation of Virgil, yet with this very material difference. The persons recognized in Virgil’s sixth book, for instance the chiefs of the Trojan war, are the cotemporaries of the hero not of the poet. The truth is, Dante’s poem is a satirical history of his own times.

Dante sees some of the ghosts of Purgatory advancing forward, more meagre and emaciated than the rest. He asks how this could happen in a place where all live alike without nourishment. Virgil quotes the example of Meleager, who wasted, with a firebrand, on the gradual extinction of which his life depended. He also produces the comparison of a mirror reflecting a figure. These obscure explanations do not satisfy the doubts of Dante. Statius, for his better instruction, explains how a child grows in the womb of the mother, how it is enlarged, and by degrees receives life and intellect. The drift of our author is apparent in these profound illustrations. He means to shew his skill in a sort of metaphysical anatomy. We see something of this in the TESORETTO of Brunetto. Unintelligible solutions of a similar sort, drawn from a frivolous and mysterious philosophy, mark the writers of Dante’s age.

The PARADISE of Dante, the third part of this poem, resembles his PURGATORY. Its fictions, and its allegories which suffer by being explained, are all conceived in the same chimerical spirit. The poet successively views the glory of the saints, of angels, of the holy Virgin, and at last of God himself.

Heaven as well as hell, among the monks, had its legendary description ; which it was heresy to disbelieve, and which was formed on perversions or misinterpretations of scripture. Our author’s vision ends with the deity, and we know not by what miraculous assistance he returns to earth.

It must be allowed, that the scenes of Virgil's sixth book have many fine strokes of the terrible. But Dante's colouring is of a more gloomy temperature. There is a sombrous cast in his imagination : and he has given new shades of horror to the classical hell. We may say of Dante, that

—— Hell

Grows DARKER at his FROWN.——[PAR. L. ii. 720.]

The sensations of fear impressed by the Roman poet are less harrassing to the repose of the mind : they have a more equable and placid effect. The terror of Virgil's tremendous objects is diminished by correctness of composition and elegance of style. We are reconciled to his Gorgons and Hydras, by the grace of expression, and the charms of versification.

In the mean time, it may seem a matter of surprise, that the Italian poets of the thirteenth century who restored, admired, and studied the classics, did not imitate their beauties. But while they possessed the genuine models of antiquity, their unnatural and eccentric habits of mind and manners, their attachments to system, their scholastic theology, superstition, ideal love, and above all their chivalry, had corrupted every true principle of life and literature, and consequently prevented the progress of taste and propriety. They could not conform to the practices and notions of their own age, and to the ideas of the ancients, at the same time. They were dazzled with the imageries of Virgil and Homer, which they could not always understand or apply : or which they saw through the mist of prejudice and misconception. Their genius having once taken a false direction, when recalled to copy a just pattern, produced only constraint and affectation, a distorted and displeasing resemblance. The early Italian poets disfigured, instead of adorning their works, by attempting to imitate the classics. The charms which we so much admire in Dante, do not belong to the Greeks and Romans. They are derived from another origin, and must be traced back to a different stock. Nor is it at the same time less surprising, that the later Italian poets, in more enlightened times, should have paid so respectful a compliment to Dante as to acknowledge no other model, and with his excellencies, to transcribe and perpetuate all his extravagancies.

SECTION L.

I NOW return to the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, and to Sackville's Legend of Buckingham, which follows his *INDUCTION*.

The Complaynt of HENRYE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, is written with a force and even elegance of expression, a copiousness of phrasology,

and an exactness of versification, not to be found in any other parts of the collection. On the whole, it may be thought tedious and languid. But that objection unavoidably results from the general plan of these pieces. It is impossible that soliloquies of such prolixity, and designed to include much historical and even biographical matter, should every where sustain a proper degree of spirit, pathos, and interest. In the exordium are these nervous and correct couplets.

Whom flattering Fortune falsely so beguilde,
That loe, she slew, where erst ful smooth she smilde.

Again,

And paynt it forth, that all estates may knowe:
Have they the warning, and be mine the woe.

Buckingham is made to enter thus rapidly, yet with much address, into his fatal share of the civil broils between York and Lancaster.

But what may boot to stay the sisters three,
When Atropos perforce will cut the thred?
The dolefull day was come, when you might see
Northampton field with armed men orespred.

In these lines there is great energy.

O would to God the cruell dismall day
That gave me light fyrst to behold thy face,
With foul eclipse had reft my sight away,
The unhappie hower, the time, and eke the day, &c.

And the following are an example of the simple and sublime united.

And thou, Alecto, feede me with thy foode!
Let fall thy serpents from thy snaky heare!
For such reliefe well fits me in my moode,
To feed my plaint with horroure and with feare!
With rage afresh thy venomd worme areare.

Many comparisons are introduced by the distressed speaker. But it is common for the best poets to forget that they are describing what is only related or spoken. The captive Proteus has his simile of the nightingale; and Eneas decorates his narrative of the disastrous conflagration of Troy with a variety of the most laboured comparisons.

Buckingham in his reproaches against the traitorous behaviour of his ancient friend Banastre, utters this forcible exclamation, which breathes the genuine spirit of revenge, and is unloaded with poetical superfluities.

Hated be thou, disdaine of everie wight,
And pointed at whereever thou shalt goe:
A traiterous wretch, unworthy of the light
Be thou esteemde: and, to encrease thy woe,
The sound be hatefull of thy name alsoe.
And in this sort, with shame and sharpe reproch.
Leade thou thy life, till greater grief approach.

The ingenious writers of these times are perpetually deserting propriety for the sake of learned allusions. Buckingham exhorts the peers and princes to remember the fate of some of the most renowned heroes of antiquity, whose lives and misfortunes he relates at large, and often in the most glowing colours of poetry. Alexander's murder of Clitus is thus described in stanzas, pronounced by the poet and not by Buckingham.

And deeply grave within your stonie harts
The dreerie dole, that mightie Macedo
With teares unfolded, wrapt in deadlie smarts,
When he the death of Clitus sorrowed so,
Whom erst he murdred with the deadlie blow ;
Raught in his rage upon his friend so deare,
For which, behold loe how his panges appeare !

The launced speare he writhes out of the wound,
From which the purple blood spins in his face :
His heinous guilt when he returned found,
He throwes himself uppon the corps, alas !
And in his armes howe oft doth he imbrace
His murdred friend ! And kissing him in vaine,
Forth flowe the floudes of salt repentant raine.

His friendes amazde at such a murther done,
In fearfull flockes begin to shrink away ;
And he thereat, with heapes of grief fordone,
Hateth himselfe, wishing his latter day.——

He calls for death, and loathing longer life,
Bent to his bane refuseth kindlie foode,
And plunge in depth of death and dolours strife
Had queld¹ himselfe, had not his friendes withstoode.
Loe he that thus has shed the guiltlesse bloode,
Though he were king and keper over all,
Yet chose he death, to guerdon death withall.

This prince, whose peere was never under sunne,
Whose glistening fame the earth did overglide,
Which with his power the worlde welnigh had wonne,
His bloody handes himselfe could not abide,
But folly bent with famine to have dide ;
The worthie prince deemed in his regard
That death for death could be but just reward.

Our *MIRROUR*, having had three new editions in 1563², 1571, and 1574³,

¹ Killed. Manqueller is murderer.

² This edition, 1563, printed by Thomas Marshe, has clx leaves, with a table of contents at the end.

³ This edition, printed also for T. Marshe, is improperly enough entitled 'The Last Parte of the *MIRROUR* FOR MAGISTRATES, &c.' But it contains all that is in the foregoing editions, and ends with *JANE SHORE, OR SHORE'S WIFE*. It has 163 leaves. In the title page the work is said to be 'Newly corrected and amended.' They are all in quarto, and all in black letter.

was reprinted in quarto in the year 1587, with the addition of many new lives, under the conduct of John Higgins.

Higgins lived at Winsham in Somersetshire¹. He was educated at Oxford, was a clergyman, and engaged in the instruction of youth. As a preceptor of boys, on the plan of a former collection by Nicholas Udal, a celebrated master of Eton school, he compiled the *FLOSCULI OF TERENCE*, a manual famous in its time, and applauded in a Latin epigram by the elegant Latin encomiast Thomas Newton of Cheshire². In the pedagogic character he also published '*HOLCOT'S DICTIONARIE*, 'newlie corrected, amended, set in order, and enlarged, with many 'names of men, townes, beastes, fowles, etc. By which you may finde 'the Latine or Frenche of anie Englishe worde you will. By John 'Higgins, late student in Oxeforde³.' In an engraved title-page are a few English verses. It is in folio, and printed for Thomas Marshe at London, 1572. The dedication to sir George Peckham knight, is written by Higgins, and is a good specimen of his classical accomplishments. He calls Peckham his principal friend, and the most eminent patron of letters. A recommendatory copy of verses by Churchyard the poet is prefixed, with four Latin epigrams by others. Another of his works in the same profession is the *NOMENCLATOR* of Adrian Junius, translated into English, in conjunction with Abraham Flemming, and printed at London, for Newberie and Durham, in 1585. [Octavo.] It is dedicated in Latin to his most bountiful patron Doctor Valentine, master of Requests, and dean of Wells, from Winsham⁴, 1584. From this dedication, Higgins seems to have been connected with the school of Ilminster, a neighbouring town in Somersetshire⁵. He appears to have been living so late as the year 1602. For in that year he published an Answer to William Perkins, a forgotten controversialist, concerning Christ's descent into hell, dedicated from Winsham.

To the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES* Higgins wrote a new *INDUCTION* in the octave stanza; and without assistance of friends, began a new series from Albanact the youngest son of Brutus, and the first king of Albanie or Scotland, continued to the emperor Caracalla⁶. In

¹ But in the Preface Higgins says he began to prepare it twelve years before. In imitation of the title, a story-book was published called the *MIRROUR OF MIRTH*, by R. D. 1583. bl. lett. 4to. Also *The MIRROUR OF THE MATHEMATIKES*, A *MIRROUR OF MONSTERS*, &c.

² In *TERENTII FLOSCULOS N. Udalli et J. Higginii opera decerptos*. ENCOM. fol. 128. It is also prefixed to the book, with others.

³ Perhaps at Trinity college, where one of both his names occurs in 1566.

⁴ The Dedication of his *MIRROUR TO MAGISTRATES* is from the same place.

⁵ He says, that he translated it in London. Quo facto, novus interpres Waldenus, Ilmes- triæ gymnasiarcha, moriens, priusquam manum operi summam admovisset, me amicum 'veterem suum omnibus libris suis et hoc imprimis Nomenclatore [his translation] donavit,' But Higgins found his own version better, which he therefore published, yet with a part of his friend's.

⁶ At fol. 108. a. The two last lives in the latter, or what may be called Baldwin's part of this edition, are *JANE SHORE* and *CARDINAL WOLSEY* by Churchyard. Colophon, 'Im-

this edition by Higgins, among the pieces after the conquest, first appeared the Life of CARDINAL WOLSEY, by Churchyard [fol. 265. b.] ; of SIR NICHOLAS BURDET, by Baldwine [fol. 244. a.] ; and of ELEANOR COBHAM [fol. 140. b.], and of HUMFREY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, [fol. 146. a.] by Ferrers. Also the Legend of KING JAMES THE FOURTH OF SCOTLAND, [fol. 253. b.], said to have been penned *fiftie yeares ago*, [fol. 255. b.], and of FLODDEN FIELD, said to be of equal antiquity, and subscribed FRANCIS DINGLEY, [fol. 258. b.], the name of a poet who has not otherwise occurred. Prefixed is a recommendatory poem in stanzas by the above-mentioned Thomas Newton of Cheshire¹, who understood much more of Latin than of English poetry.

The most poetical passage of Higgins's performance in this collection is in his Legend of QUEENE CORDILA, or Cordelia, king Lear's youngest daughter. [Fol. 36. b.] Being imprisoned in a dungeon, and *cought on strawe*, she sees amid the darkness of the night a *griesly ghost* approach,

Eke nearer still with stealing steps shee drewe :
Shee was of colour pale and deadly hewe.

Her garment was figured with various sorts of imprisonment, and pictures of violent and premature death.

Her clothes resembled thousand kindes of thrall,
And pictures plaine of *hastened deathes* withall.

Cordelia, in extreme terror, asks,

— What wight art thou, a foe or *fawning* frend ?
If Death thou art, I pray thee make an end——
But th' art not Death !—Art thou some Fury sent
My woefull corps with paynes more to torment ?

With that she spake, 'I am thy frend DESPAYRE.—
* * * * *

'Now if thou art to dye no whit afrayde
'Here shalt thou choose of Instruments, beholde,
'Shall rid thy restlesse life.'——

DESPAIR then, throwing her robe aside, shews Cordelia a thousand instruments of death, knives, sharpe swordes, and ponyards, *all bedyde with bloode and poysons*. She presents the sword with which Dido slew herself.

'Lo ! here the blade that Dido of Carthage hight, &c.,

Cordelia takes this sword, *but doubtfull yet to dye*. DESPAIR then represents to her the state and power which she enjoyed in France, her troops of attendants, and the pleasures of the court she had left.

printed at London by Henry Marshe, being the assigne of Thomas Marshe neare to saint Dunstanes church in Fleetestreete, 1587.² It has 272 leaves. The last signature is M n 4.

¹ Subscribed THOMAS NEWTONUS *Ceystreshyrius*, 1587.

She then points out her present melancholy condition and dreary situation.

She shewde me all the dongeon where I sate,
The dankish walles, the darkes, and bade me smell
And byde the savour if I like it well.

Cordelia gropes for the sword, or *fatall knife*, in the dark, which DESPAIR places in her hand.

DESPAYRE to ayde my senceless limmes was glad,
And gave the blade : to end my woes she bad.

At length Cordelia's sight fails her so that she can see only DESPAIR who exhorts her to strike.

And by her elbowe DEATH for me did watch.

DESPAIRE at last gives the blow. The temptation of the Redcrosse knight by DESPAIR in Spenser's FAERIE QUEENE, seems to have been copied, yet with high improvements, from this scene. These stanzas of Spenser bear a strong resemblance to what I have cited from CORDELIA'S Legend.

Then gan the villaine¹ him to oueraw,
And brought unto him swords, ropes, poysons, fire,
And all that might him to perdition draw ;
And bade him chuse what death he would desire :
For death was due to him that had prouokt God's ire.

But when as none of them he sawe him take,
He to him raught a dagger sharpe and keene,
And gaue it him in hand : his hand did quake
And tremble like a leafe of aspin greene,
And troubled bloud through his pale face was seene
To come and goe, with tydinges from the hart,
As it a running messenger had beene.
At last, resolv'd to worke his finall smart

He lifted up his hand that backe againe did start. [FAER. QU. i. x. 50]

The three first books of the FAERIE QUEENE were published in 1590. Higgins's Legend of Cordelia in 1587.

At length the whole was digested anew with additions, in 1610, by Richard Niccols, an ingenious poet, of whom more will be said hereafter, under the following title. 'A MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES², *being a true Chronicle-history of the vntimely falles of such vnfortunate princes and men of note as haue happened since the first entrance of Brute into this Iland vntill this our age.* NEWLY ENLARGED *with a last part called a WINTER NIGHT'S VISION being an addition*

¹ That is, DESPAIR.

² Of the early use in the middle age of the world SPECULUM as the title of a book, see Joh. Finnaeus's DISSERTATIO-HISTORICA-LITTERARIA, prefixed to the KONGS-SKUGG-SIO, or ROYAL MIRROUR, an ancient prose work in Norvegian, written about 1170, printed in 1768, 4to. fol. xviii.

'of such Tragedies especially famous as are exempted in the former
'*Historie*, with a poem annexed called ENGLAND'S ELIZA. At
'London, imprinted by Felix Kyngston, 1610. [A thick quarto.]
Niccols arranged his edition thus. Higgins's INDUCTION is at the head
of the Lives from Brutus to the Conquest. Those from the conquest
to LORD CROMWELL's legend written by Drayton and now first added¹,
are introduced by Sackville's INDUCTION. After this are placed such
lives as had been before omitted, ten in number, written by Niccols him-
self, with an INDUCTION. [Fol. 555.] As it illustrates the history of
this work, especially of Sackville's share in it, I will here insert a part
of Niccol's preface prefixed to those TRAGEDIES which happened after
the conquest, beginning with that of Robert Tresilian. 'Hauing
'hitherto continued the storie from the first entrance of BRUTE into
'this iland, with the FALLES of svch PRINCES as were neuer before
'this time in one volume comprised, I now proceed with the rest.
'which take their beginning from the Conquest ; whose penmen being
'many and diuerse, all diuerslie affected in the method of this their
'MIRROUR, I purpose onlie to follow the intended scope of that most
'honorable personage, who by how mvch he did surpasses the rest in
'the eminence of his noble condition, by so mvch he hath exceeded
'them all in the excellencie of his heroicall stile, which with golden
'pen he had limmed out to posteritie in that worthie object of his
'minde the TRAGEDIE OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, and in his
'Preface then intituled MASTER SACKVILS INDUCTION. This worthy
'president of learning intended to perfect all this storie of himselfe
'from the Conquest. Being called to a more serious expence of
'his time in the great state affaires of his most royall ladie and
'soueraigne, he left the dispose therof to M. Baldwine, M. Ferrers,
'and others, the composers of these Tragedies : who contining
'their methode, which was by way of dialogue or interlocution be-
'twixt euerie Tragedie, gaue it onlie place before the duke of Buck-
'ingham's COMPLAINT. Which order I since hauing altered, haue
'placed the INDUCTION in the beginnunge, with euerie Tragedie
'following according to succession and iust computation of time,
'which before was not obserued².'

In the Legend of Richard III., Niccols appears to have copied
some passages from Shakespeare's Tragedy on that history. In the
opening of the play Richard says,

Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths,
Our bruised arms hung up for monuments :
Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings ;
Our dreadful marches to delightfull measures.

¹ Drayton wrote three other legends on this plan, Robert duke of Normandy, Matilda, and
Pierce Gaveston, of which I shall speak more particularly under that writer.

² Fol. 253. Compare Baldwyne's Prologue at fol. cxiv. b. edit. 1559. ut supr.

Grim-visag'd War hath smooth'd his wrinkled front ;
 And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds,
 To fright the souls of fearfull adversaries,
 He capers nimble in a lady's chamber
 To the lascivious pleasing of a lute. [Act i. Sc. i.]

These lines evidently gave rise to part of Richard's soliloquy in Niccols's Legend.

—The battels fought in field before
 Were turn'd to meetings of sweet amitie :
 The war-god's thundring cannons dreadfull rore.
 And rattling drum-sounds warlike harmonie,
 To sweet-tun'd noise of pleasing minstralsie.—
 God Mars laid by his Launce and tooke his Lute,
 And turn'd his rugged frownes to smiling lookes ;
 In stead of crimson fields, warres fatall fruit,
 He bathed his limbes in Cypre's warbling brookes.
 And set his thoughts upon her wanton lookes. [Pag. 753.]

Part of the tent-scene in Shakespeare is also imitated by Niccols. Richard, starting from his horrid dream, says,

Methought the souls of all that I had murder'd
 Came to my tent, and every one did threat
 To morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard¹.

So Niccols,

I thought that all those murdered ghosts, whom I
 By death had sent to their vntimely graue,
 With balefull noise about my tent did crie,
 And of the heauens with sad complaint did craue,
 That they on guiltie wretch might vengeance haue :
 To whom I thought the iudge of heauen gaue care,
 And gainst me gaue iudgement full of feare. [Pag. 764.]

But some of the stanzas immediately following, which are formed on Shakespeare's ideas, yet with some original imagination, will give the reader the most favorable idea of Niccols as a contributor to this work.

For loe, eftsoones, a thousand hellish hags,
 Leauing th' abode of their infernall cell,
 Seasing on me, my hatefull body drags
 From forth my bed into a place like hell,
 Where fiends did naught but bellow, howle and yell,

¹ Act v. Sc. ult. Drayton has also described these visionary terrors of Richard. POLYOLB. S. xxii.

When to the guilty king, the black fore-running night,
 Appear the dreadful ghosts of Henry and his Son,
 Of his owne brother George and his two nephewes, done
 Most cruelly to death, and of his Wife, and friend
 Lord Hastings, with pale hands prepared as they would rend
 Him peacemeal : at which oft he roareth in his sleep.

Who in sterne strife stood gainst each other bent,
Who should my hateful bodie most torment.

Tormented in such trance long did I lie,
Till extreme feare did rouze me where I lay,
And caus'd me from my naked bed to flie :
Alone within my tente I durste not stay,
This dreadfull dreame my soul did so affray
When wakt I was from sleepe, I for a space
Thought I had beene in some infernall place.

About mine ears a buzzing feare still flew,
My fainting knees languish for want of might
Vpon my bodie stands an icie dew ;
My heart is dead within, and with affright
The haire vpon my head doth stand vpright :
Each limbe abovt me quaking, doth resemble
A riuers rush, that with the wind doth tremble.

Thus with my guiltie soules sad torture torne
The dark nights dismall houres I past away :
But at cockes crowe, the message of the morne,
My feare I did conceale, &c. [Page 764.]

If internal evidence was not a proof, we are sure from other evidence that Shakespeare's tragedy preceded Niccols's legend. The tragedy was written about 1597. Niccols, at eighteen years of age, was admitted into Magdalene college in Oxford, in the year 1602¹. It is easy to point out other marks of imitation. Shakespeare has taken nothing from Seagar's *Richard III.*, printed in Baldwine's collection, or first edition, in the year 1559. Shakespeare, however, probably caught the idea of the royal shades, in the same scene of the tragedy before us, appearing in succession and speaking to Richard and Richmond, from the general plan of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*: more especially, as many of Shakspeare's ghosts there introduced, for instance, King Henry IV., Clarence, Rivers, Hastings, and Buckingham, are the personages of five of the legends belonging to this poem.

SECTION LI.

By way of recapitulating what has been said, and in order to give a connected and uniform view of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES* in its most complete and extended state, its original contents and addi-

¹ Registr. Univ. Oxon. He retired to Magdalene Hall, where he was graduated in Arts. 1606. Ibid.

tions, I will here detail the subjects of this poem as they stand in this last or Niccols's edition of 1610, with reference to two preceding editions, and some other incidental particularities.

Niccols's edition, after the Epistle Dedicatorie prefixed to Higgins's edition of 1587, an Advertisement To the Reader by Niccols, a Table of Contents, and Thomas Newton's commendatory verses above-mentioned, begins with an Induction called the AUTHOR'S INDUCTION, written by Higgins, and properly belonging to his edition. Then follow these Lives.

Albanact, youngest son of Brutus. [Pag. 1.] Humber, king of the Huns. King Locrine, eldest son of Brutus. Queen Elstride, concubine of Locrine. Sabrina, daughter of Locrine. King Madan. King Malin. King Mempric. King Bladud. Queen Cordelia. Morgan, king of Albany. King Jago. Ferrex. Porrex. King Pinnar, slain by Molucius Donwallo. King Stater. King Rudacke of Wales. King Kimarus. King Morindus. King Emerianus. King Cherrinnus. King Varianus. Irelanglas, cousin to Cassibelane. Julius Cesar. Claudius Tiberius Nero. Caligula. King Guiderius. Lelius Hamo. Tiberius Drusus. Domitius Nero. Galba. Vitellius. Londrict the Pict. Severus. Fulgentius, a Pict. Geta. Caracalla. [Ending with pag. 185.] All these from Albanact, and in the same order, form the first part of Higgin's edition of the year 1587¹. But none of them are in Baldwyne's, or the first, collection, of the year 1559. And, as I presume, these lives are all written by Higgins. Then follow in Niccols's edition, Carausius, Queen Helena, Vortigern, Uther Pendragon, Cadwallader, Sigebert, Ebba, Egelred, Edric, and Harold, all written by Thomas Blener Hasset, and never before printed. We have next a new title, [after p. 250.] 'The variable Fortvne and vn-happie Falles of svch princes as hath happened since the Conquest. 'Wherein may be seene, &c. At London, by Felix Kyngston, 1609.' Then, after an Epistle to the Reader, subscribed R. N. that is Richard Niccols, follow, Sackville's INDUCTION. Cavyll's Roger Mortimer. Ferrers's Tresilian. Ferrers's Thomas of Woodstock. Churchyard's Mowbray. Ferrers's King Richard II. Phaer's Owen Glendour. Henry Percy. Baldwyne's Richard earl of Cambridge. Baldwyne's Montague earl of Salisbury. Ferrers's Eleanor Cobham. Ferrer's Humfrey duke of Gloucester. Baldwyne's William De La Poole, earl of Suffolk. Baldwyne's Jack Cade. Ferrers's Edmund, duke of Somerset. Richard Plantagenet duke of York. Lord Clifford. Tiptoft, earl of Worcester. Richard, lord Warwick. King Henry VI. George Plantagenet, duke of Clarence. Skelton's Edward IV. Woodvile, lord Rivers. Dolman's Lord Hastings. Sackville's Duke of Buckingham. Collingburne. Cavyll's Blacksmith. Higgins's Sir Nicholas

¹ Where they end at fol. 108. a.

Burdet. Churchyard's Jane Shore. Churchyard's Wolsey. Drayton's Lord Cromwell. All these¹, Humfrey, Cobham, Burdet, Cromwell, and Wolsey, excepted, form the whole, but in a less chronological disposition, of Baldwyne's collection, or edition, of the year 1559, as we have seen above: from whence they were reprinted, with the addition of Humfrey, Cobham, Burdet, and Wolsey, by Higgins, in his edition aforesaid of 1587, and where Wolsey closes the work. Another title then appears in Niccols's edition, [after p. 547.] 'A WINTER NIGHT'S 'VISION. Being an Addition of such Princes especially famous, who 'were exempted in the former HISTORIE. By Richard Niccols, Oxon. 'Magd. Hall. At London, by Felix Kyngston, 1610.' An Epistle to the Reader, and an elegant Sonnet to Lord Charles Howard lord High Admiral, both by Niccols, are prefixed². Then follows Niccols's INDUCTION to these new lives. [From pag. 555.] They are, King Arthur. Edmund Ironside. Prince Alfred. Godwin earl of Kent. Robert Curthose. King Richard I. King John. Edward II. The two Young Princes murdered in the Tower, and Richard III.³ Our author, but with little propriety, has annexed 'ENGLAND'S ELIZA, or 'the victorious and triumphant reigne of that virgin empress of sacred 'memorie Elizabeth Queene of England, &c. At London, by Felix 'Kyngston, 1610.' This is a title page. Then follows a Sonnet to *the virtuous Ladie* the Lady Elizabeth Clere, wife to sir Francis Clere, and an Epistle to the Reader. A very poetical INDUCTION is prefixed to the ELIZA, which contains the history of queen Elisabeth, then just dead, in the octave stanza. Niccols, however, has not entirely preserved the whole of the old collection, although he made large additions. He has omitted James I. of Scotland, which appears in Baldwyne's edition of 1559⁴, and in Higgins's of 1587⁵. He has also omitted, and probably for the same obvious reason, James IV. of Scotland, which we find in Higgins⁶. Nor has Niccols retained the Battle of Flodden-field, which is in Higgins's edition. [Fol. 256. a.] Niccols has also omitted Seagars's King Richard III., which first occurs in Baldwyne's edition of 1559, [Fol. cxlvii. b.] and afterwards in Higgins's of 1587. [Fol. 230. b.] But Niccols has written a new Legend on this subject, cited above, and one of the best of his additional lives.

¹ That is, from p. 250.

² From the Sonnet it appears, that our author Niccols was on board Howard's ship the ARKE, when Cadiz was taken. This was in 1596. See also pag. 86r, stanz. iv.

³ Ending with pag. 769.

⁴ At fol. xlii. b.

⁵ Fol. 137. b.

⁶ Fol. 253. a. In Ulpian Fullwell's FLOWER OF FAME, an old qto. book both in prose and verse, in praise of the reign of Henry VIII. and printed by W. Hoskyns in 1575, is a tragic monologue, in the octave stanza, of James IV. of Scotland, and of his son, fol. 22. b. The whole title is, 'THE FLOWER OF FAME, containing the bright renowne and most fortunate 'reigne of Henry viii. Wherein is mention of matters by the rest of our chronographers 'overpassed. Compyled by Vlpian Fullwell.' Annexed is a panegyric of three of the same Henry's *noble and vertuous queens*. And 'The service done at Haddington in Scotland the 'seconde year of the reigne of king Edward the sixth.' Bl. lett. Fullwell will occur hereafter in his proper place.

[Pag. 750.] This edition by Niccols, printed by Felix Kyngston in 1610, I believe was never reprinted. It contains 875 pages.

The *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES* is obliquely ridiculed in bishop Hall's *SATIRES*, published in 1597.

Another, whose more heavie-hearted saint
Delights in nought but notes of ruefull plaint,
Urgeth his melting muse with solemne teares,
Rhyme of some drearie fates of LUCKLESS PEERS.
Then brings he up some BRANDED WHINING GHOST
To tell how old Misfortunes have him tost¹.

That it should have been the object even of an ingenious satirist, is so far from proving that it wanted either merit or popularity, that the contrary conclusion may be justly inferred. It was, however, at length superseded by the growing reputation of a new poetical chronicle, entitled *ALBION'S ENGLAND*, published before the beginning of the reign of James I. That it was in high esteem throughout the reign of queen Elizabeth, appears, not only from its numerous editions, but from the testimony of sir Philip Sidney, and other cotemporary writers². It is ranked among the most fashionable pieces of the times, in the metrical preface prefixed to Jasper Heywood's *THYESTES* of Seneca, translated into English verse, and published in 1560³. It must be remembered that only Baldwyne's part had yet appeared, and that the translator is supposed to be speaking to Seneca.

In Lyncolnes Inne, and Temples twayne,
Grayes Inne, and many mo,
Thou shalt them fynde whose paynefull pen
Thy verse shall florishe so :
That Melpomen, thou wouldst well weene,
Had taught them for to wright,

¹ B. i. Sat. v. duodecim. But in *CERTAINE SATYRES* by John Marston, subjoined to his *PYGMALIONS IMAGE*, an academical critic is abused for affecting to censure this poem, Lond. 1598. SAT. iv. This is undoubtedly our author Hall just quoted. Marston's *SCOURGE OF VILLANIE*, printed 1599. Lib. iii. SAT. x.]

Fond censurer! why should those *Mirrors* seeme
So vile to thee? which better judgements deeme
Exquisite then, and in our polished times
May run for sencefull tollerable lines
What not *mediocra firma* from thy spight?
But must thy enuious hungry fangs needs light
On *MAGISTRATES MIRROUR*? Must thou needs detract
And strue to worke his ancient honors wrack?
What shall not Rosamond, or Gaueston,
Ope their sweet lips without detraction?
But must our moderne Critticks enuious eye, &c.

The two last pieces indeed do not properly belong to this collection, and are only on the same plan. *Rosamond* is Daniel's *COMPLAINT OF ROSAMOND*, and *Gaueston* is Drayton's monologue on that subject.

² Sidney says, 'I esteeme the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES* to be furnished of beautiful 'partes.' He then mentions Surrey's Lyric pieces. *DEFENCE OF POESIE*, fol. 561. ad calc. ARCAD. Lond. 1629. fol. Sidney died in 1586. So that this was written before Higgins's, and consequently Niccols's, additions.

³ Colcoph. 'Imprinted at London in Fleetestrete in the house late Thomas Berthelettes. *Cum priu.* &c. ANNO M.D.LX.' duodecim. bl. lett. It is dedicated in verse to sir John Mason

And all their woorks with stately style
 And goodly grace to endight.
 There shalt thou se the selfe same Northe,
 Whose woork his witte displayes ;
 And DYALL doth of PRINCES paynte,
 And preache abroade his prayse¹.
 There Sackvyldes SONNETS² sweetly sauste,
 And featlye fyned bee :
 There Norton's³ Ditties do delight,
 There Yelverton's⁴ do flee
 Well pewrde with pen : such yong men three
 As weene thou mightst agayne,
 To be begotte as Pallas was
 Of myghtie Jove his brayne.
 There heare thou shalt a great reporte
 Of BALDWYNE'S worthie name,
 Whose MIRROUR doth of MAGISTRATES
 Proclayme eternall fame.
 And there the gentle Blunduille⁵ is
 By name and eke by kynde
 Of whom we learne by Plutarches lore
 What frute by foes to fynde.
 There Bauande bydes⁶, that turnde his toyle
 A common wealth to frame,
 And greater grace in English gyves
 To woorthy authors name.
 There Googe a gratefull name has gotte,
 Reporte that runneth ryfe ;
 Who crooked compasse doth describe
 And Zodiake of lyfe⁷.—
 A pryncely place in Parnasse hill

¹ Sir Thomas North, second son of Edward lord North of Kintling, translated from French into English Antonio Guevara's *HEROLOCIUM PRINCIPUM*. This translation was printed in 1557, and dedicated to Queen Mary, fol. Again, 1548, 1582, 4to. This is the book mentioned in the text. North studied in Lincoln's Inn in the reign of queen Mary. I am not sure that the translator of Plutarch's *LIVES* in 1579 is the same. There is Doni's *MORALL PHILOSOPHIE* from the Italian by sir Thomas North, in 1601.

² Sackville lord Buckhurst, the contributor to the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*. I have never seen his *SONNETS*, which would be a valuable accession to our old poetry. But probably the term *sonnets* here means only verses in general, and may signify nothing more than his part in the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, and his *GORDOBUCKE*.

³ Norton is Sackville's coadjutor in *GORDOBUCKE*.

⁴ The Epilogue to Gascoigne's *JOCASTA*, acted at Grays-inn in 1566, was written by Christopher Yelverton, a student of that inn, afterwards a knight and a judge. I have never seen his *DITTIES* here mentioned.

⁵ Thomas Blundeville of Newton-Flatman in Norfolk, from whence his dedication to lord Leicester of an English version of Furius's Spanish tract on *COUNSELS AND COUNSELORS* is dated, Apr. 1. 1579. He printed many other prose pieces, chiefly translations. His *PLUTARCH* mentioned in the text, is perhaps a manuscript in the British Museum, *PLUTARCH'S COMMENTARIES that learning is requisite to a prince, translated into English meter by Thomas Blundeville*, MSS. REG. 18. A. 42.

⁶ William Bauande, a student in the Middle-Temple, translated into English Ferrarius Montanus *DE RECTA REIPUBLICÆ ADMINISTRATIONE*. Dated from the Middle-Temple, in a Dedication to queen Elizabeth, Decemb. 20. 1579. 4to Bl. Lett. Printed by John Kingston.

⁷ 'A woork of Johannes Ferrarius Montanus touchinge the good orderinge of a common weale &c.' Englebyed by William Bauande. He was of Oxford.

⁷ Barnaby Googe's *Palingenius* will be spoken of hereafter.

For these there is preparede,
 Whence crowne of glitteryng glorie hangs
 For them a right rewarde.
 Whereas the lappes of Ladies nyne,
 Shall dewly them defende,
 That have preparede the lawrell leafe
 About theyr heddes to bende
 And where their pennes shall hang full high, &c.

These, he adds, are alone qualified to translate Seneca's tragedies.

In a small black-lettered tract entitled the TOUCH-STONE OF WITTES, chiefly compiled, with some slender additions, from William Webbe's DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE, written by Edward Hake, and printed at London by Edmund Botifaunt in 1588, this poem is mentioned with applause. 'Then have we the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES lately augmented by my friend mayster John Higgins, and penned by the choyssest learned wittes, which for the stately-portioned uaine of the heroick style, and good meetly proportion of uerse may challenge the best of Lydgate, and all our late rhymers¹.' That sensible old English critic Edmund Bolton in a general criticism on the style of our most noted poets before the year 1600, places the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES in a high rank. It is under the head of his HYPERCRITICA, entitled 'Prime Gardens for gathering English' according to the true gage or standard of the tongue about fifteen or 'sixteen years ago.' The extract is a curious piece of criticism, as written by a judicious contemporary. Having mentioned our prose writers, the chief of which are More, Sidney, queen Elizabeth, Hooker,

¹Fol. vii. a. duodecim. I know but little more of this forgotten writer, than that he wrote also, 'A TOUCHSTONE for this time present, expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses, as trouble the church of God and our christian common-wealth at this daye, &c. Newly sett forth, by E. H. Imprinted at London by Thomas Hacket, and are to be sold at his shop at the Greene Dragon in the Royall Exchange. 1574' duodec. At the end of the 'Epistle dedicatorie to his knowne friende Mayster Edward Godfrey, merchant,' his name EDWARD HAKE is subscribed at length. Annexed is, 'A Compendious fourme of education, to be diligently obserued of all parentes and scholemasters in the training vp of their children and scholars in learning. Gathered into Englishe meeter by Edward Hake.' It is an epitome of a Latin tract *De pueris statim ac liberalliter instituendis*. In the dedication to *maister John Harlowe his approoued friende*, he calls himself an attorney in the Common Pleas, observing at the same time, that the 'name of an Attorney in the common place [pleas] is now a dayes grown into contempt.' He adds another circumstance of his life, that he was educated under John Hopkins, whom I suppose to be the translator of the psalms. 'You being trained vp together with me your poore schoolfellow, with the instructions of that learned and exquisite teacher, Maister JOHN HOPKINS, that worthy schoolemaister, nay rather that most worthy parent vnto all children committed to his charge of education. Of whose memory, if I should in such an opportunity as this is, be forgetful, &c.' I will give a specimen of this little piece, which shews at least that he learned versification under his master Hopkins. He is speaking of the Latin tongue. (Signat. G. 4.)

Wereto, as hath been sayde before
 With morall sawes in couert tales;
 Fine Comedies with pleasure sawst,
 Do teache unto philosophie
 So as nathles we carefull be
 And wanton iestes of poets vayne,
 Good stories from the Bible chargede,
 As Quintus Curtius and such like,

The Fables do inuite,
 Wereto agreeth rite
 Which, as it were by play,
 A perfit ready way.—
 To auoyde all bawdie rimes,
 That teache them filthie crimes.
 And from some civill style
 To reade them other while, &c.

Saville, cardinal Alen, Bacon, and Raleigh, he proceeds thus. 'In
 'verse there are Edmund Spenser's HYMNES¹. I cannot advise the
 'allowance of other his poems as for practick English, no more than I
 'can Jeffrey Chaucer, Lydgate, Pierce Plowman, or LAUREATE
 'Skelton. It was laid as a fault to the charge of Salust, that he used
 'some old outworn words stoln out of Cato in his books de Originibus.
 'And for an historian in our tongue to affect the like out of those our
 'poets, would be accounted a foul oversight.—My judgment is nothing
 'at all in poems or poesie, and therefore I dare not go far; but will
 'simply deliver my mind concerning those authors among us, whose
 'English hath in my conceit most propriety, and is nearest to the
 'phrase of court, and to the speech used among the noble, and among
 'the better sort in London: the two sovereign seats, and as it were
 'parliament tribunals, to try the question in. Brave language are
 'Chapman's Iliads.—The works of Samuel Daniel containe somewhat
 'aflat, but yet withal a very pure and copious English, and words as
 'warrantable as any mans, and fitter perhaps for prose than measure.
 'Michael Drayton's Heroical Epistles are well worth the reading also
 'for the purpose of our subject, which is to furnish an English historian
 'with choice and copy of tongue. Queen Elizabeth's verses, those
 'which I have seen and read, some extant in the elegant, witty, and
 'artificial book of the ART OF ENGLISH POETRIE, the work, as the
 'same is, of one of her gentlemen-pensioners, Puttenham, are princely
 'as her prose. Never must be forgotten St. PETER'S COMPLAINT,
 'and those other serious poems said to be father Southwell's: the
 'English whereof, as it is most proper, so the sharpness and light of
 'wit is very rare in them. Noble Henry Constable was a great master
 'in English tongue, nor had any gentleman of our nation a more pure,
 'quick, or higher delivery of conceit, witness among all other that
 'Sonnet of his before his Majesty's LEPANTO. I have not seen much
 'of sir Edward Dyer's poetry, Among the lesser late poets, George
 'Gascoigne's Works may be endured. But the best of these times, if
 'Albion's England be not preferred, for our business, is the MIRROUR
 'OF MAGISTRATES, and in that MIRROUR, Sackvil's INDUCTION, the
 'work of Thomas, afterward earl of Dorset and lord treasurer of
 'England: whose also the famous Tragedy of GORDOBUC, was the
 'best of that time, even in sir Philip Sidney's judgement; and all
 'skilful Englishmen cannot but ascribe as much thereto, for his phrase
 'and eloquence therein. But before in age, if not also in noble, courtly,
 'and lustrous English, is that of the Songes and Sonnettes of Henry
 'Howard earl of Surrey, (son of that victorious prince, the duke of
 'Norfolk, and father of that learned Howard his most lively image
 'Henry Earl of Northampton,) written chiefly by him, and by sir

¹ The pieces mentioned in this extract will be considered in their proper places.

' Thomas Wiat, not the dangerous commotioner, but his worthy father.
 ' Nevertheless, they who commend those poems and exercises of
 ' honourable wit, if they have seen that incomparable earl of Surrey
 ' his English translation of Virgil's Eneids, which, for a book or two,
 ' he admirably rendreth, almost line for line, will bear me witness
 ' that those other were foils and sportives. The English poems of sir
 ' Walter Raleigh, of John Donne, of Hugh Holland, but especially of
 ' sir Foulk Grevile in his matchless MUSTAPHA, are not easily to be
 ' mended. I dare not presume to speak of his Majesty's exercises in
 ' this heroick kind. Because I see them all left out in that which
 ' Montague lord bishop of Winchester hath given us of his royal
 ' writings. But if I should declare mine own rudeness rudely, I should
 ' then confess, that I never tasted English more to my liking, nor
 ' more smart, and put to the height of use in poetry, than in that
 ' vital, judicious, and most practicable language of Benjamin Jonson's
 ' poems!'

¹ Bolton's HYPERCRITICA, 'Or a Rule of Judgement for writing or reading our Historys.' ADDRESSE, iv. SECT. iii. pag. 235. seq. First printed by Anthony Hall, (at the end of Trivet. Annal. Cont. And Ad. Murimuth. Chron.) Oxford, 1722. oct. The MSS. is among Cod. MSS. A. WOOD, Mus. ASHMOL, 8471. 9. qto. with a few notes by Wood. This judicious little tract was occasioned by a passage in sir Henry Saville's Epistles prefixed to his edition of our old Latin historians, 1596. HYPERCRIT. p. 217. Hearne has printed that part of it which contains a Vindication of Jeffrey of Monmouth, without knowing the author's name. Gul. Neubrig. PRÆFAT. APPEND. Num. iii. p. lxxvii. vol. i. See HYPERCRIT. p. 204. Bolton's principal work now extant is 'NERO CÆSAR, or Monarchie depraved, an Historical 'Worke.' Lond. 1624. fol. This scarce book, which is the life of that emperor, and is adorned with plates of many curious and valuable medals, is dedicated to George duke of Buckingham, to whom Bolton seems to have been a retainer. (Hearne's Lel. COLLECTAN. vol. vi. p. 60. edit. 1770.) In it he supports a specious theory, that Stonehenge was a monument erected by the Britons to Boadicea. ch. xxv. At the end is his HISTORICAL PARALLEL, shewing the difference between epitomes and just histories, 'heretofore privately written to my good and noble friend Endymion Porter, one of the gentlemen of the Prince's chamber.' He instances in the accounts given by Florus and Polybius of the battle between Hannibal and Scipio: observing, that generalities are not so interesting as facts and circumstances, and that Florus gives us 'in proper words the flowers and tops of noble matter, but Polybius sets the things themselves, in all their necessary parts, before our eyes.' He therefore concludes, 'that all 'spacious mindes, attended with the felicities of means and leisure, will fly abridgements as 'bane.' He published, however, an English version of Florus. He wrote the Life of the Emperor Tiberius, never printed. NER. CÆS. ut supr. p. 82. He designed a General History of England. HYPERCRIT. p. 240. In the British Museum, there is the MSS. draught of a book entitled 'AGON HERIOCUS, or concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Boulton.' MSS. COTT. Faustina. E. 1. 7. fol. 63. And in the same library, his 'Prosopopeia Basilica,' a Latin Poem upon the translation of the body of Mary queen of Scots in 1612, from Peterborough to Westminster abbey. MSS. COTT. Tit. A. 13. 23. He compiled the Life of Henry II. for Speed's Chronicle: but Bolton being a Catholic, and speaking too favourably of Becket, another Life was written by Doctor John Barcham, dean of Bocking. See 'The Surfeit to A. B. C.' Lond. 12mo. 1656, p. 22. Written by Dr. Ph. King, author of poems in 1657, son of king bishop of London. Compare Hypocrit. p. 220. Another work in the walk of philological antiquity, was his 'Vindiciæ Britannicæ, or London righted, &c.' Never printed, but prepared for the press by the author. Among other ingenious paradoxes, the principal aim of this treatise is to prove, that London was a great and flourishing city in the time of Nero; and that consequently Julius Cesar's general description of all the British towns, in his Commentaries, is false and unjust. Hugh Howard, esquire, (see GEN. DICT. iii. 446.) had a fair MSS. of this book, very accurately written in a thin folio of 45 pages. It is not known when or where he died. One Edmund Bolton, most probably the same, occurs as a Convictor, that is, an independent member, of Trinity college, Oxford, under the year 1586. In Archiv. ibid. Wood (MSS. Notes, ut supr.) supposed the Hypercritica to have been written about 1610. But our author himself, (Hypercrit. p. 237.) mentions king James's Works published by bishop Montague. That edition is dated 1616.

A few particulars relating to this writer's 'Nero Cæsar, and some other of his pieces, may be seen in Hearne's MSS. COLL. Vol. 50. p. 125. Vol. 132. p. 94. Vol. 52. pp. 171. 192. 186.

Among several proofs of the popularity of this poem afforded by our old comedies, I will mention one in George Chapman's *MAY-DAY* printed in 1611. A gentleman of the most elegant taste for reading, and highly accomplished in the current books of the times, is called 'One that has read Marcus Aurelius,¹ *Gesta Romanorum*, and the 'MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES².'

The books of poetry which abounded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and were more numerous than any other kinds of writing in our language, gave birth to two collections of FLOWERS selected from the works of the most fashionable poets. The first of these is, 'ENG-
'LAND'S PARNASSUS. Or, the choyssest Flowers of our moderne Poets,
'with their poetick Comparisons, Descriptions of Bewties, Personages,
'Castles, Pallaces, Mountaines, Groues, Seas, Springs, Riuers, &c.
'*Whereunto are annexed other various Discourses*³ both *pleasaunt and*
'*profitable*. Imprinted at London for N. L. C. B. and Th. Hayes,
'1600⁴.' The collector is probably Robert Allot⁵, whose initials R. A. appear subscribed to two sonnets prefixed, one to sir Thomas Mounson, and the other to the Reader. The other compilation of this sort is entitled, 'BELVIDERE, or the Garden of the Muses. London, imprinted for Hugh Astly, 1600⁶.' The compiler is one John Bodenham. In

Also Original Letters from Anstis to Hearne. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. RAWLINS. I add, that Edmund Bolton has a Latin copy of commendatory verses, in company with George Chapman, Hugh Holland, Donne, Selden, Beaumont, Fletcher, and others, prefixed to the old folio edition of Benjamin Jonson's Works in 1616.

¹ Lord Berners's Golden booke of 'Marcus Aurelius emperor and eloquent oratour.' The first edition I have seen was by Berthelette, 1536. qto. It was often reprinted. But see Mr. Steevens's 'Shakespeare, vol. i. p. 91. edit. 1778. 'Marcus Aurelius is among the Copies of James Roberts, a considerable printer from 1573, down to below 1600. MSS. Coxeter. Ames, Hist. Print. p. 341,

² Act iii. fol. 39. 4to. I take this opportunity of remarking, that Ames recites, printed for Richard Jones, 'The Mirour of Majistrates by G. Whetstone, 1584,' qto. Hist. PRINT. p. 347. I have never seen it, but I believe it has nothing to do with this work.

³ Poetical extracts.

⁴ In duodecimo. cont. 510 pages.

⁵ A copy which I have seen has R. Allot, instead of R. A. There is a cotemporary book seller of that name. But in a little book of EPIGRAMS by John Weever, printed in 1500, (12mo.) I find the following compliment.

'Ad Robertum Allot et Christopherum Middleton.
Quicke are your wits, sharp your conceits,
Short, and *more sweet*, your lays;
Quick but no wit, sharp no conceit,
Short and *lesse sweet* my Praise.'

⁶ 'Or sentences gathered out of all kinds of poets, referred to certaine methodical heads, profitable for the use of these times to rhyme upon any occasion at a little warning.' Oct. But the compiler does not cite the names of the poets with the extracts. This work is ridiculed in an anonymous old play, 'The Return from Parnassus, Or the Scourge of Simony, publicly acted by the students in St. John's College Cambridge, 1606.' qto. Judicio says, 'Considering the furies of the times, I could better see these young can-quaffing hucksters shoot off their pellets, so they could keep them from these English Flores Poetarum: but now the world is come to that pass, that there starts up every day an old goose that sits hatching up these eggs which have been filched from the nest of crows and kestrells, &c. ACT. i. Sc. ii. Then follows a criticism on Spenser, Constable, Lodge, Daniel, Watson, Drayton, Davis, Marston, Marlowe, Churchyard, Nashe, Locke, and Hudson. Churchyard is commended for his Legend of SHORE'S WIFE in the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES.

Hath not Shores Wife, although a lightskirts she,
Given him a long and lasting memory?

both of these, especially the former, the MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES is cited at large, and has a conspicuous share¹. At the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, as I am informed from some curious MSS. authorities, a thin quarto in the black letter was published, with this title, 'The MIRROR OF MIRRORVS, or all the tragedys of the 'Mirrovr for Magistrates abbreuiated in breefe histories in prose. 'Very necessary for those that haue not the Chronicle. London, im- 'printed for James Roberts in Barbican, 1598².' This was an attempt to familiarise and illustrate this favorite series of historic soliloquies : or a plan to present its subjects, which were now become universally popular in rhyme, in the dress of prose.

It is reasonable to suppose, that the publication of the MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES enriched the stores, and extended the limits of our drama. These lives are so many tragical speeches in character. We have seen, that they suggested scenes to Shakespeare. Some critics imagine, that HISTORICAL Plays owed their origin to this collection. At least it is certain, that the writers of this MIRROR were the first who made a poetical use of the English chronicles recently compiled

By the way, in the Register of the Stationers, jun. 19. 1594, *The lamentable end of Shore's Wife* is mentioned as a part of Shakespeare's *Richard III.* And in a pamphlet called *Pymlico or Runaway Redcap*, printed in 1596, the well-frequented play of *SHORE* is mentioned with *Pericles Prince of Tyre*. From Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, written 1613, *JANE SHORE* appears to have been a celebrated tragedy. And in the Stationer's Register (Oxenbridge and Busby, Aug. 28. 1599.) occurs 'The History of the Life 'and Death of Master Shore and Jane Shore his wife, as it was lately acted by the earl Der- 'bie his servants.'

¹ Allot's is much the most complete performance of the two. The method is by far more judicious, the extracts more copious, and made with a degree of taste. With the extracts he respectively cites the names of the poets, which are as follows. Thomas Achelly. Thomas Bastard. George Chapman. Thomas Churchyard. Henry Constable. Samuel Daniel. John Daviees. Michael Drayton. Thomas Dekkar. Edmund Fairfax. Charles Fitz-jeffrey. Abraham Fraunce. George Gascoigne. Edward Gilpin. Sir John Harrington. John Higgins. Thomas Hudson. James King of Scots. [i.e. James I.] Benjamin Jonson. Thomas Kyd. Thomas Lodge. [M.M. i.e. 'Mirror of Magistrates.] Christopher Marlowe. Jarvis Markham. John Marston. Christopher Middleton. Thomas Nashe. [Vaulx] Earl of Oxford. George Peele. Matthew Raydon. *Master* Sackville. William Shakespeare. Sir Philip Sidney. Edmund Spenser. Thomas Storer. [H. Howard] Earl of Surrey. John Sylvester. George Turberville. William Warner. Thomas Watson. John, and William, Weever. Sir Thomas Wyatt. I suspect that Wood, by mistake, has attributed this collection by Allot, to Charles Fitz-jeffrey above-mentioned, a poet before and after 1600, and author of the *AFFANIE*. But I will quote Wood's words. 'Fitz-jeffrey hath also made, as tis said, A 'Collection of choice Flowers and Descriptions, as well out of his, as the works of several others the most renowned poets of our nation, collected about the beginning of the reign of 'King James I. But this tho I have been years seeking after, yet I cannot get a sight of it.' *ATH. OXON.* p. 606. But the most comprehensive and exact Common-place of the works of our most eminent poets throughout the reign of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards, was published about forty years ago, by Mr. Thomas Hayward of Hungerford in Berkshire, viz. 'The 'British Muse, A Collection of Thoughts, Moral, Natural, and Sublime, of our English Poets, 'who flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. With several curious Topicks, 'and beautiful Passages, never before extracted, from Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont, 'Fletcher, and above a Hundred more. The whole digested alphabetically, &c. In three 'volumes. London, Printed for F. Cogan, &c. 1738.' 12mo. The PREFACE, of twenty pages, was written by Mr. William Oldys, with the supervisal and corrections of his friend doctor Campbell. This anecdote I learn from a MSS. insertion by Oldys, in my copy of Allot's 'Englands Parnassus, above-mentioned, which once belonged to Oldys.

² From MSS. of Mr. Coxeter, of Trinity college Oxford, lately in the hands of Mr. Wise Radclivian Librarian at Oxford, containing extracts from the copyrights of our old printers, and registers of the Stationers, with several other curious notices of that kind. Ames had many of Coxeter's papers. He died in London about 1745.

by Fabyan, Hall, and Holinshed, which opened a new field of subjects and events ; and, I may add, produced a great revolution in the state of popular knowledge. For before those elaborate and voluminous compilations appeared, the History of England, which had been shut up in the Latin narratives of the monkish annalists, was unfamiliar and almost unknown to the general reader.

SECTION LII.

IN tracing the gradual accessions of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, an incidental departure from the general line of our chronologic series has been incurred, But such an anticipation was unavoidable, in order to exhibit a full and uninterrupted view of that poem, which originated in the reign of Mary, and was not finally completed till the beginning of the seventeenth century. I now therefore return to the reign of queen Mary.

To this reign I assign Richard Edwards, a native of Somersetshire about the year 1523. He is said by Wood to have been a scholar of Corpus Christi college in Oxford: but in his early years, he was employed in some department about the court. This circumstance appears from one of his poems in the *PARADISE OF DAINTIE DEVICES*, a miscellany which contains many of his pieces.

In youthfull yeares when first my young desires began
To pricke me forth to serve in court, a slender tall young man,
My fathers blessing then, I asked upon my knee,
Who blessing me with trembling hand, these wordes gan say to me,
My sonne, God guide thy way, and shield thee from mischaunce,
And make thy just desartes in court, thy poore estate to advance, &c.
[Ed. 1585. 4to. CARM. 7.]

In the year 1547, he was appointed a senior student of Christ Church in Oxford, then newly founded. In the British Museum there is a small set of MSS. sonnets signed with his initials, addressed to some of the beauties of the courts of queen Mary, and of queen Elizabeth¹. Hence we may conjecture, that he did not long remain at the university. About this time he was probably a member of Lincoln's-inn. In the year 1561, he was constituted a gentleman of the royal chapel by queen Elizabeth, and master of the singing boys there. He had received his musical education, while at Oxford, under George Etheridge².

¹ MSS. COTTON. Tit. A. xxiv. 'Tosome court Ladies.'—Pr. 'Howarde is not hawghte, &c.'

² George Etheridge, born at Thame in Oxfordshire, was admitted Scholar of Corpus

When queen Elizabeth visited Oxford in 1566, she was attended by Edwards, who was on this occasion employed to compose a play called *PALAMON AND ARCITE*, which was acted before her majesty in Christ Church hall. I believe it was never printed. Another of his plays is *DAMON AND PYTHIAS*, which was acted at court. It is a mistake, that the first edition of this play is the same that is among Mr. Garrick's collection, printed by Richard Johnes, and dated 1571. [Qto. Bl. lett.] The first edition was printed by William How in Fleet-street, in 1570, with this title, 'The tragical comedie of *DAMON AND PITHIAS*, newly imprinted as the same was playde before the 'queenes maiestie by the children of her graces chapple. Made by 'Mayster Edward then being master of the children¹.' There is some degree of low humour in the dialogues between Grimme the collier and the two lacquies, which I presume was highly pleasing to the queen. He probably wrote many other dramatic pieces now lost. Puttenham having mentioned lord Buckhurst and Master Edward Ferrys, or Ferrers, as most eminent in tragedy, gives the prize to Edwards for Comedy and Interlude². The word interlude is here of wide extent. For Edwards, besides that he was a writer of regular dramas, appears to have been a contriver of masques, and a composer of poetry for pageants. In a word, he united all those arts and accomplishments which minister to popular pleasantry: he was the first fiddle, the most fashionable sonneteer, the readiest rhymers, and the most facetious mimic, of the court. In consequence of his love and his knowledge of the histrionic art, he taught the choristers over which he presided to act plays; and they were formed into a company of players, like those of St. Paul's Cathedral, by the queen's licence, under the superintendency of Edwards.

Christi college Oxford, under the tuition of the learned John Shepreve, in 1534. Fellow, in 1539. In 1553, he was made royal professor of Greek at Oxford. In 1556, he was recommended by lord Williams of Thame, to Sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity college in Oxford, to be admitted a fellow of his college at its first foundation. But Etheridge chusing to pursue the medical line, that scheme did not take effect. He was persecuted for popery by queen Elizabeth at her accession: but afterwards practised physic at Oxford with much reputation, and established a private seminary there for the instruction of catholic youths in the classics, music, and logic. Notwithstanding his active perseverance in the papistic persuasion, he presented to the queen when she visited Oxford in 1566, an *Encomium* in Greek verse on her father Henry, now in the British Museum, MSS. BIBL. REG. 16 C. x. He prefixed a not inelegant preface in Latin verse to his tutor Shepreve's *HYPOLYTUS*, an Answer to Ovid's *PHÆDRA*, which he published in 1584. Pits his cotemporary says, 'He was an able mathematician, and one of the most excellent vocal and instrumental musicians in England, but he 'chiefly delighted in the lute and lyre. A most elegant poet, and a most exact composer of 'English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew verses, which he used to set to his harp with the greatest skill.' ANGL. SCRIPT. p. 784. Paris. 1619. Pits adds, that he translated several of David's Psalms into a short Hebrew metre for music. Wood mentions his musical compositions in MSS. His familiar friend Leland addresses him in an encomiastic epigram, and asserts that his many excellent writings were highly pleasing to Henry VIII. ENCOM. Lond. 1589. p. 111. His chief patrons seem to have been Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Pope, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Robertson dean of Durham. He died in 1588, at Oxford. I have given Etheridge so long a note, because he appears from Pits to have been an English poet. Compare Fox, *MARTYROLOG.* iii. 500.

¹ Quarto. Bl. lett. The third edition is among Mr. Garrick's Plays. 4to. Bl. L. dated 1582.

² ARTE OF ENGLISH POETRY. fol. 51.

The most poetical of Edwards' ditties in the PARADISE OF DAINTIE DEVICES is a description of May¹. The rest are moral sentences in stanzas. His SOUL-KNELL, supposed to have been written on his death-bed, was once celebrated². His popularity seems to have altogether arisen from those pleasing talents of which no specimens could be transmitted to posterity, and which prejudiced his partial cotemporaries in favour of his poetry. He died in the year 1566³.

In the *Epitaphs, Songs, and Sonets* of George Turbervile, printed in 1570, there are two elegies on his death; which record the places of his education, ascertain his poetical and musical character, and bear ample testimony to the high distinction in which his performances, more particularly of the dramatic kind, were held. The first is by Turbervile himself, entitled, 'An Epitaph on Maister Edwards, some 'time Maister of the Children of the Chappell and gentleman of Lyn 'colnes inne of court.'

Ye learned Muses nine And sacred sisters all;
 Now lay your cheerful cithrons downe,
 And to lamenting fall.— — —
 For he that led the daunce, The chiefest of your traine,
 I meane the man that Edwards hight,
 By cruell death is slaine.
 Ye courtiers chaunge your cheere,
 Lament in wastefull wise;
 For now your Orpheus has resignde,
 In clay his carcas lies.
 O ruth! he is bereft, That, whilst he lived here,
 For poets penne and passinge wit
 Could have no English peere.
 His vaine in verse was such, So stately eke his stile,
 His feate in forging sugred songes With cleane and curious file⁴;
 As all the learned Greekes, And Romaines would repine,

¹ CARM. 6. edit. 1585. It seems to have been a favourite, and is complimented in another piece, *A reply to M. Edwards's May*, subscribed M. S. ibid. CARM. 20. This miscellany, of which more will be said hereafter, is said to be devised and written for the most 'parte by M. Edwardes sometime of her maiesties Chappell.' Edwards however had been dead twelve years when the first edition appeared, viz. in 1578.

² It is mentioned by George Gascoigne in his *Epistle to the young Gentlemen*, before his works, 1587. qu.

³ Wood, ATH. OXON. i. 151. ibid. FAST. 71

⁴ Shakespeare has inserted a part of Edwards's song *In Commendation of Musicke*, extant at length in the PARADISE OF DAINTIE DEVICES, (fol. 34. b.) in ROMEO AND JULIET. 'When griping grief, &c.' ACT IV. SC. 5. In some Miscellany of the reign of Elizabeth. I have seen a song called THE WILLOW-GARLAND, attributed to Edwards: and the same, I think, that is licensed to T. Colwell in 1564, beginning, 'I am not the fyrst that hath taken in 'hande, the wearyng of the willowe garlande.' This song, often reprinted, seems to have been written in consequence of that sung by Desdemona in OTHELLO, with the burden, *Sing, O the greene willowe shall be my garlande.* OTHELLO. ACT IV. SC. 3. See REGISTER OF THE STATIONERS, A. fol. 119. b. Hence the antiquity of Desdemona's song may in some degree be ascertained. I take this opportunity of observing, that the ballad of SUSANNAH, part of which is sung by sir Toby in TWELFTH NIGHT, was licensed to T. Colwell, in 1562, with the title, 'The godlye and constante wyfe Susanna.' Ibid. fol. 89. b. There is a play on this subject, ibid. fol. 176. a. Tw. N. ACT II. SC. 3. And COLLECT. PEPYSIAN. tom. i. p. 33, 496.

If they did live againe, to vewe His verse with scornefull eine.
 From Plautus he the palm
 And learned Terence wan, &c. [Fol. 142 b.]

The other is written by Thomas Twyne, an assistant in Phaer's Translation of Virgil's Eneid into English verse, educated a few years after Edwards at Corpus Christi college, and an actor, in Edwards's play at PALAMON AND ARCITE before queen Elizabeth at Oxford in 1566¹. It is entitled, 'An Epitaph vpon the death of 'the worshipfull Mayster Richarde Edwardes late Mayster of the 'Children in the queenes maiesties chapel.'

O happie house, O place Of Corpus Christi², thou
 That plantedst first, and gaust the roof
 To that so braue a bow : [branch]
 And Christ-church³, which enioydst
 The fruit more ripe at fill,
 Plunge up a thousand sighes, for grieve
 Your trickling teares distill.
 Whilst Childe and Chapel dure⁴,

¹ Miles Winsore of the same college was another actor in that play, and I suppose his performance was much liked by the queen. For when her Majesty left Oxford, after this visit, he was appointed by the university to speak an oration before her at lord Winsor's at Bradenham in Bucks : and when he had done speaking, the queen turning to Gama de Sylva, the Spanish ambassador, and looking *wistly* on Winsore, said to the ambassador, *Is not this a pretty young man?* Wood, *ATH. OXON.* i. 151, 489. Winsore proved afterwards a diligent antiquary.

² Corpus Christi college at Oxford.

³ At Oxford.

⁴ While the royal chapel and its singing-boys remain.

In a puritanical pamphlet without name, printed in 1569, and entitled, 'The Children of 'the Chapel stript and whipt,' among bishop Tanner's books at Oxford, it is said, 'Plaies 'will neur be suppress, while her maiesties unfledged minions flaunt it in silkes and sattens. 'They had as well be at their popish service, in the deuils garments, &c.' fol. xii. a. 12mo. This is perhaps the earliest notice now to be found in print, of this young company of comedians, at least the earliest proof of their celebrity. From the same pamphlet we learn, that it gave still greater offence to the puritans, that they were suffered to act plays on profane subjects in the royal chapel itself. 'Even in her maiesties chapel do these pretty vpstart 'youthes profane the Lordes Day by the lascivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparell, in feigning fables gathered from the idolatrous heathen 'poets, &c.' *ibid.* fol. xiii. b. But this practice soon ceased in the royal chapels. Yet in one of Stephen Gosson's books against the stage, written in 1579, is this passage. 'In playes, 'either those thinges are fained that neur were, as CUPID AND PSYCHE plaid at PAULES, and 'a great many comedies more at the Black-friars, and in euerie playhouse in London, &c.' *SIGNAT.* D 4. Undoubtedly the actors of this play of CUPID AND PSYCHE were the choristers of saint Paul's cathedral : but it may be doubted, whether by *Paules* we were here to understand the Cathedraal or its Singing school, the last of which was the usual theatre of those choristers. See Gosson's 'PLAYES CONFUTED IN FIVE ACTIONS, &c. *Proving that they are 'not to be suffred in a christian common weale, by the waye both the cauils of Thomas 'Lodge, and the Play of Playes, written in their defence, and other objections of Players 'frendes, are truly set downe and directly answered.*' Lond. Impr. for T. Gosson, no date. Bl. Lett. 12mo. We are sure that RELIGIOUS plays were presented in our churches long after the reformation. Not to repeat or multiply instances, see SECOND AND THIRD BLAST OF RETRAIT FROM PLAIES, printed 1580, p. 77. 12mo. And Gosson's SCHOOL OF ABUSE, p. 24. b. edit. 1579. As to the exhibition of plays on SUNDAYS after the reformation, we are told by John Field, in his DECLARATION OF GOD'S JUDGEMENT at Paris Garden, that in the year 1580, 'The Magistrates of the city of London obtained from queene Elizabeth, that all heathenish playes and enterludes should be banished upon sabbath dayes.' fol. ix. Lond. 1583. 8vo. It appears from this pamphlet, that a prodigious concourse of people were assembled at Paris Garden, to see plays and a bear-baiting, on Sunday, Jan. 13, 1583, when the whole theatre fell to the ground, by which accident many of the spectators were killed. [Henry Cave's *Narration of the Fall of Paris Garden*, Lond. 1588. And D. Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgements*, edit. 3. Lond. 1631. lib. i. c. 35. p. 212. Also *Refutation of Heywood's Apologie for Actors*, p. 43. by J. G. Lond. 1615. 4to. And

Whilst court a court shall be ;
 Good Edwards, eche astat¹ shall much
 Both want and wish for thee !
 Thy tender tunes and rhymes
 Wherein thou wontst to play,
 Eche princely dame of court and towne
 Shall beare in minde away.
 Thy DAMON² and his Friend³,
 ARCITE and PALAMON,
 With more full fit for princes eares, &c⁴.

Francis Meres, in his 'PALLADIS TAMIA, Wits Treasurie, being the second part of WITS COMMONWEALTH,' published in 1598, recites *Maister EDWARDES of her maiesties chapel as one of the best for comedy*, together with 'Edward earle of Oxforde, doctor Gager of Oxford⁵, maister Rowly once a rare scholler of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, eloquent and wittie John Lillie, Lodge, Gascoygne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Munday⁵, our best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and

Stubbs's *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 134, 135, edit. Lond. 1595.] And we learn from Richard Reulidges's *Monster lately found out and discovered, or the Scourging of Tiplers*, a circumstance not generally known in our dramatic history, and perhaps occasioned by these profanations of the Sabbath, that 'Many godly citizens and wel-disposed gentlemen of London considering that play-houses and dicing-houses were traps for yong gentlemen and others,—made humble suite to queene Elizabeth and her Privy-councell, and obtained leave from her Majesty, to thrust the Players out of the city; and to pull downe all Play-houses and Dicing-houses within their Liberties: which accordingly was effected, and the Play-houses, in GRACIOUS [Grace-church] STREET, BISHOPS GATE STREET, that nigh PAULES, that on LUDGATE-HILL, and the WHITE-FRIERS, were quite put downe and suppressed, by the care of these religious senators.' Lond. 1628. pp. 2, 3, 4. Compare G. Whetstone's *MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES OF CITTIES*. Lond. 1586. fol. 24. But notwithstanding these precise measures of the city magistrates and the privy-council, the queen appears to have been a constant attendant at plays, especially those presented by the children of her chapel.

¹ Estate. Rank of life.

² Hamlet calls Horatio, *O Damon dear*, in allusion to the friendship of Damon and Pythias, celebrated in Edwards's play. *HAML. ACT iii. SC. 2.*

³ Pythias. I have said above, that the first edition of Edwards's *DAMON AND PYTHIAS* was printed by William Howe in Fleet-street, in the year 1570, 'The tragical comedi, &c.' But perhaps it may be necessary to retract this assertion. For in the Register of the Stationers, under the year 1565, a receipt is entered for the licence of Alexander Lacy to print, 'A ballat entituled tow [two] lamentable Songes PITHIAS and DAMON.' *REGISTR. A. fol. 136. b.* And again, there is the receipt for licence of Richard James in 1566, to print 'A boke entituled the tragical comedye of Damonde and Pithyas.' *Ibid. fol. 161. b.* In the same Register I find, under the year 1569-70, 'An ENTERLUDE, a lamentable Tragedy full of pleasant myrth,' licenced to John Alde. *Ibid. fol. 184. b.* This I take to be the first edition of Preston's *CAMPYSES*, so frequently ridiculed by his cotemporaries.

⁴ *Ibid. fol. 78. b.* And not to multiply in the text citations in proof of Edwards's popularity from forgotten or obscure poets, I observe at the bottom of the page, that T. B. in a commendatory poem prefixed to John Studley's English version of Seneca's *AGAMEMNON*, printed in 1566, ranks our author Edwards with Phaer the translator of Virgil, Jasper Heywood, the translator of Seneca's *TROAS* and *HERCULES FURENS*, Neville the translator of Seneca's *OEDIPUS*, Googe, and Golding the translator of Ovid, more particularly with the latter.

With him also, as seemeth me,
 Who nothyng gying place to him

Our EDWARDS may compare ;
 Doth he syt in agall chayre.

⁵ A famous writer of Latin plays at Oxford.

⁶ I have never seen any of Antony Munday's plays. It appears from Kemp's *NINE DAIES WONDER*, printed in 1600, that he was famous for writing ballads. In *The Request to the impudent generation of Ballad-makers*, Kemp calls Munday, 'one whose employment of the pageant was utterly spent, he being knowne to be Elderton's immediate heir, &c.' *SIGNAT. D 2.* See the next note. He seems to have been much employed by the

'Henry Chettle.' Puttenham, the author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, mentions the 'earle of Oxford, and maister Edwardes of her 'majesties chappel, for comedy and enterlude².'

Among the books of my friend the late Mr. William Collins of

booksellers as a publisher and compiler both in verse and prose. He was bred at Rome in the English college, and was thence usually called the *Pope's scholar*. See his pamphlet *The Englishman's Roman Life, or how Englishmen live at Rome*. Lond. 1582. 4to. But he afterwards turned protestant. He published 'The Discoverie of Edmund Campion 'the Jesuit,' in 1582. 12mo. Lond. for E. White. He published also, and dedicated to the earl of Leicester. *Two godly and learned Sermons made by that famous and worthy instrument in God's church M. John Calvin*, translated into English by Horne bishop of Winchester, during his exile. 'Published by A. M.' For Henry Car, Lond. 1584. 12mo. Munday frequently used his initials only. Also, a *Brief CHRONICLE from the Creation to this time*, Lond. 1611. 8vo. This seems to be cited by Hutten, *ANTIQUIT. OXF.* p. 281. edit. Hearne. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 143. b.

He was a city-poet, and a composer and contriver of the city-pageants. These are, *CHRYSO-TRIUMPHOS. &c.*, devised and written by A. Munday, 1611.—*TRIUMPHS OF OLD DRAPERY, &c.* by A. M. 1616.—*METROPOLIS CORONATA, &c.* by A. M. 1615, with the Story of ROBIN-HOOD. Printed by G. Purstowe.—*CHRYSANALEIA*, [The golden-fishery] of the honour of fishmongers, concerning Mr. John Lemans being twice Lord mayor, by A. M. 1616. 4to.—*THE TRIUMPHS OF REUNITED BRITANNIA, &c.* by A. Munday, citizen and draper of London, 4to. Probably Meres, as in the text, calls him the *best plotter*, from his invention in these or the like shows. William Webbe in the Discourse of ENGLISH POETRIE, printed in 1586, says, that he has seen by Anthony Munday, 'an earnest traveller in this 'art, very excellent works, especially upon nymphs and shepherds, well worthy to be viewed, 'and to be esteemed as rare poetry.' In an old play attributed to Jonson, called *The Case is altered*, he is ridiculed under the name of ANTONIO BALLADINO, and as a pageant-poet. In the same scene, there is an oblique stroke on Meres, for calling him the BEST PLOTTER. 'You are in *print already* for the BEST PLOTTER.' With his city-pageants, I suppose he was DUMB-SHOW maker to the stage.

Munday's DISCOVERY OF CAMPION gave great offence to the catholics, and produced an anonymous reply called 'A True Reporte of the death and martyrdom of M. Campion, &c.' Whereunto is annexed certayne verses made by sundrie persons.' Without date of year or place. Bl. Lett. Never seen by Wood. [ATH. OXON. col. 166.] Published, I suppose, in 1583, 8vo. At the end is a CAUEAT, containing some curious anecdotes of Munday. 'Munday was first a stage player; after an apprentice, which time he well served by with 'deceeuing of his master. Then wandering towards Italy, by his owne reporte, became a 'cosener in his journey. Coming to Rome, in his shorte abode there, was charitably relieved, but neuer admitted in the Seminary, as he pleseth to lye in the title of his boke; 'and being wery of well doing, returned home to his first vomite, and was hist from his 'stage for folly. Being thereby discouraged, he set forth a balet against playes,—tho he 'afterwards began again to ruffle upon the stage. I omit amongst other places his behaviour 'in Barbican with his good mistress, and mother. Two things, however, must not be passed 'over of this boyes infelicite two seuerall wayes of late notorious. First, he writing upon the 'death of Everaud Haunse was immediately controled and disproued by one of his owne 'hatche. And shortly after setting forth the Aprehension of Mr. Campion, &c.' The last piece is, 'a breef Discourse of the Taking of Edmund Campion, and diuers other papists in 'Barkshire, &c. Gathered by A. M.' For W. Wrighte, 1581.

He published in 1618, a new edition of Stowe's SURVEY OF LONDON, with the addition of materials which he pretends to have received from the author's own hands. See DEDICATION. He was a citizen of London, and is buried in Coleman-street church; where his epitaph gives him the character of a learned antiquary. SEYMOUR'S SURV. LOND. i. 322. He collected the Arms of the county of Middlesex, lately transferred from sir Simon Stuart's library to the British Museum.

¹ Fol. 282. I do not recollect to have seen any of Chettle's comedies. He wrote a little romance, with some verses intermixed, entitled, *PIERS PLAINNES seauen yeres Prentiship*, by 'H. C. *Nuda Veritas*. Printed at London by J. Danter for Thomas Gosson, and are to be 'sold at his shop by London bride gate, 1595.' 4to. Bl. Lett. He wrote another pamphlet, containing anecdotes of the petty literary squabbles, in which he was concerned with Greene, Nashe, Tarleton, and the players called 'KINDE-HARTS DREAME. Containing five Ap- 'paritions with their Inuectiues against abuses reigning. *Delivered by severall Ghosts 'unto him to be publisht after Piers Penilesse Post had refused the carriage*. Inuita In- 'uidia. By H. C. Imprinted at London for William Wright, 4to. without date. Bl. Lett. In the Epistle prefixed, To the *Gentlemen Readers*, and signed Henrie Chettle, he says, 'About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene, [in 1592] leaving many papers in sundry 'Booke sellers hands, among others his GROATS WORTH OF WIT, in which a letter written 'to diuers PLAY-MAKERS is offensively by one or two of them taken. &c.' In the same, he mentions an Epistle prefixed to the second part of GERLEON, falsely attributed to Nashe.

Chichester, now dispersed, was a collection of short comic stories in prose, printed in the black letter under the year 1570, 'sett forth by 'maister Richard Edwardes mayster of her maiesties reuels.' Undoubtedly this is the same Edwards: who from this title expressly appears to have been the general conductor of the court festivities: and who most probably succeeded in this office George Ferrers, one of the original authors of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*². Among these

The work consists of four or five Addresses. The first is an ironical Admonition to the Ballad-singers of London, from Antonie Now Now, or Antony Munday, just mentioned in the text, a great Ballad-writer. From this piece it appears, that the ancient and respectable profession of ballad-making, as well as of ballad-singing, was in high repute about the metropolis and in the country fairs. *SIGNAT. C.* 'When I was liked, says Anthonie, there was 'no thought of that idle vpsstart generation of ballad-singers, neither was there a printer so 'lewd that would set his finger to a lasciuious line.' But now, he adds, 'ballads are *abusively* 'chanted in every street; and from London this evil has overspread Essex and the adjoining 'counties. There is many a tradesman, of a worshipfull trade, yet no stationer, who after 'a little bringing vppe apprentices to singing brokerie, takes into his shoppe some fresh men, 'and trustes his olde seruautes of a two months standing with a dozen groates worth of ballads. In which if they prove thriftie, he makes them prety chapmen, able to spred more 'pamphlets by the state forbidden, than all the booksellers in London, &c.' The name of many ballads are here also recorded, *WATKINS ALE, THE CARMANS WHISTLE, CHOPPING-KNIVES, and FRIER FOX-TAILE.* Out-roaringe Dick, and Wat Wimbars, two celebrated trebels, are said to have got twenty shillings a day by singing at Braintree fair in Essex. Another of these Addresses is from Robert Greene to Peirce Pennilesse. *SIGNAT. E.* Another from Tarleton the Player to *all maligners of honest mirth.* *E. 2.* 'Is it not 'lamentable, sayes he, that a man should spende his two pence on plays in an afternoone!— 'If players were suppressed, it would be to the no smal profit of the Bowlinge Alleys in 'Bedlam and other places, that were [are] wont in the afternoones to be left empty by the 'recourse of good fellows into that vnprofitable creation of stage-playing. And it were not 'much amisse woulde they ioine with the Dicing-houses to make sute againe for their longer 'restrainte, though the *Sickness* cease.—While Playes are used, halfe the daye is by most 'youthes that have libertie spent vpon them, or at least the greatest company drawne to the 'places where they frequent, &c.' This is all in pure irony. The last address is from William Cuckowe, a famous master of legerdmain, on the tricks of jugglers. I could not suffer this opportunity, accidentally offered, to pass, of giving a note to a forgotten old writer of comedy, whose name may not perhaps occur again. But I must add, that the initials *H. C.* to pieces of this period do not always mean Henry Chettle. In *ENGLAND'S HELICON* are many pieces signed *H. C.* Probably for Henry Constable, a noted sonnet-writer of these times. I have 'DIANA, or the excellent conceitfull Sonnets of *H. C.* Augmented with diuers quatorzains of honorable and learned personages, Diuided into viij 'Decads. *Vincitur a facibus qui jactat ipse facies.* At Lond. 1596. 16mo. These are perhaps by Henry Constable. The last Sonnet is on a Lady born 1588. In my copy, those by *H. C.* are marked *H. C.* with a pen. Henry Constable will be examined in his proper place. Chettle is mentioned, as a player I think, in the last page of Dekker's *KNIGHTS CONJURING*, printed in 1607.

¹ Lib. i. ch. xxxi. fol. 51. a.

² Who had certainly quitted that office before the year 1575. For in George Gascoigne's Narrative of queen Elizabeth's splendid visit at Kenilworth-castle in Warwickshire, entitled the *PRINCELIE PLEASURES OF KENILWORTH-CASTLE*, the octave stanzas spoken by the Lady of the Lake, are said to have been 'devised and penned by M. [Master] Ferrers, sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court.' *Signat. A. iij.* Also *Signat. B. ij.* This was *GEORGE FERRERS* mentioned in the text, a contributor to the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*. I take this opportunity of insinuating my suspicions, that I have too closely followed the testimony of Philips, Wood, and Tanner, in supposing that this *GEORGE Ferrers*, and *EDWARD Ferrers* a writer of plays, were two distinct persons. I am now convinced that they have been confounded, and that they are one and the same man. We have already seen, and from good authority, that *GEORGE Ferrers* was Lord of Misrule to the court, that is, among other things of a like kind, a writer of court interludes or plays: and that *Edward VI.* had great delight in his pastime. The confusion appears to have originated from Puttenham, the author of the *ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE*, who has inadvertently given to *GEORGE* the christian name of *EDWARD*. But his account, or character, of this *EDWARD Ferrers* has served to lead us to the truth. 'But the principall man in this profession [poetry] at the same time [of Edward VI.] was maister *EDWARD Ferrys*, a man of no lesse mirth and felicitie that way, but of much more skill and magnificence in his meeter, and therefore wrote for the most parte to the stage 'in Tragedie and sometimes in Comedie, or Enterlude, wherein he gave the king so much 'good recreation, as he had thereby many good rewardes.' Lib. i. ch. xxxi. pag. 49, edit. 1589.

tales was that of the INDUCTION OF THE TINKER in Shakespeare's TAMING OF THE SHREW: and perhaps Edwards's story-book was the immediate source from which Shakespeare, or rather the author of the TAMING OF A SHREW, drew that diverting apologue¹. [SIX OLD PLAYS, Lond. 1779 12mo.] If I recollect right, the circumstances almost exactly tallied with an incident which Hueterus relates, from an epistle of Ludovicus Vives to have actually happened at the marriage of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, about the year 1440. I will give it in the words, either of Vives, or of that perspicuous annalist, who flourished about the year 1580. 'Nocte quadam a cæna
' cum aliquot præcipuis amicorum per urbem deambulans, jacentem
' conspicatus est medio foro hominem de plebe ebrium, altum stertentem. In eo visum est experiri quale esset vitæ nostræ ludicrum, de
' quo illi interdum essent collocti. Jussit hominem deferri ad
' Palatium, et lecto Ducali collocari, nocturnum Ducis pileum capiti
' ejus imponi, exutaque sordida vest linea, aliam e tenuissimo ei lino
' indui. De mane ubi evigilavit, præsto fuere pueri nobiles et cubicularii Ducis, qui non aliter quam ex Duce ipso quærerent an
' luberet surgere, et quemadmodum vellet eo loci vestiri. Prolata
' sunt Ducis vestimenta. Mirari homo ubi se eo loci vidit. Indutus
' est, prodiit e cubiculo, adfuere proceres qui illum ad sacellum deduce
' rent. Interfuit sacro, datus est illi osculandus liber, et reliqua penitus
' ut Duci. A sacro ad prandium instructissimum. A prandio cubicu
' larius attulit chartas lusorias, pecuniæ acervum. Lusit cum magna
' tibus, sub serum deambulavit in hortulis, venatus est in leporario, et
' cepit aves aliquot aucupio. Cæna peracta est pari celebritate qua
' prandium. Accensis luminibus inducta sunt musica instrumenta,
' puellæ atque nobiles adolescentes saltarunt, exhibitæ sunt fabulæ,
' dehinc comessatio quæ hilaritate atque invitationibus ad potandum,
' producta est in multan noctem. Ille vero largiter se vino obruit

And again, 'For Tragedie the Lord Buckhurst, and maister Edward Ferrys, for such doinges
' as I have sene of theirs, deserve the highest price.' Ibid. p. 51. His Tragedies, with the *magnificent meeter*, are perhaps nothing more than the stately monologues in the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*: and he might have written others either for the stage in general, or the more private entertainment of the court, now lost, and probably never printed. His Comedie and Enterlude are perhaps to be understood, to have been, not so much regular and professed dramas for a theatre, as little dramatic mummeries for the court-holidays, or other occasional festivities. The court-shows, like this at Kenilworth, were accompanied with personated dialogues in verse, and the whole pageantry was often styled an interlude. This reasoning also accounts for Puttenham's seeming omission, in not having enumerated the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, by name, among the shining poems of his age. I have before observed, what is much to our purpose, that no plays of an EDWARD Ferrers, (or Ferrys, which is the same,) in print or MSS. are now known to exist, nor are mentioned by any writer of the times with which we are now concerned. GEORGE Ferrers at least, from what actually remains of him, has some title to the dramatic character. Our GEORGE Ferrers, from the part he bore in the exhibitions at Kenilworth, appears to have been employed as a writer of metrical speeches or dialogues to be spoken in character, long after he had left the office of lord of misrule. A proof of his reputed excellence in compositions of this nature, and of the celebrity with which he filled that department.

I also take this opportunity, the earliest which has occurred, of retracting another slight mistake. There was a second edition of Niccols's *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, printed for W. Aspley, Lond. 1621. 4to.

'præstantissimo: et postquam collapsus in somnum altissimum, jussit eum Dux vestimentis prioribus indui, atque in eum locum reportari, quo prius fuerat repertus: ibi fransegit noctem totam dormiens. Postridie experrectus cæpit secum de vita illa Ducali cogitare, incertum habens fuissetne res vera, an visum quod animo esset per quietem observatum. Tandem collatis conjecturis omnibus atque argumentis, statuit somnium fuisse, et ut tale uxori liberis ac viris narravit. Quid interest inter diem illius et nostros aliquot annos? Nihil penitus, nisi quod hoc est paulo diuturnius somnium, ac si quis unam duntaxat horam, alter vero decem somniasset¹.'

To an irresistible digression, into which the magic of Shakespeare's name has insensibly seduced us, I hope to be pardoned for adding another narrative of this frolic, from the *ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY* by Democritus junior, or John Burton, a very learned and ingenious writer of the reign of James I. 'When as by reason of unseasonable weather, he could neither hawke nor hunt, and was now tired with cards and dice, and such other domesticall sports, or to see ladies dance with some of his courtiers, he would in the evening walke disguised all about the towne. It so fortun'd, as he was walking late one night, he found a country fellow dead drunke, snorting on a bulke: hee caused his followers to bring him to his palace, and then stripping him of his old clothes, and attyring him in the court-fashion, when he wakened, he and they were all ready to attend upon his Excellency, and persuaded him he was some great Duke. The poore fellow admiring how he came there, was served in state all day long: after supper he saw them dance, heard musicke, and all the rest of those court-like pleasures. But late at night, when he was well tipl'd, and again faste asleepe, they put on his old robes, and so conveyed him to the place where they first found him. Now the fellowe had not made there so good sport the day before, as he did now when he returned to himselfe; all the jest was, to see how he looked upon it. In conclusion, after some little admiration, the poore man told his friends he had seene a vision, constantly believed it, would not otherwise be persuaded, and so the joke ended².' If this is a true story, it is a curious specimen of the winter diversions of a very polite court of France in the middle of the fifteenth century. The merit of the contrivance, however, and comic effect of this practical joke, will atone in some measure for many indelicate circumstances with which it must have necessarily been attended. I presume it first appeared in Vives's Epistle. I have seen the story of a tinker disguised like a lord in recent collections of humorous tales, probably

¹ Heuterus, *RER. BURGUND.* Lib. iv. p. 150. edit. Plantin. 1584. fol. Heuterus says, this story was told to Vives by an old officer of the duke's court.

² Burton's *ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY.* Part. ii. §. 2. pag. 232. fol. Oxon. 1624. There is an older edition in quarto.

transmitted from Edwards's story-book, which I wish I had examined more carefully.

I have assigned Edwards to queen Mary's reign, as his reputation in the character of general poetry seems to have been then at its height. I have mentioned his sonnets addressed to the court beauties of that reign, and of the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth¹.

If I should be thought to have been disproportionately prolix in speaking of Edwards, I would be understood to have partly intended a tribute of respect to the memory of a poet, who is one of the earliest of our dramatic writers after the reformation of the British stage.

SECTION LIII.

ABOUT the same time flourished Thomas Tusser, one of our earliest didactic poets, in a science of the highest utility, and which produced one of the most beautiful poems of antiquity. The vicissitudes of this man's life have uncommon variety and novelty for the life of an author, and his history conveys some curious traces of the times as well as of himself. He seems to have been alike the sport of fortune, and a dupe to his own discontented disposition and his perpetual propensity to change of situation.

He was born of an ancient family, about the year 1523, at Rivenhall in Essex; and was placed as a chorister, or singing-boy, in the collegiate chapel of the castle of Wallingford in Berkshire². Having a fine

¹ Viz. Tit. A. xxiv. MSS. COTT. I will here cite a few lines.

HAWARDE is not haugte, but of such smyllynge cheare,
That wolde alure eche gentill harte, hir love to holde fulle deare :
DACARS is not dangerus, hir talke is nothings coye,
Hir noble stature may compare with Hector's wyfe of Troye, &c.

At the end, 'Finis R. E.' I have a faint recollection, that some of Edwards's songs are in a poetical miscellany, printed by T. Colwell in 1567, or 1568. 'Newe Sonettes and pretty pamph-
'ettes, &c.' Entered to Colwell in 1567-8. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 163. b. I cannot quit Edwards's songs, without citing the first stanzas of his beautiful one in the *Paradise of Daintei Deuses*, on Terence's apothegm of *Amantium iræ amoris integratio est*. NNM. 50. SIGNAT. G. ii. edit. 1585.

In going to my naked bed, as one that would have slept,
I heard a wife sing to her child, that long before had wept :
She sighed sore, and sang full sweete, to bring the babe to rest,
That would not cease, but cried still, in sucking at her breast.
She was full wearie of her watch, and grieved with her childe ;
She rocked it, and rated it, till that on her it smilde,
Then did she say, now haue I founde this Prouerbe true to proue,
The falling out of faithfull frendes renuyng is of loue.

The close of the second stanza is prettily conducted.

Then kissed she her little babe, and sware by God aboue,
The falling out of faithful frendes, renuyng is of love.

² This chapel had a dean, six prebendaries, six clerks, and four choristers. It was dissolved in 1549.

voice, he was impressed from Wallingford college into the choir of saint Paul's cathedral in London ; where he made great improvements under the instruction of John Redford the organist, a famous musician. He was next sent to Eton school, where, at one chastisement, he received fifty-three stripes of the rod, from the severe, but celebrated master Nicholas Udall¹. His academical education was at Trinity-hall in Cambridge : but Hatcher affirms, that he was from Eton admitted a scholar of King's college in that university, under the year 1543². From the university he was called up to court by his singular and generous patron William lord Paget, in whose family he appears to have been a retainer³. In this department he lived ten years : but being disgusted with the vices, and wearied with the quarrels of the courtiers, he retired into the country, and embraced the profession of a farmer, which he successively practised at Ratwood in Sussex, Ipswich in Suffolk, Fairstead in Essex, Norwich, and other places⁴. Here his patrons were sir Richard Southwell⁵, and Salisbury dean of Norwich. Under the latter he procured the place of a singing-man in Norwich cathedral. At length, having perhaps too much philosophy and too little experience to succeed in the business of agriculture, he returned to London : but the plague drove him away from town, and he took shelter at Trinity college in Cambridge. Without a tincture of careless imprudence, or vicious extravagance, this desultory character seems to have thrived in no vocation. Fuller says, that his stone, *which gathered no moss*, was the stone of Sisyphus. His plough and his poetry were alike unprofitable. He was by turns a fiddler and a farmer, a grazier and a poet with equal success. He died very aged in London in 1580, and was buried in saint Mildred's church in the Poultry⁶.

Some of these circumstances, with many others of less consequence, are related by himself in one of his pieces, entitled the AUTHOR'S LIFE, as follows.

¹ Udall's English interludes, mentioned above, were perhaps written for his scholars. Thirty-five lines of one of them are quoted in Wilson's ARTE OF LOGIKE, edit. 1567. fol. 67. a. 'Sueete maistresse whereas, &c.'

² MSS. Catal. Præpos. Soc. Schol. Coll. Regal. Cant.

³ Our author's HUSBANDRIE is dedicated to his son Lord Thomas Paget of Beaudesert, fol. 7. ch. ii. edit. ut infr.

⁴ In Peacham's MINERVA, a book of emblems printed in 1612, there is the device of a whetstone and a scythe with these lines, fol. 61, edit. 4to.

They tell me, TUSSEY, when thou wert alive,
And hadst for profit turned euery stone,
Where ere thou camest thou couldst neuer thrive,
Though heereto best couldst counsel euery one,
As it may in thy HUSBANDRIE appeare
Wherein afresh thou liust among vs here.
So like thy selfe a number more are wont,
To sharpen others with aduice of wit,
Wherein thy themselues are like the whetstone blunt, &c.

⁵ LIFE OF SIR THOMAS POPE, 2d. edit. p. 218.

⁶ Epitaph in Stowe's SURVEY OF LONDON p. 474. edit. 1618. 4to. And Fuller's WORKS, p. 334.

What robes¹ how bare, what colledge fare,
 What bread how stale, what pennie ale !
 Then WALLINGFORD, how wert thou abhord
 Of sillie boies !

Thence for my voice, I must, no choice,
 Away of forse, like posting horse ;
 For sundrie men had placardes then
 Such child to take.
 The better brest², the lesser rest,
 To serue the queer, now there now heer :
 For time so spent, I may repent,
 And sorowe make.

But marke the chance, myself to vance,
 By friendships lot, to PAULES I got ;
 So found I grace a certaine space,
 Still to remaine.
 With REDFORD there, the like no where,
 For cunning such, and vertue much,
 By whom some part of musicke art,
 So did I gaine.

From PAULES I went, to EATON sent,
 To learne straighte waies the Latin phraies.
 Where fiftie three stripes giuen to me
 At once I had :
 The fault but small, or none at all,
 It came to pas, thus beat I was :
 See, Udall, see, the mercie of thee
 To me, poore lad !

To LONDON hence, to CAMBRIDGE thence,
 With thanks to thee, O TRINITE,
 That to thy HALL, so passinge all,
 I got at last.
 There ioy I felt, there trim I dwelt, &c.

At length he married a wife by the name of Moone, from whom, for an obvious reason, he expected great inconstancy, but was happily disappointed.

Through Uenus' toies, in hope of ioies,
 I chanced soone to finde a *Moone*,
 Of cheerfull hew :
 Which well and fine, methought, did shine,

¹ The livery, or *vestit liberata*, often called *robe*, allowed annually by the college.

² To the passages lately collected by the commentators on Shakespeare, to prove that *Breast* signifies *voice*, the following may be added from Ascham's *TOXOPHILUS*. He is speaking of the expediency of educating youth in singing. 'Trulye two degrees of men, which haue the highest offices under the king in all this realme, shall greatly lacke the vse of singinge, preachers and lawyers, because they shall not, withoute this, be able to *rule theyr BRESTES* for euerye purpose, &c.' fol. 8. b. Lond. 1571. 4to. Bl. Lett.

And neuer change, a thing most strange,
Yet kept in sight, her course aright,
And compass trew, &c¹.

Before I proceed, I must say a few words concerning the very remarkable practice implied in these stanzas, of seizing boys by a warrant for the service of the king's chapel. Strype has printed an abstract of an instrument, by which it appears, that emissaries were dispatched into various parts of England with full powers to take boys from any choir for the use of the chapel of Edward VI. Under the year 1550, says Strype, there was a grant of a commission 'to Philip Van Wilder gentleman of the Privy Chamber, in anie churches or chappells within England to take to the king's use, such and as many singing children and choristers, as he or his deputy shall think good².' And again, in the following year, the master of the king's chapel, that is, the master of the king's singing-boys, has licence 'to take up from time to time as many children [boys] to serve in the king's chapel as he shall think fit³.' Under the year 1454, there is a commission of the same sort from Henry VI. *De ministrallis propter solatium regis providendis*, for procuring minstrels, even by force, for the solace or entertainment of the king: and it is required, that the minstrels so procured, should be not only skilled in *arte ministrallatus*, in the art of minstrelsy, but *membris naturalibus elegantes*, handsome and elegantly shaped. [Rym FOED. xi. 375.] As the word Minstrel is of an extensive signification, and is applied as a general term to every character of that species of men whose business it was to entertain, either with oral recitation, music, gesticulation, and singing, or with a mixture of all these arts united, it is certainly difficult to determine, whether singers only, more particularly singers for the royal chapel, were here intended. The last clause may perhaps more immediately seem to point out tumblers or posture-masters⁴. But in the register of the capitulary acts of York cathedral, it is ordered as an indispensable qualification, that the chorister who is annually to be the boy-bishop, should be *competenter corpore formosus*. I will transcribe an article

¹ Fol. 155. ed. 1586. Also THE AUTHORS EPISTLE to the late lord William Paget, where-in he doth discourse of his owne bringing up, &c. fol. 5. And EPISTLE to Lady Paget, fol. 7. And his rules for training a boy in music, fol. 141.

² Dat. April. Strype's MEM. ECCL. ii. p. 538.

³ Ibid. p. 539. Under the same year, a yearly allowance of 80*l.* is specified, 'to find six singing children for the king's privy chamber.' Ibid. I presume this appointment was transmitted from preceding reigns.

⁴ Even so late as the recent reign of queen Mary, we find tumblers introduced for the diversion of the court. In 1556, at a grand military review of the queen's pensioners in Greenwich park, 'came a Tumbler and played many pretty feats, the queen and cardinal [Pole] looking on; whereat she was observed to laugh heartily, &c,' Strype's ECCL. MEM. iii. p. 312. ch. xxxix. Mr. Astle has a roll of some private expences of Edward II. among which it appears, that fifty shillings were paid to a person who danced before the king on the table, 'et lui fist tres-grandement rire.' And that twenty shillings were allowed to another, who rode before his majesty, and often fell from his horse, at which his majesty laughed heartily, *de queux roi rya grantement*. The laughter of kings was thought worthy to be recorded.

of the register, relating to that ridiculous ceremony. 'Dec. 2. 1367. 'Joannes de Quixly confirmatur Episcopus Puerorum, et Capitulum ordinavit, quod electio episcopi Puerorum in ecclesia Eboracensi de cetero fieret de Eo, qui diutius et magis in dicta ecclesia laboraverit, et magis idoneus repertus fuerit, dum tamen competenter sit corpore formosus, et quod aliter facta electio non valebit¹.' It is certainly a matter of no consequence, whether we understand these Minstrels of Henry VI. to have been singers, pipers, players, or posture-masters. From the known character of that king, I should rather suppose them performers for his chapel. In any sense, this is an instance of the same oppressive and arbitrary privilege that was practised on our poet.

Our author Tusser wrote, during his residence at Ratwood in Sussex, a work in rhyme entitled FIVE HUNDRED POINTES OF GOOD HUSBANDRY, which was printed at London in 1557². But it was soon afterwards reprinted, with additions and improvements, under the following title, 'Five hundreth pointes of good Husbandry as well for the Champion or open countrie, as also for the Woodland or Severall, mixed in euerie moneth with Huswiferie, ouer and besides the booke of HUSWIFERIE. Corrected, better ordered, and newlie augmented a fourth part more, with diuers other lessons, as a diet for the farmer, of the properties of windes, planets, hops, herbs, bees, and approved remedies for the sheepe and cattell, with manie other matters both profitabell and not vnpleasant for the Reader. Also a table of HUSBANDRY at the beginning of this booke, and another of HUSWIFERIE at the end, &c. Newlie set foorth by THOMAS TUSSEY gentleman³.'

It must be acknowledged, that this old English georgic has much

¹ Registr. Archiv. Eccles. Ebor. MSS. In the Salisbury-missal, in the office of EPISCOPUS PUERORUM, among the suffrages we read, 'Corpore enim formosus es O fili, et diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, &c.' In further proof of the solemnity with which this farce was conducted, I will cite another extract from the chapter-registers at York. 'xj. febr. 1370. In Scriptoria capituli Ebor. dominus Johannes Gisson, magister choristarum ecclesiæ Eboracensis, liberavit Roberto de Holme choristæ, qui tunc ultimo fuerat episcopus puerorum, iij libras, xvs. id. ob. de perquisitis ipsius episcopi per ipsum Johannem receptis, et dictus Robertus ad sancta dei evangelia per ipsum corporaliter tacta juravit, quod nunquam molestaret dictum dominum Johannem de summa pecuniæ prædicta.' REGISTR. EBOR.

² Qto. Bl. Lett. In 1557, John Daye has licence to print 'the hundreth pointes of good Husserie.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 23. a. In 1559-60, jun. 20. T. Marshe has licence 'to print the booke of Husbandry.' Ibid. fol. 48. b. This last title occurs in these registers much lower.

³ The oldest edition with this title which I have seen is in qto. dated 1586, and printed at London, 'in the now dwelling house of Henrie Denham in Aldersgate streete at the signe of the starre.' In black letter, containing 164 pages. The next edit. is for H. Yardley. London 1593. Bl. Lett. 4to. Again at London, printed by Peter Short, 1597. Bl. Lett. 4to. The last I have seen is dated 1610, 4to.

In the Register of the Stationers, a receipt of T. Hackett is entered for licence for printing 'A dialoge of wyvyng and thryvyng of Tusshers with ij lessons for olde and yonge.' in 1562 or 1563. REGISTR. STAT. COMP. LOND. notat. A. fol. 74. b. I find licensed to Alde in 1565, 'An hundreth pointes of evell huswyfraye,' I suppose a satire on Tusser. Ibid. fol. 131. b. In 1567, Richard Tottell was to print 'A booke intituled one hundreth good pointes of husboundry lately maryed unto a hundreth good pointes of Huswifry newly corrected and amplyfyed.' Ibid. fol. 74. a.

more of the simplicity of Hesiod, than of the elegance of Virgil: and a modern reader would suspect, that many of its salutary maxims originally decorated the margins, and illustrated the calendars, of an ancient almanac. It is without invocations, digressions, and descriptions: no pleasing pictures of rural imagery are drawn from meadows covered with flocks, and fields waving with corn, nor are Pan and Ceres once named. Yet it is valuable, as a genuine picture of the agriculture, the rural arts, and the domestic economy and customs, of our industrious ancestors.

I must begin my examination of this work with the apology of Virgil on a similar subject.

Possum multa tibi veterum præcepta referre,
Ni refugis, tenuesque piget cognoscere curas. [GEORGIC. i. 176.]

I first produce a specimen of his directions for cultivating a hop-garden, which may, perhaps, not unprofitably, be compared with the modern practice.

Whom fancies perswadeth, among other crops,
To haue for his spending, sufficient for hops,
Must willingly follow, of choises to choose,
Such lessons approued, as skilful do vse.

Ground grauellie, sandie, and mixed with claie,
Is naughtie for hops, anie maner of waie;
Or if it be mingled with rubbish and stone,
For drinesse and barrennesse let it alone.

Choose soile for the hop of the rottenest mould,
Well doonged and wrought, as a garden-plot should;
Not far from the water, but not ouerflowne,
This lesson well noted is meete to be knowne.

The sun in the southe, or else southlie and west,
Is ioie to the hop, as a welcomed guest;
But wind in the north, or else northerlie east,
To the hop, is as ill as a fraie in a feast.

Meet plot for a hop-yard, once found as is told,
Make thereof account, as of iewell of gold:
Now dig it and leaue it, the sunne for to burne,
And afterward fence it, to serue for that turne.

The hop for his profit I thus doo exalt:
It strengtheneth drinke, and it fauoreth malt;
And being well brewed, long kept it will last,
And drawing abide—if ye drawe not too fast¹.

¹ CHAP. 42. fol. 93. In this stanza, is a copy of verses by one William Kethe, a divine of Geneva, prefixed to Dr. Christopher's Goodman's absurd and factious pamphlet against queen Mary, *How superior Powers*, &c. Printed at Geneva by John Crispin, 1558. 16mo.

Whom fury long fostered by sufferance and awe,
Have right rule subverted, and made will their lawe,
Whose pride how to temper, this truth will thee tell,
So as thou resist mayst, and yet not rebel, &c.

To this work belongs the well known old song, which begins,

The Ape, the Lion, the Fox, and the Asse,
Thus setts foorth man in a glasse, &c. [Chap. 50. fol. 107.]

For the farmer's general diet he assigns, in Lent, red herrings, and salt fish, which may remain in store *when Lent is past*: at Easter, veal and bacon: at Martinmas, salted beef, when *dainties* are not to be had in the country: at Midsummer, when mackrel are no longer in season, *grasse*, or sallads, fresh beef, and pease: at Michaelmas, fresh herrings, with fatted *crones*, or sheep: at All Saints, pork and pease, sprats and *spurlings*: at Christmas, good chere and *plaie*. The farmer's weekly fish-days, are Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday; and he is charged to be careful in keeping *embrings* and fast-days. [Chap. 12. fol. 25, 26.]

Among the *Husbandlie Furniture* are recited most of the instruments now in use, yet with several obsolete and unintelligible names of farming utensils. [Chap. 15. fol. 31, 32, 33.] Horses, I know not from what superstition, are to be annually blooded on St. Stephen's day. [Fol. 52.] Among the *Christmas husbandlie fare*, our author recommends good *drinke*, a good fire in the Hall, brawne, pudding and souse, and mustard *withall*, beef, mutton, and pork, *shred*, or minced, pies *of the best*, pig, veal, goose, capon, and turkey, cheese, apples, and nuts, with *jolie carols*. A Christmas carol is then introduced to the tune of *King Salomon*¹.

In a comparison between *Champion and Severall*, that is, open and inclosed land, the disputes about inclosures appear to have been as violent as at present. [Chap. 52. fol. 111.] Among his *Huswifelie Admonitions*, which are not particularly addressed to the farmer, he advises three dishes at dinner, which being well dressed, will be sufficient to please your friend, and will *become* your Hall. [Fol. 133.] The prudent housewife is directed to make her own tallow-candles. [Fol. 135.] Servants of both sexes are ordered to go to bed at ten in the summer, and nine in the winter: to rise at five in the winter, and four in the summer. [Fol. 137.] The ploughman's feasting days, or holidays, are PLOUGH-MONDAY, or the first Monday after Twelfth-day, when ploughing begins, in Leicestershire. SHROF-TIDE, or SHROVE-

Chap. 30. fol. 37. These are four of the lines.

Euen Christ, I meane, that virgins child,
That lambe of God, that prophet mild,

In Bethlem born:
Crowned with thorne!

Mar. 4. 1559. there is a receipt from Ralph Newbery for his licence for printing a ballad called 'Kynge Saloman.' REGISTR. STATION. COMP. LOND. notat. A. fol. 48. a. Again, in 1561, a licence to print 'iij balletts, the one entituled *Newes oute of Kent*; the other, a *newe ballat after the tune of kynge SOLOMON*; and the other, *Newes out of Heaven and Hell*.' Ibid. fol. 75. a. See Lycence of John Tysdale for printing 'Certayne goodly Carowles to be 'songe to the glory of God,' in 1562. Ibid. fol. 86. a. Again, *ibid.* 'Crestenmas Carowles 'auctorished by my lord of London.' A ballad of Solomon and the queen of Sheba is entered in 1567. Ibid. fol. 166. a. In 1569, is entered an 'Enterlude for boys to handle and to passe 'tyme at Christmas.' Ibid. fol. 183. b. Again, in the same year, fol. 185. b. More instances follow.

TUESDAY, in Essex and Suffolk, when after shroving, or confession, he is permitted to *go thresh the fat hen*, and 'if blindfold [you] can kill 'her then giue it thy men,' and to dine on fritters and pancakes¹. SHEEP-SHEARING, which is celebrated in Northamptonshire with wafers and cakes. The WAKE-DAY, or the vigil of the church saint, when *everie wanton maie danse at her will*, as in Leicestershire, and the oven is to be filled with *flawnes*. HARVEST-HOME, when the harvest-home goose is to be killed. SEED-CAKE, a festival so called at the end of wheat-sowing in Essex and Suffolk, when the village is to be treated with seed-cakes, pasties, and the *frumentie-pot*. But twice a week, according to ancient right and custom, the farmer is to give roast-meat, that is, on Sundays and on Thursday nights. [Fol. 138.] We have then a set of posies or proverbial rhymes, to be written in various rooms of the house, such as 'Husbandlie posies for the 'Hall, Posies for the Parlour, Posies for the Ghests chamber, and 'Posies for thine own bedchamber².' Botany appears to have been eminently cultivated, and illustrated with numerous treatises in English, throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century³. In this work are large enumerations of plants, as well for the medical as the culinary garden.

Our author's general precepts have often an expressive brevity, and are sometimes pointed with an epigrammatic turn and a smartness of allusion. As thus,

Saue wing for a thresher, when gander doth die ;
 Saue fethers of all things, the softer to lie :
 Much spice is a theefe, so is candle and fire ;
 Sweet sause is as craftie as euer was frier. [Fol. 134.]

¹ I have before mentioned Shrove-Tuesday as a day dedicated to festivities. In some parts of Germany it was usual to celebrate Shrove-tide with bonfires. Lavaterus of GHOSTES, &c. translated into English by R. H. Lond. 1572. 4to. fol. 51. Bl. Lett. Polydore Virgil says, that so early as the year 1170, it was the custom of the English nation to celebrate their Christmas with plays, masques, and the most magnificent spectacles ; together with games at dice, and dancing. This practice he adds, was not conformable to the usage of most other nations, who permitted these diversions, not at Christmas, but a few days before Lent, about the time of Shrovetide. HIST. ANGL. Lib. xiii. f. 211. Basil. 1534. By the way, Polydore Virgil observes that the Christmas-prince or Lord of Misrule, is almost peculiar to the English. De RER. INVENTOR. lib. v. cap. ii. Shrove-Tuesday seems to have been sometimes considered as the last day of Christmas, and on that account might be celebrated as a festival. In the year 1440, on Shrove-Tuesday, which that year was in March, at Norwich there was a Disport in the streets 'when one rode through the streets havng his hors trappyd with tyn-foyle, and other nyse 'disgysyngs, coronned as Kyng of CRESTEMASSE, in tokyng that seson should end with the 'twelve moneths of the yere : afor hym went yche [each] Moneth dysgusysyd after the seson 'requyrd, &c.' Blomf. NORF. ii. p. 111. This very poetical pagentry reminds me of a similar and a beautiful procession at Rome, described by Lucretius, where the SEASONS, with there accompaniments, walk personified. Lib. v. 736.

It VER et VENUS, et Veneris prænuntius ante
 Pinnatus ZEPHYRUS graditur vestigia propter :
 FLORA quibus mater præspersgens ante viai
 Cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.—

Inde AUTUMNUS adit, &c.

² Fol. 144, 145. See Inscriptions of this sort in 'The Welspring of wittie Conceights, translated from the Italian by W. Phist. Lond. for R. Jones, 1584. Bl. Lett. 4to. SIGNAT. N. 2.

³ See the Preface to Johnson's edition of Gerharde's HERBAL, printed in 1633. fol.

Again, under the lessons of the housewife.

Though cat, a good mouser, doth dwell in a house,
Yet euer in dairie haue trap for a mouse:
Take heed how thou laiest the bane [poison] for the rats,
For poisoning thy servant, thyself, and thy brats. [Fol. 131.]

And in the following rule of the smaller economics.

Saue droppings and skimmings, however ye doo,
For medicine, for cattell, for cart, and for shoo. [Fol. 134.]

In these stanzas on haymaking, he rises above his common manner.

Go muster thy seruants, be captain thyselfe,
Prouiding them weapons, and other like pelfe:
Get bottells and wallets, keepe fiede in the heat,
The feare is as much, as the danger is great.
With tossing, and raking, and setting on cox,
Grasse latelie in swathes, is haie for an oxe.
That done, go to cart it, and haue it awaie:
The battell is fought, ye haue gotten the daie. [Fol. 95. CH. 44.]

A great variety of verse is used in this poem, which is thrown into numerous detached chapters¹. The HUSBANDRIE is divided into the several months. Tusser, in respect of his antiquated diction, and his argument, may not improperly be styled the English Varro.

Such were the rude beginnings in the English language of didactic poetry, which, on a kindred subject, the present age has seen brought to perfection, by the happy combination of judicious precepts with the most elegant ornaments of language and imagery, in Mr. Mason's ENGLISH GARDEN.

SECTION LIII.

AMONG Antony Wood's MSS. in the Bodleian library at Oxford, I find a poem of considerable length written by William Forrest, chaplain to queen Mary². It is entitled, 'A true and most notable History of a right noble and famous Lady produced in Spayne entitled the

¹ In this book I first find the metre of Prior's song,

'Despairing beside a clear stream.'

For instance,

What looke ye, I praie you shew what?
Good husbandrie seeketh not that,
What lookest thou, speeke at the last,
Then keepe them in memorie fast

Termes painted with rhetorike fine?
Nor ist anie meaning of mine,
Good lessons for thee and thy wife?
To helpe as a comfort to life.

See 'Preface to the buier of this booke,' ch. 5. fol. 14. In the same measure is the 'Comparison betwene Champion Countrie and Severall,' ch. 52, fol. 108.

² In folio. MSS. Cod. A. Wood. Num. 2. They were purchased by the university after Wood's death.

'second GRESIELD, practised not long out of this time in much part 'tragedous as delectable both to hearers and readers.' This is a panegyric history in octave rhyme, of the life of queen Catharine, the first queen of Henry VIII. The poet compares Catharine to patient Grisild, celebrated by Petrarch and Chaucer, and Henry to earl Walter her husband¹. Catharine had certainly the patience and conjugal compliance of Grisild : but Henry's cruelty was not, like Walter's, only artificial and assumed. It is dedicated to queen Mary : and Wood's MSS., which was once very superbly bound and embossed, and is elegantly written on vellum, evidently appears to have been the book presented by the author to her majesty. Much of its ancient finery is tarnished : but on the brass bosses at each corner is still discernable AVE, MARIA GRATIA PLENA. At the end is this colophon. 'Here endeth the Historye of Grysilde the second, dulia meanyng 'Queene Catharine mother to our most dread soveraigne Lady queene 'Mary, fynysched the xxv day of June, the yeare of owre Lorde 1558. 'By the symple and unlearned Syr Wylliam Forrest preciste, propria manu.' The poem, which consists of twenty chapters, contains a zealous condemnation of Henry's divorce : and, I believe, preserves some anecdotes, yet apparently misrepresented by the writer's religious and political bigotry, not extant in any of our printed histories. Forrest was a student at Oxford, at the time when this notable and knotty point of casuistry prostituted the learning of all the universities of Europe, to the gratification of the capricious amours of a libidinous and implacable tyrant. He has recorded many particulars and local incidents of what passed in Oxford during that transaction². At the end of the poem is a metrical ORATION CONSOLATORY, in six leaves, to queen Mary.

In the British Museum is another of Forrest's poems, written in two splendid folio volumes on vellum, called 'The tragedious troubles 'of the most chaste and innocent Joseph, son to the holy patriarch 'Jacob,' and dedicated to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk³. In the same repository is another of his pieces, never printed, dedicated to

¹The affecting story of PATIENT GRISILD seems to have long kept up its celebrity. In the books of the Stationers, in 1565, Owen Rogers has a licence to print 'a ballat intituled the 'songe' of pacyent Gressell vnto-hyr make.' REGISTR. A. fol. 132. b. Two ballads are entered in 1565, 'to the tune of pacyente Gressell.' Ibid. fol. 135. a. In the same year, T. Colwell has licence to print, 'The history of meke and pacyent Gressell.' Ibid. fol. 139. a. Colwell has a second edit. of this hist. in 1568. Ibid. fol. 177. a. And instances occur much lower.

²In the first chapter, he thus speaks of the towardliness of the princess Catharine's younger years.

With stoole and needyl she was not to seeke.
And other practisings for ladyes meete ;
To pastyme at tables, ticktack, or gleeke,
Cardys, dyce, &c.

³MSS. REG. 18 C. xiii. It appears to have once belonged to the library of John Theyer of Coopershill near Gloucester. There is another copy in University-college Library, MSS. G. 7. with gilded leaves. This, I believe, once belonged to Robert earl of Aylesbery. Pr. 'In 'Canaan that country opulent,'

Edward VI. 'A notable warke called The PLEASANT POESIE OF 'PRINCELIE PRACTISE, composed of late by the simple and unlearned 'sir William Forrest priest, much part collected out of a booke entitled the GOVERNANCE OF NOBLEMEN, which booke the wyse philosopher Aristotle wrote to his disciple Alexander the Great!' The book here mentioned is Ægidius Romanus de REGIMINE PRINCIPIUM, which yet retained its reputation and popularity from the middle age². I ought to have observed before, that Forrest translated into English metre fifty of David's Psalms, in 1551, which are dedicated to the duke of Somerset, the Protector. [MSS. REG. 17 A. xxi.] Hence we are led to suspect, that our author could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers. Many more of his MSS. pieces both in prose and verse, all professional and of the religious kind, were in the hands of Robert earl of Ailesbury³. Forrest, who must have been living at Oxford, as appears from his poem on queen Catharine, so early as the year 1530, was in reception of an annual pension of six pounds from Christ-church in that university, in the 1555⁴. He was eminently skilled in music: and with much diligence and expence, he collected the works of the most excellent English composers, that were his contemporaries. These, being the choicest compositions, of John Taverner of Boston, organist of Cardinal-college now Christ-church at Oxford, John Merbeck who first digested our present church-service from the notes of the Roman missal, Fairfax, Tye, Sheppard, Norman, and others, falling after Forrest's death into the possession of doctor William Hether, founder of the musical praxis and professorship at Oxford in 1623, are now fortunately preserved at Oxford, in the archives of the music-school assigned to that institution.

In the year 1554, a poem of two sheets, in the spirit and stanza of Sternhold, was printed under the title, 'The VNGODLINESE OF 'THE HETHNICKE GODDES, or *The Downfall of Diana of the Ephe'sians*, by J. D. an exile for the word, late a minister of London, 'MDLIV.' [Bl. Lett. 12mo.] I presume it was printed at Geneva, and imported into England with other books of the same tendency, and which were afterwards suppressed by a proclamation. The writer,

¹ MSS. REG. 17 D. iii. In the Preface 27 chapters are enumerated, but the book contains only 24.

² Not long before, Robert Copland, the printer, author of the TESTAMENT OF JULIAN OF BRENTFORD, translated from the French and printed, 'The SECRETE of SECRETES of 'Aristotle, with the governayle of princes and euerie manner of estate, with rules of health 'for bodie and soule.' Lond. 1528. 4to. To what I have before said of Robert Copland as a poet, may be added, that he prefixed an English copy of verses to the *Mirroure of the Church of saynt Austine of Abyngdon, &c.* Printed by himself, 1521. 4to. Another to Andrew Chertsey's PASSIO DOMINI, *ibid.* 1521. 4to. He and his brother William printed several romances before 1530.

³ Wood, ATH. OXON. i. 124. Fox says, that he paraphrased the PATER NOSTER in English verse, Pr. 'Our Father which in heaven doth sit.' Also the TE DEUM, as a thanksgiving hymn for queen Mary, Pr. 'O God thy name we magnifie.' Fox, MART. p. 1139, edit. vet.

⁴ MSS. Le Neve. From a long chapter in his KATHARINE, about the building of Christ-church and the regimen of it, he appears to have been of that college.

whose arguments are as weak as his poetry, attempts to prove that the customary mode of training youths in the Roman poets encouraged idolatry and pagan superstition. This was a topic much laboured by the puritans. Prynne, in that chapter of his *HISTRIOMASTIX*, where he exposes 'the obscenity, ribaldry, amorousnesse, 'HEATHENISHNESSE, and prophanesse, of most play-bookes, Arcadias, 'and fained histories that are now so much in admiration,' acquaints us, that the infallible leaders of the puritan persuasion in the reign of queen Elizabeth, among which are two bishops, have solemnly prohibited all christians, 'to pen, to print, to sell, to read, or school-masters, and others to teach, any amorous wanton Play-bookes, 'Histories, or Heathen authors, especially Ovid's wanton Epistles and 'Bookes of love, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Martiall, the Comedies 'of Plautus, Terence, and other such amorous bookes, savoring either 'of Pagan Gods, of Ethnick rites and ceremonies, of scurrility, 'amorousnesse, and prophanesse.' [Bl. Lett. 12mo.] But the classics were at length condemned by a much higher authority. In the year 1582, one Christopher Ocland, a schoolmaster of Cheltenham, published two poems in Latin hexameters, one entitled *ANGLORUM PRÆLIA*, the other *ELIZABETHA*¹. To these poems, which are written in a low style of Latin versification, is prefixed an edict from the lords of privy council, signed, among others, by Cowper bishop of Lincoln, Lord Warwick, Lord Leicester, sir Francis Knollys, sir Chrisiopher Hatton, and sir Francis Walsingham, and directed to the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, containing the following passage. 'Forasmuche as the subject or matter of this 'booke is such, as is worthie to be read of all men, and especially in 'common schooles, where diuers HEATHEN POETS are ordinarily 'read and taught, from which the youth of the realme doth rather 'receiue infection in manners, than aduancement in uertue : in place 'of some of which poets, we thinke this Book fit to read and taught 'in the grammar schools : we haue therefore thought, as wel for the 'encouraging the said Ocklande and others that are learned, to bestowe

¹ Londini. Apud Rad. Neubery ex assignatione Henrici Bynneman typographi. Anno 1582. Cum priv. 12mo. The whole title is this, 'ANGLORUM PRÆLIA ab A.D. 1327, anno nimirum primo ineluctissimi principis Edwardi eius nominis tertii, usque ad A.D. 1558. carmine summatis perstricta. ITEM De pacatissimosimo Angliæ statu, imperante Elizabetha compendiosa Narratio. Authore CHRISTOPHORO OCLANDO, primo Scholæ Southwarkiensis prope Londinum, dein Cheltenhamensis, quæ sunt a serenissima sua majestate fundatæ, moderatore. Hæc duo poemata, tam ob argumenti gravitatem, quam carminis facilitatem, nobilissimæ regie majestatis consilarii in omnibus regni scholis prælegenda pueris præseripserunt. Hijus Alexandri Neulli KETTRUM, tum propter argumenti similitudinem, tum propter orationis elegantiam, adiunximus, Londini, &c.' Prefixed to the *ANGLORUM PRÆLIA* is a Latin elegiac copy by Thomas Newton of Cheshire ; to the *ELIZABETHA*, which is dedicated by the author to the learned lady Mildred Burleigh, two more ; one by Richard Mulcaster, the celebrated master of Merchant-taylor's school, the other by Thomas Watson an elegant writer of sonnets. Our author was a very old man, as appears by the last of these copies. Whence, says bishop Hall, SAT. iii. B. iv.

Or cite olde Ocland's verse, how they did wield
The wars, in Turwin or in Turney field.

'their trauell and studies to so good purposes, as also for the benefit of the youth and the removing of such lasciuious poets as are commonly read and taught in the saide grammar-schooles (the matter of this booke being heroicall and of good instruction) to praye and require you vpon the sight thereof, as by our special order, to write your letters vnto al the Bishops throughout this realme, requiring them to giue commaundement, that in al the gramer and free schooles within their seuerall diocesses, the said Booke de ANGLORUM PRÆLIIS, and peaceable Gouernment of hir majestie, [the ELIZABETHA,] may be in place of some of the heathen poets receyued, and publicly read and taught by the scholemasters.' With such abundant circumspection and solemnity, did these profound and pious politicians, not suspecting that they were acting in opposition to their own principles and intentions, exert their endeavours to bring back barbarism, and to obstruct the progress of truth and good sense.

Hollingshead mentions Lucas Shepherd of Colchester, as an eminent poet of queen Mary's reign. I do not pretend to any great talents for deciphering; but I presume, that this is the same person who is called by Bale, from a most injudicious affectation of Latinity, Lucas OPILIO. Bale affirms, that his cotemporary, Opilio, was a very facetious poet: and means to pay him a still higher compliment in pronouncing him not inferior even to Skelton for his rhymes. [CHRON. vol. iii, p. 1168.] It is unlucky, that Bale, by disguising his name, should have contributed to conceal this writer so long from the notice of posterity, and even to counteract his own partiality. Lucas Shepherd, however, appears to have been nothing more than a petty pamphleteer in the cause of Calvinism, and to have acquired the character of a poet from a metrical translation of some of David's Psalms about the year 1554. Bale's narrow prejudices are well known. The puritans never suspected that they were greater bigots than the papists. I believe one or two of Shepherd's pieces in prose are among bishop Tanner's books at Oxford.

Bale also mentions metrical English versions of ECCLESIASTES, of the histories of ESTHER, SUSANNAH, JUDITH, and of the TESTAMENT OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS, printed and written about this period, by John Pullaine, one of the original students of Christ church at Oxford, and at length archdeacon of Colchester. He was chaplain to the duchess of Suffolk; and, either by choice or compulsion, imbibed ideas of reformation at Geneva². I have seen the name of John Pullayne, affixed in MSS. to a copy of an anonymous version of Solomon's Song, or 'Salomon's balads in metre,' above-mentioned², in which is this stanza.

¹ Signat. A. ij. Then follows an order from the ecclesiastical commissioners to all the bishops for this purpose.

² Bale ix. 83. Wood, ATH. OXON. i. 148.

³ 'Imprinted at London by William Baldwine servaunt with Edwarde Whitchurch.' No

She is so young in Christes truth,
 That yet she hath no teates ;
 She wanteth brestes, to feed her youth
 With sound and perfect meates. [SIG. m. iij.]

There were numerous versions of Solomon's SONG before the year 1600 : and perhaps no portion of scripture was selected with more propriety to be cloathed in verse. Beside those I have mentioned, there is, 'The SONG OF SONGS, that is the most excellent Song which was Solomon's, translated out of the Hebrue into Englishe meater with as little libertie in departing from the wordes as anie plaine translation in prose can vse, and interpreted by a short commentarie.' For Richard Schilders, printer to the states of Zeeland, I suppose at Middleburgh, 1587, in duodecimo. Nor have I yet mentioned Solomon's Song, translated from English prose into English verse by Robert Fletcher, a native of Warwickshire, and a member of Merton college, printed at London, with notes, in 1586. The CANTICLES in English verse are among the lost poems of Spenser¹. Bishop Hall, in his nervous and elegant satires, printed in 1597, meaning to ridicule and expose the spiritual poetry with which his age was overwhelmed, has an allusion to a metrical English version of Solomon's Song². Having mentioned SAINT PETER'S COMPLAINT, written by Robert Southwell, and printed in 1595, with some other religious effusions of that author, he adds,

Yea, and the prophet of the heavenly lyre,
 Great Solomon, singes in the English quire ;
 And is become a new-found Sonnetist,
 Singing his love, the holic spouse of Christ,

date, nor place. Cum privileg. 4to. This WILLIAM BALDWIN is perhaps Baldwin the poet, the contributor to the MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES. At least that the poet Baldwin was connected with Whitechurch the printer, appears from a book printed by Whitechurch, quoted above, 'A treatise of moral philosophie contayning the Sayings of the Wise, gathered and Englyshed by Wylliam Baldwyn, 20 of January MDLXVII.' Compositors at this time often were learned men : and Baldwin was perhaps occasionally employed by Whitechurch, both as a compositor and an author.

¹ A metrical commentary was written on the CANTICLES by one Dudley Fenner, a puritan, who retired to Middleburgh to enjoy the privilege and felicity of preaching endless sermons without molestation. Middleb. 1587. 8vo.

² B. i. SAT. viii. But for this abuse of the divine sonnetters, Marston not inelegantly retorts against Hall. CERTAYNE SATYRES, Lond. for E. Matts, 1598. 12mo. SAT. iv.

Come daunce, ye stumbling Satyres, by his side,
 If he list once the SVON MUSE deride.
 Ye Granta's white Nymphs come, and with you bring
 Some sillabub, whilst he does sweetly sing
 Gainst Peters Teares, and Maries mouing Moane ;
 And like a fierce-enraged boare doth foame
 At Sacred Sonnets, O daring hardiment !
 At Bartas sweet Semaines¹ raile impudent.
 At Hopkins, Sternhold, and the Scottish king,
 At all Translators that do strive to bring
 That stranger language to our vulgar tongue, &c.

¹ Du Bartas's Divine weeks.

Like as she were some light-skirts of the rest¹.
 In mightiest inkhornismes he can thither wrest.
 Ye Sion Muses shall my dear will,
 For this your zeal and far-admired skill,
 Be straight transported from Jerusalem,
 Unto the holy house of Bethlehem.

It is not to any versions of the CANTICLES which I have hitherto mentioned, that Hall here alludes. His censure is levelled at 'The Poem of Poems, or SION'S MUSE. Contaynyng the diuine Song of King Salomon deuided into eight Eclogues. *Bramo assai, poco spero, nulla chieggio*. At London, printed by James Roberts for Mathew Lownes, and are to be solde at his shop in saint Dunstones church-yarde, 1596.' The author signs his dedication, which is addressed to the *sacred virgin, diuine* mistress Elizabeth Sydney, sole daughter of the *euer admired* sir Philip Sydney, with the initials J.M. These initials, which are subscribed to many pieces in ENGLAND'S HELICON, signify Jarvis, or Iarvis, Markham².

Although the translation of the scriptures into English rhyme was for the most part an exercise of the enlightened puritans, the recent publication of Sternhold's psalms taught that mode of writing to many of the papists, after the sudden revival of the mass under queen Mary. One Richard Beearde, parson of saint Mary-hill in London; celebrated the accession of that queen in a *godly psalm* printed in 1553³. Much about the same time, George Marshall wrote *A compendious treatise in metre declaring the first original of sacrifice and of building churches and aultars, and of the first receiuing the cristen faith here in England*, dedicated to George Wharton esquire, and printed at London in 1554. [In 4to. Bl. Lett.]

In 1556, Miles Hoggard, a famous butt of the protestants, published 'a shorte treatise in meter vpon the CXXIX psalme of David called *De profundis*. Compiled and set forth by Miles Huggarde servante to 'the quenes maiestie⁴.' Of the opposite or heretical persuasion was Peter Moone, who wrote a metrical tract on the abuses of the mass, printed by John Owen at Ipswich, about the first year of queen

¹ Origen and Jerom say, that the youth of the Jews were not permitted to read SOLOMON'S SONG till they were thirty years of age, for fear they should inflame their passions by drawing the spiritual allegory into a carnal sense. Orig. Homil. in CANTIC. CANT. apud Hieronymi Opp. Tom. viii. p. 122. And Opp. Origen. ii. fol. 68. Hieron. Proem. in Ezech. iv. p. 350. D.

² Some of the prefatory Sonnets to Jarvis Markham's poem, entitled, 'The most honorable Tragedie of sir Richard Grinuile knight.' (At London, printed by J. Roberts for Richard Smith, 1595. 16mo.) are signed J. M. But the dedication, to Charles lord Montioy, has his name at length.

³ In duodecimo, viz.

A godly psalm of Mary queen, which brought us comfort all,
 Thro God whom we of deuty praise that give her foes a fall.

With psalm-tunes in four parts. Strype's ELIZ. p. 202. Newc. REP. i. 451. See what is said above of Miles Hoggard.

⁴ In qto. Bl. Lett. for R. Caley. Jan. 4. with Grafton's copartment.

Mary¹. Nearly the same period, a translation of ECCLESIASTES into rhyme by Oliver Starkey occurs in bishop Tanner's library, if I recollect right, together with his Translation of Sallust's two histories. By the way, there was another vernacular versification of ECCLESIASTES by Henry Lok, or Lock, of whom more will be said hereafter, printed in 1597. This book was also translated into Latin hexameters by Drant, who will occur again in 1572. The ECCLESIASTES was versified in English by Spenser.

I have before mentioned the SCHOOL-HOUSE OF WOMEN, a satire against the fair sex. This was answered by Edward More of Hambledon in Buckinghamshire, about the year 1557, before he was twenty years of age. It required no very powerful abilities either of genius or judgment to confute such a groundless and malignant invective. More's book is entitled, *The DEFENCE OF WOMEN, especially English women, against a book intituled the SCHOOL-HOUSE OF WOMEN*. It is dedicated to Master William Page, secretary to his neighbour and patron sir Edward Hoby of Bisham-abbey, and was printed at London in 1560².

With the catholic liturgy, all the pageantries of popery were restored to their ancient splendour by queen Mary. Among others, the procession of the boy-bishop was too popular a mummary to be forgotten. In the preceding reign of Edward VI., Hugh Rhodes, a gentleman or musician of the royal chapel, published an English poem with the title, *THE BOKE OF NURTUR for men servants and children, or of the gouvernaunce of youth*, with STANS PUER AD MENSAM³. In the following reign of Mary, the same poet printed a poem consisting of 36 oct. stanzas, entitled, 'The SONG of the CHYLD-BYSSHOP, as it was songe⁴ before the queenes maiestie in her priuie chamber at her manour of

- ¹ A short treatise of certayne thinges abused,
In the popish church long used;
But now abolyshed to our consolation,
And God's word advanced, the light of our salvation.

In eight leaves qto. BL. Lett. Fox mentions one William Punt, author of a *ballade made against the Pope and Popery* under Edward VI., and of other tracts of the same tendency under queen Mary. MARTYR. p. 1605. edit. vet. Punt's printer was William Hyll at the sign of the hyl near the west door of saint Pauls. See in Strype, on account of Underhill's sufferings in 1553. for writing a ballad against the Queen, he 'being a witty and facetious gentleman.' ECCLES. MUSE. iii. 60. 61. ch. vi. Many rhymes and Ballads were written against the Spanish match, in 1554. Strype, *ibid.* p. 127. ch. xiv. Fox has preserved some hymns in Sternhold's metre sung by the protestant martyrs in Newgate, in 1555. MART. fol. 1539. edit. 5597. vol. ii.

² In quarto. PRINCIP.

'Venus unto thee for help, good Lady do I call.'

Our author, if I remember right, has furnished some arguments to one William Heale of Exeter college; who wrote, in 1609, AN APOLOGY FOR WOMAN, in opposition to Dr. Coger above-mentioned, who had maintained at the Public Act, that it was lawful for husbands to beat their wives. Wood says, that Heale 'was always esteemed an ingenious man, but weak, as being too much devoted to the female sex.' ATH. OXON. i. 314.

³ In qto. BL. Lett. PR. Prol. 'There is few things to be understood.' The poem begins, Alle ye that wolde learn and wolde be called wyse.'

⁴ In the church of York, no chorister was to be elected boy-bishop, 'nisi habuerit clarum vocem puerilem.' Registr. Capitul. Eccles. Ebor. sub ann. 1390. MSS. ut supr.

'saynt James in the ffeeldes on saynt Nicholas day and Innocents day
'this yeaere nowe present, by the chylde bysshope of Poules churchel¹
'with his company. LONDINI, in ædibus Johannis Cawood typographi
'reginæ, 1555. Cum privilegio, &c.²' By admitting this spectacle
into her presence, it appears that her majesty's bigotry condescended
to give countenance to the most ridiculous and unmeaning ceremony
of the Roman ritual. As to the song itself, it is a fulsome panegyric on
the queen's devotion: in which she is compared to Judith, Esther, the
queen of Sheba, and the virgin Mary³. This show of the boy-bishop,
not so much for its superstition as its levity and absurdity, had been
formally abrogated by Henry VIII., fourteen years before, in the year
1542, as appears by a 'Proclamation devised by the Kings Majesty by
'the advys of his Highness Counsel the xxii day of Julie, 33 Hen. viij,
'commanding the ffeasts of saint Luke, saint Mark, saint Marie Mag-
'dalene, Inuention of the Crosse, and saint Laurence, which had been
'abrogated, should be nowe againe celebrated and kept holie days,'
of which the following is the concluding clause. 'And where as
'heretofore dyuers and many superstitious and chyl dysh obseruances
'have be vsed, and yet to this day are obserued and kept, in
'many and sundry partes of this realm, as vpon saint Nicholas⁴,

¹ In the old statutes of saint Pauls, are many orders about this mock-solemnity. One is, that the canon, called STAGIARIUS, shall find the boy-bishop his robes, and 'equitatum honestum.' MSS. fol. 86. Diceto dean. In the statutes of Salisbury cathedral, it is ordered, that the boy-bishop shall not make a feast, 'sed in domo communi cum sociis conversetur, nisi eum ut Choristam, ad domum Canonici, causa solatii, ad mensam contigerit evocari.' Sub anno 1319. Tit. xlv. De STATU CHORISTARUM. MSS.

² In qto. B. Lett. Strype says, that in 1556, 'On S. Nicolas even, Saint Nicolas, that is a boy habited like a bishop in pontificalibus went abroad in most parts of London, singing after the old fashion, and was received with many ignorant but well-disposed people into their houses; and had as much good cheer as ever was wont to be had before.' ECCLES. MEM. iii. 310. ch. xxxix. See also p. 337. ch. l. In 1554, Nov. 13. an edict was issued by the bishop of London, to all the clergy of his diocese, to have a boy-bishop in procession, &c. Strype. *ibid.* p. 202. ch. xxv. See also p. 205, 206. ch. xxvi.

³ In a poem by Llodowyke Lloyd, in the *Paradise of daintie Devises*, (edit. 1595.) on the death of sir Edward Saunders, queen Elizabeth is complimented much in the same manner. NUM. 32. SIGNET. E. 2.

— O sacred seate, where Saba sage doth sit,
Like Susan sound, like Sara sad, with Hester's mace in hand,
With Iudithes sword, Bellona-like, to rule this noble land.

⁴ In Barnabie Googe's *POPISH KINGDOM*, a translation from Naogeorgius's *REGNUM ANTICHRISTI*, fol. 55. Lond. 1570. 4to.

Saint Nicholas monie vsde to give to maydens secretlie,
Who that be still may vse his wonted liberalitie:
The mother all their children on the Eeve do cause to fast,
And when they euerie one at night in senselesse sleepe are cast,
Both apples, nuts and payres they bring, and other things beside,
As cappes, and shoes, and petticoates, with kertes they hide,
And in the morning found, they say, 'Saint Nicholas this brought, &c.'

See a curious passage in bishop Fisher's *Sermon of the MONTHS MINDE* of Margaret countess of Richmond. Where it is said, that she praied to S. Nicholas the *patron and helper of all true maydens*, when nine years old, about the choice of a husband: and that the saint appeared in a vision, and announced the earl of Richmond. Edit. Baker, p. 8. There is a precept issued to the sheriff of Oxford from Edward I., in 1305, to prohibit tournaments being intermixed with the sports of the scholars on saint Nicholas's day. Rot. Claus. 33 Edw. I. memb. 2.

I have already given traces of this practice in the college of Winchester and Eton. To which I here add another. Registr. Coll. Wint. sub. ann. 1427. 'Crux deaurata de cupro

'saint Catherine¹, saint Clement², the holie Innocents, and such like³,
 'Children [boys] be strangellie decked and apparayled, to counterfeit
 'Priestes, Bishopes, and Women, and so be ledde with Songes and
 'Dances from house to house, blessing the people, and gathering of
 'money; and Boyes do singe masse, and preache in the pulpitt, with
 'such other vnfittinge and inconuenient vsages, rather to the derysyon
 'than anie true glorie of God, or honor of his sayntes: The Kynges
 'maiestie therefore, myndinge nothings so moche as to aduance the
 'true glory of God without vain superstition, wylleth and commandeth,
 'that from henceforth all svch syperstitious obseruations be left and
 'clerely extinguished throwout all this his realme and dominions, for-
 'as moche as the same doth resemble rather the vnlawfull superstition
 'of gentilitie, than the pyre and sincere religion of Christe.' With
 respect to the disguisings of these young fraternities, and their proces-
 sions from house to house with singing and dancing, specified in this
 edict, in a very mutilated fragment of a COMPUTUS, or annual Ac-
 compt-roll, of saint Swithin's cathedral Priory at Winchester, under
 the year 1441, a disbursement is made to the singing-boys of the mo-
 nastery, who, together with the choristers of saint Elizabeth's collegiate
 chapel near that city, were dressed up like girls, and exhibited their
 sports before the abbess and nuns of St. Mary's abbey at Winchester,
 in the public refectory of that convent, on Innocent's day⁴. 'Pro
 'Pueris Eleemosynariæ una cum Pueris Capellæ sanctæ Elizabethæ,

'[copper] cum Baculo, pro EPISCOPO PUERORUM.' But it appears that the practice subsisted
 in common grammar schools. 'Hoc anno, 1434, in festo sancti Nicolai non erat EPISCOPUS
 'PUERORUM in schola grammaticali in civitate Cantuarie ex defectu Magistrorum, viz. J.
 'Sidney et T. Hison, &c.' Lib. Johannis Stone, Murchi Eagles Cant. sc. *De Obitu et*
aliis Memorabilibus sui caenobii ab anno 1415 ad annum 1467. MSS. C. C. C. Q. 8.
 The abuses of this custom in Wells cathedral are mentioned so early as Decemb. 1. 1298.
 Registr. Eccl. Wellens.

¹ The reader will recollect the old play of Saint Catharine, LUDUS CATHARINÆ, exhibited
 at St. Albans abbey in 1166. Strype says, in 1556, 'On St. Katharines day, at six of the
 'clock at night, S. Katharine went about the battlements of S. Paul's church accompanied
 'with fine singing and great lights. 'This was St. Katharine's Procession.' ECCLES. MEM. iii.
 309. ch. xxvix. Again, her procession, in 1553, is celebrated with five hundred great lights,
 round St. Paul's steeple, &c. Ibid. p. 51. ch. v. And p. 57. ch. v.

² Among the church-processions revived by Queen Mary, that of S. Clement's church, in
 honour of this saint, was by far the most splendid of any in London. Their procession to S.
 Pauls in 1557, was made very pompous with 80 banners and streamers, and the waits of the
 'city playing, and 60 priests and clerks in copes. And divers of the Inns of Court were
 'there, who went next the priests, &c.' Strype, ubi sup. iii. 377. ch. xlix.

³ In the SYNODUS CARROTENSIS, under the year 1506, It is ordered, 'In festo sancti
 'Nicolai, Catharine, Innocentium, aut alio quovis die, pretextu recreationis, ne Scholastici,
 'Clerici, Sacerdotesve, stultum aliquod aut ridiculum faciant in ecclesia. Denique ab eccle-
 'sia ejiciantur VESTES FATUORUM personas SCENICAS agentium.' See Boechellus, Decret.
 ECCLES. GALL. lib. iv. TIT. vii. C. 43. 46. p. 586. Yet these sports seem to have remained in
 France so late as 1585. For in the Synod of Aix, 1585, it is enjoined, 'Cessent in die Sanc-
 'torum Innocentium ludibria omnia et pueriles ac theatrales lusus.' Boechell. ibid. C. 45. p.
 586. A Synod of Tholouse, an. 1590, removes plays, spectacles, and histrionum circula-
 'tiones, from churches and their cemeteries. Boechell. ibid. lib. iv. TIT. i. C. 98. p. 586.

⁴ In the Register of Wodeloke bishop of Winchester, the following is an article among the
 INJUNCTIONS given to the nuns of the convent of Rumsey in Hampshire, in consequence of an
 episcopal visitation, under the year 1310. 'Item prohibemus, ne cubent in dormitorio pueri
 'masculi cum monialibus, vel foemelle, nec per moniales ducantur in Chorum, dum ibidem
 'divinum officium celebratur.' fol. 134. In the same Register these Injunctions follow [in a
 literal French translation, made for the convenience of the nuns.

‘ornatis more puellarum, et saltantibus, cantantibus, et ludentibus, coram domina Abbatisa et monialibus Abbathiæ beatæ Mariæ virginis, in aula ibidem in die sanctorum Innocentium¹.’ And again, in a fragment of an Accompt of the Celerar of Hyde Abbey at Winchester, under the year 1490. ‘In larvis et aliis indumentis Puerorum visentium Dominum apud Wulsey, et Constabularium Castri Winton, in apparatu suo, necnon subintringant omnia monasteria civitatis Winton, in festo sancti Nicholai.’ That is, ‘In furnishing masks and dresses for the boys of the convent, when they visited the bishop at Wulvesey-palace, the constable of Winchester-castle, and all the monasteries of the city of Winchester, on the festival of saint Nicholas.’ As to the divine service being performed by children on these feasts, it was not only celebrated by boys, but there is an injunction given to the Benedictine nunnery of Godstowe in Oxfordshire, by archbishop Peckham, in the year 1278, that on Innocent’s day, the public prayers should not any more be said in the church of that monastery PER PARVULAS, that is, by little girls².

The ground-work of this religious mockery of the boy-bishop, which is evidently founded on modes of barbarous life, may perhaps be traced backward at least as far as the year 867, or 870. At the Constantinopolitan synod under that year, at which were present three hundred and seventy-three bishops, it was found to be a solemn custom in the courts of princes, on certain stated days, to dress some layman in the episcopal apparel, who should exactly personate a bishop both in his tonsure and ornaments: as also to create a burlesque patriarch, who might make sport for the company³. This scandal to the clergy was anathematised. But ecclesiastical synods and censures have often proved too weak to suppress popular spectacles, which take deep root in the public manners, and are only concealed for a while, to spring up afresh with new vigour.

After the form of a legitimate stage had appeared in England, MYSTERIES and MIRACLES were also revived by queen Mary, as an appendage of the papistic worship.

¹ MS. in Archiv. Wulves. apud Winton. It appears to have been a practice for itinerant players to gain admittance into the nunneries, and to play Latin MYSTERIES before the nuns. There is a curious Canon of the COUNCIL OF COLOGNE, in 1549, which is to this effect. ‘We have been informed, that certain Actors of Comedies, not contented with the stage and theaters, have even entered the nunneries, in order to recreate the nuns, ubi virginibus commoveant voluptatem with their profane, amorous, and secular gesticulations. Which spectacles, or plays, although they consisted of sacred and pious subjects, can yet notwithstanding leave little good, but on the contrary much harm, in the minds of the nuns, who behold and admire the outward gestures of the performers, and understand not the words. Therefore we decree, that henceforward no Plays, Comedias, shall be admitted into the convents of nuns, &c.’ Sur. CONCIL. tom. iv. p. 852. Binius, tom. iv. p. 765.

² Harpsfield, HIST. ECCL. ANGL. p. 441. edit. 1622.

³ SURIUS, CONCIL. iii, 529. 539. BARON. ANNAL. Ann. 869. §. 11. See CONCIL. BASIL. num. xxxii. The French have a miracle play, BEAU MIRACLE DE S. NICOLAS, to be acted by 24 personages, printed at Paris, for Pierre Sergeant, in qto. without date, Bl. Lett.

——— En, iterum crudelia retro
Fata vocant ! —— ——— [Virgil, Georg. iv. 495.]

In the year 1556, a *goodly stage-play* of the PASSION OF CHRIST was presented at the Grey friers in London, on Corpus-Christi day, before the lord mayor, the privy-council, and many great *estates* of the realm¹. Strype also mentions, under the year 1557, a stage-play at the Grey-friers of the passion of Christ, on the day that war was proclaimed in London against France, and in honour of that occasion². On saint Olave's day in the same year, the holiday of the church in Silver-street which is dedicated to that saint, was kept with much solemnity. At eight of the clock at night, began a stage-play of *goodly matter*, being the miraculous history of the life of that saint³, which continued 4 hours, and was concluded with many religious songs⁴.

Many curious circumstances of the nature of these miracle plays, appear in a roll of the church-wardens of Bassingborne in Cambridge-shire, which is an accompt of the expenses and receptions for acting the play of SAINT GEORGE at Bassingborne, on the feast of St. Margaret in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-seven neighbouring parishes for furnishing the play. They disbursed about two pounds in the representation. These disbursements are to four minstrels, or waits, of Cambridge for three days, v, s. vj, d. To the players, in bread and ale, iij, s. ij, d. To the *garnement-man* for *garnements*, and *propyrts*⁵, that is, for dresses, decorations, and implements, and for *play-books*, xx, s. To John Hobard *brotherhoode preeste*, that is, a priest of the guild in the church, for the *play-book*, ij, s. viij d. For the *crofte*, or field in which the play was exhibited, j, s. For *propyrte-making*, or furniture, j, s. iv, d. 'For fish and bread, and to setting up the stages, iv, d.' For painting three *fanchons* and four *tormentors*, words which I do not understand, but perhaps phantoms and devils . . . The rest was expended for a feast on the occasion, in which are recited, 'Four chicken for the gentlemen, iv, d.' It appears from the manuscript of the Coventry plays, that a temporary scaffold only, was erected for these performances. And Chaucer says, of Absolon a parish-clerk, and an actor of king Herod's character in these dramas, in the MILLER'S TALE,

¹ MSS. Cott, VITELL. E. 5. STRYPE, See LIFE OF SIR THOMAS POPE, PREF. p. xii.

² ECCL. MEM. vol. iii. ch. xlix.

³ Strype, *ibid.* p. 379. With the religious pageantries, other ancient sports and spectacles also, which had fallen into disuse in the reign of Edward VI. began to be now revived. As thus, 'On the 30th of May was a goodly Maygame in Fenchurch-street, with drums, and guns, and pikes, with the NINE WORTHIES who rid. And each made his speech. There was also the Morice-dance, and an elephant and castle, and the Lord and Lady of the May appeared to make up this show.' Strype, *ibid.* 376. ch. xlix.

⁴ Ludovicus Vives relates, that it was customary in Brabant to present annual plays in honour of the respective saints to which the churches were dedicated : and he betrays his great credulity in adding a wonderful story in consequence of this custom. NOT. in Augustin. DE CRIVIT. DEI. lib. xii. cap. 25. C.

⁵ The property-room is yet known at our theatres.

And for to shew his lightnesse and maistry
He playith Herawdes on a SCAFFALD HIE¹.

Scenical decorations and machinery which employed the genius and invention of Inigo Jones, in the reigns of the first James and Charles, seem to have migrated from the masques at court to the public theatre. In the instrument here cited, the priest who wrote the play, and received only two shillings and eight pence for his labour, seems to have been worse paid in proportion than any of the other persons concerned. The learned Oporinus, in 1547, published in 2 vols. a collection of religious interludes, which abounded in Germany. They are in Latin, and not taken from legends but the Bible.

The puritans were highly offended at these religious plays now revived¹. But they were hardly less averse to the theatrical representation of the christian than of the gentile story, Yet for different reasons. To hate a theatre was a part of their creed, and therefore plays were an improper vehicle of religion. The heathen fables they judged to be dangerous, as too nearly resembling the superstitions of popery.

¹ Mill. T. v. 275. Urr. Mr. Steevens and Mr. Malone have shewn, that the accommodations in our early regular theatres were but little better. That the old scenery was very simple, may partly be collected from an entry in a Computus of Winchester-college, under the year 1579. viz. COMP. BURS. Coll. Winton. A.D. 1573. Eliz. xvo.—‘CUSTUS AULE. Item. pro diversis expensis circa Scaffoldam erigendam et deponendam, et pro Domunculis de novo compositis cum carriagio et recarriagio *ly joystes*, et aliorum mutuatorum ad eandem Scaffoldam, cum *vij linckes* et *jo [uno] duodeno candelarum*, pro lumine expensis, tribus noctibus in Ludis comediarum et tragediarum, xxv. s. viij. d.’ Again in the next quarter, ‘Pro *vij ly linckes* deliberatis pueris per M. Informatorem [the school-master] pro Ludis. iij. s.’ Again, in the last quarter, ‘Pro removendis Organis e templo in Aulam et præparandis eisdem erga Ludos. v. s.’ By DOMUNCULIS I understand little cells of boards, raised on each side of the stage, for dressing-rooms, or retiring places. Strype, under the year 1550, says, that after a grand feast at Guildhall, ‘the same day was a Scaffold set up in the hall for a play.’ ANN. REF. i. 197. edit. 1725.

² A very late scripture-play, ‘A newe merry and witte comedie or enterlude, newlie imprinted treating the history of JACOB AND ESAU, &c.’ for H. Bynneman, 1568. 4to. Bl. Lett. But this play had appeared in queen Mary’s reign, ‘An enterlude vpon the history of Jacobe and Esawe, &c.’ Licenced to Henry Sutton, in 1557. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 23. a. It is certain, however, that the fashion of religious interludes was not entirely discontinued in the reign of queen Elizabeth. For, I find licenced to T. Hackett in 1561, ‘A newe enterlude of the ij synnes of kynge Dauyde.’ Ibid. fol. 75. a. And to Pickeringe in 1560-1, the play of queen Esther. Ibid. fol. 62. b. Again, there is licenced to T. Colwell, in 1565, ‘A playe of the story of kyng Darias from Esdres.’ Ibid. fol. 133. b. Also, ‘A pleasaunte recytall worthy of the readinge containynge the effecte of iij worthy squieres of Daryus the kinge of Persia,’ licenced to Griffiths in 1565. Ibid. fol. 132. b. Often reprinted. And in 1566, John Charlewood is licenced to print ‘An enterlude of the repentance of Mary Magdalen.’ Ibid. fol. 152. a. Of this piece I have cited an ancient MSS. Also, not to multiply instances, Colwell in 1568, is licenced to print ‘The playe of Susanna,’ Ibid. fol. 176. a. Ballads on scripture subjects are now innumerable. Peele’s DAVID AND BATHSHEBA is a remain of the fashion of scripture-plays. I have mentioned the play of HOLOFERNES acted at Hatfield in 1556. LIFE OF SIR THOMAS POPE, p. 87. In 1556, was printed ‘A ballet intituled the historye of Judith and Holyfernes,’ REGISTR. ut supr. fol. 154. b. And Registr. B. fol. 227. In Hearne’s MSS. COLLECTANEA there is a licence dated 1571, from the queen, directed to the officers of Middlesex, permitting one John Swinton Powlter, ‘to have and use some playes and games at or vpon nine several sondaies, within the said county. And because greate resorte of people is lyke to come thereunto, he is required, for the preservation of the peace, and for the sake of good order, to take with him four or five discreet and substantial men of those places where the games shall be put in practice, to superintend during the continuance of the games or playes. Some of the exhibitions are then specified, such as, *Shotinge with the brode arrowe, The lepping for men, The pytchyng of the barre*, and the like. But then follows this very general clause, ‘With all suche other games, as haue at anye

SECTION LIV.

It appears, however, that the cultivation of an English style began to be now regarded. At the general restoration of knowledge and taste, it was a great impediment to the progress of our language, that all the learned and ingenious, aiming at the charactor of erudition, wrote in Latin. English books were written only by the superficial and illiterate, at a time when judgment and genius should have been exerted in the nice and critical task of polishing a rude speech. Long after the invention of typography, our vernacular style, instead of being strengthened and refined by numerous compositions, was only corrupted with new barbarisms and affectations, for want of able and judicious writers in English. Unless we except sir Thomas More, whose *DIALOGUE ON TRIBULATION*, and *HISTORY OF RICHARD THE THIRD*, were esteemed standards of style so low as the reign of James I., Roger Ascham was perhaps the first of our scholars who ventured to break the shackles of Latinity, by publishing his *TOXOPHILUS* in English; chiefly with a view of giving a pure and correct model of English composition, or rather of shewing how a subject might be treated with grace and propriety in English as well as in Latin. His own vindication of his conduct in attempting this great innovation is too sensible to be omitted and reflects light on the revolutions of our poetry. ‘As for the
‘Lattine or Greeke tongue, euerye thinge is so excellentlye done in Them,
‘that none can do better. In the Englishe tongue contrary, euery
‘thing in a maner so meanlye, both for the matter and handelinge, that
‘no man can do worse. For therein the learned for the most part
‘haue bene alwayes most redye to write. And they which had least
‘hope in Lattine haue bene most bould in Englishe: when surelye
‘euerye man that is most ready to talke, is not most able to write. He
‘that will write well in any tongue, must folow this counsell of Aris-
‘totle; to speake as the common people do, to thinke as wise men do.
‘And so shoulde euerye man vnderstand him, and the judgment of
‘wise men alowe him. Manye Englishe writers haue not done so; but
‘vsinge straunge wordes, as Lattine, French, and Italian, do make all
‘thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man, which
‘reasoned the Englishe tongue to be enriched and encreased thereby,
‘sayinge, Who will not prayse that feast where a man shall drinke at
‘a dinner both wyne, ale, and beere? Truly, quoth I, they be al good,
‘euery one taken by himselfe alone; but if you put Malmesye and
‘sacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you
‘shall make a drinke neither easye to be knowen, nor yet holsome for

‘time heretofore or now be lycensed, used, or played.’ COLL. MSS. Hearne, tom. lxi. p. 78.
 One wishes to know, whether any interludes, and whether religious or profane, were included in this instrument.

'the bodye. Cicero in folowing Isocrates, Plato, and Demosthenes, 'encreased the Lattine tongue after another sort. This way, because 'diuers men that write do not know, they can neyther folow it because 'of their ignoraunce, nor yet will prayse it for euery arrogancy : two 'faultes seldome the one out of the others compayne. Englishe writers 'by diuersitie of tyme haue taken diuers matters in hand. In our 'fathers time nothing was red, but bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherein 'a man by readinge should be led to none other ende but only man- 'slaughter and baudrye. If anye man suppose they were goode 'enough to passe the time withall, he is deceiued. For surely vaine 'wordes do worke no smal thinge in vaine, ignorant, and yong 'mindes, specially if they be geuen any thing thervnto of their 'owne nature. These bookes, as I haue heard say, were made the 'most part in abbayes and monasteries, a very likely and fit fruite of 'such an ydle and blind kind of liuing¹. In our time now, when euery 'man is geuen to know much rather than liue wel, very many do write, 'but after such a fashion as very many do shoote. Some shooters 'take in hande stronger bowes than they be able to maintaine. This 'thinge maketh them sometime to ouershoote the marke, sometime to 'shoote far wyde and perchance hurt some that loke on. Other, that 'neuer learned to shoote, nor yet knoweth good shaft nor bowe, will 'be as busie as the best².'

Ascham's example was followed by other learned men. But the chief was Thomas Wilson, who published a system of LOGIC and RHETORIC both in English. Of his LOGIC I have already spoken. I have at present only to speak of the latter, which is not only written in English, but with a view of giving rules for composing in the English language. It appeared in 1553, the first year of queen Mary, and is entitled, *THE ARTE OF RHETORIKE for the use of all suche as are studious of Eloquence, sette forth in Englishe by THOMAS WILSON*³. Leonarde Cox, a schoolmaster, patronised by Farringdon, the last abbot of Reading, had published in 1530, as I have observed, an English tract on rhetoric, which is nothing more than a technical and elementary manual. Wilson's treatise is more liberal, and discursive : illustrating the arts of eloquence by example, and examining and as-

¹ He says in his *SCHOOLEMASTER*, written soon after the year 1563, 'There be more of 'these vngracious bookes set out in print within these few monethes, than have bene seene in England many score years before.' B. i. fol. 26. a. edit. 1589. 4to.

² *To all the Gentlemen and Yomen of ENGLAND.* Prefixed to *Toxophilus. The Schole or partition of shooting*, Lond. 1545. 4to.

³ Lond. 1553. 4to. Dedicated to John Dudley, earl of Warwick. In the Dedication he says, that he wrote great part of this treatise during the last summer vacation in the country, at the house of sir Edward Dimmocke. And that it originated from a late conversation with his lordship, 'emonge other talke of learnyng.' It was reprinted by Jhon Kynston in 1570 Lond. 4to. With 'A Prologue to the Reader,' dated Dec. 7. 1560. Again, 1567. 4to. And 1568. 4to. In the PROLOGUE, he mentions his escape at Rome, which I have above related : and adds, 'If others neuer gette more by bookes than I have doen, it wer better be a carter 'than a scholar, for worldlie profite.'

certaining the beauties of composition with the speculative skill and sagacity of a critic. It may therefore be justly considered as the first book or system of criticism in our language. A few extracts from so curious a performance need no apology; which will also serve to throw light on the present period, and indeed on our general subject, by displaying the state of critical knowledge, and the ideas of writing, which now prevailed.

I must premise, that Wilson, one of the most accomplished scholars of his times, was originally a fellow of King's College, where he was tutor to the two celebrated youths Henry and Charles Brandon, dukes of Suffolk. Being a doctor of laws, he was afterwards one of the ordinary masters of requests, master of St. Katharine's hospital near the Tower, a frequent ambassador from queen Elizabeth to Mary queen of Scots, and into the Low countries, a secretary of state and a privy counsellor, and at length, in 1579, dean of Durham. He died in 1581. His remarkable diligence and dispatch in negotiation is said to have resulted from an uncommon strength of memory. It is another proof of his attention to the advancement of our English style, that he translated seven orations of Demosthenes, which, in 1570, he dedicated to sir William Cecill¹.

Under that chapter of his third book of RHETORIC which treats of the four parts belonging to elocution, Plainnesse, Aptnesse, Composition, Exornacion, Wilson has these observations on simplicity of style, which are immediately directed to those who write in the English tongue. 'Among other lessons this should first be learned, that we neuer affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is commonly receiued: neither seking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuing ouer carelesse, vsing our speache as moste men do, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue doen. Some seke so farre for outlandishe Englishe, that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tel what thei saie: and yet these fine Englishe clerkes wil saie thei speake in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for counterfeityng the kinges Englishe. Some farre iournied gentlemen at their returne home, like as thei loue to go in forrein apparel, so thei will powder their talke with ouersea language. He that cometh lately out of Fraunce will talke Frenche Englishe, and neuer blushe at the matter. Another choppes in with Englishe Italianated, and applieth

¹ Admitted scholar in 1541. A native of Lincolnshire. MSS. Hatcher.

² Which had been also translated into Latin by Nicholas Carr. To whose version Hatcher prefixed this distich. [MSS. More, 102. Carr's Autograph. MSS.]

Hæc eadem patrio Thomas sermone polivit
Wilsonus, patrii gloria prima soli.

Wilson published many other things. In Gabriel Harvey's SMITHUS, dedicated to sir Walter Mildmay, and printed by Binneman in 1578, he is ranked with his learned cotemporaries. See SIGNAT. D iij.—E ij.—I j.

'the Italian phraise to our Englishe speakyng: the whiche is, as if an
'Oration that professeth to vtter his mynde in plaine Latine, would
'needes speake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of straunge anti-
'quitie. The lawier will store his stomacke with the prating of pedlers.
'The auditour, in makyng his accompt and rekenyng, cometh in with
'*sise sould*, and *cater denere*, for vj. s. and iiij. d. The fine courtier will
'talke nothyng but CHAUCER. The misticall wisemen, and poetically
'clerkes, will speake nothyng but quainte prouerbes, and blinde alle-
'gories; delihtyng muche in their owne darknesse, especially when
'none can tel what thei do saie. The vnlearned or folishe phantasticall,
'that smelles but of learnyng (svche fellowes as haue seene learned
'men in their daies) will so Latine their tongues, that the simple cannot
'but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely thei speake by some re-
'ulacion. I know Them, that thinke RHETORIKE to stande wholie
'vpon darke wordes; and he that can catche an ynkehorne terme by
'the tailie, hym thei compt to be a fine Englishman and a good rhe-
'torican¹. And the rather to set out this folie, I will adde here svche

¹Puttenham, in THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, where he treats of style and language, brings some illustrations from the practice of oratory in the reign of queen Mary, in whose court he lived; and although his book is dated 1589, it was manifestly written much earlier. He refers to sir Nicholas Bacon, who began to be high in the departments of the law in queen Mary's time, and died in 1579. Having told a story from his own knowledge in the year 1553, of a ridiculous oration made in parliament by a new speaker of the house, who came from Yorkshire, and had more knowledge in the affairs of his county, and of the law, than gracefulness or delicacy of language, he proceeds, 'And though graue and wise counsellours in their consultations do not vse much superstitious eloquence, and also in their iudiciall hearings 'do much mislike all scholasticall rhetoricks: yet in such a case as it may be (and as this 'parliament was) if the lord chancelour of England or archbishop of Canterbury himselve were 'to speke, he ought to do it cunningly and eloquently, which cannot be without the vse of 'figures: and neuerthelesse, none impeachment or blemish to the grauitie of their persons or 'of the cause: wherein I report me to them that knew sir Nicholas Bacon lord Keeper of the 'great seale, or the now lord treasurer of England, and haue bene conuersant in their 'speeches made in the parliament house and starre chamber. From whose lippes I haue 'seene to procede more graue and naturall eloquence, than from all the oratours of Oxford 'and Cambridge.—I have come to the lord Keeper sir Nicholas Bacon, and found him sitting in his gallery alone, with the workes of Quintilian before him. In deede he was a most elo- 'quent man and of rare learning and wisdom as euer I knew England to breed, and one that 'ioyed as much in learned men and men of good witts.' Lib. iii. ch. ii. pag. 126. seq. What follows soon afterwards is equally apposite. 'This part in our maker or poet must be heedily 'looked vnto, that it [his language] be naturall, pure, and the most vsuall of all his countray: 'and for the same purpose, rather that which is spoken in the kinges court, or in the good 'townes and cities within the land, than in the marches or frontiers, or in port-townes where 'straungers haunt for traffike sake, or yet in vniuersities where schollars vse much peevish 'affectation of words out of the primitiue languages; or finally, in any vplandish village or 'corner of the realme, &c. But he shall follow generally the better brought vp sort, such as 'the Greekes call *charientes*, men ciuill and graciously behauored and bred. Our maker 'therefore at these dayes shall not follow PIERS PLOWMAN, nor Gower, nor Lydgate, nor yet 'Chaucer, for their language is now out of vse with vs: neither shall he take the termes of 'northerne men, suche as they vse in daily talke, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or 'of their best clarkes, all is a matter, etc. Ye shall therefore take the vsuall speech of the 'court, and that of London, and the shires lying about London within lx myles, and not 'much aboue. I say not this, but that in euery shyre of England there be gentlemen and 'others that speke, but specially write, as good Sovtherne as we of Middlesex and Surrey do, 'but not the common people of euery shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned 'clarkes, do for the most part condescend: but herein we are ruled by the English Diction- 'aries, and other bookes written by learned men. Albeit peraduenture some small admoni- 'tion be not impertinent: for we finde in our English writers many wordes and speeches amenable, and ye shall see in some many inkhorne termes so ill affected brought in by men of learning, as preachers and schoolemasters, and many straunge termes of other languages by secretaries and marchaunts and traueillours, and many darke wordes and not vsuall nor well sounding, though they be daily spoken at court.' Ibid. Ch. iii. fol. 120. 121.

'a letter as William Sommer¹ himself, could not make a better for that purpose,—devised by a Lincolneshire man for a voide benefice². This point he illustrates with other familiar and pleasant instances [B. iii. fol. 82. b. ed. 1567.]

In enforcing the application and explaining the nature of fables, for the purpose of amplification, he gives a general idea of the Iliad and Odyssey. 'The saying of poetes, and al their fables, are not to be forgotten. For by them we maie talke at large, and win men by perswasion, if we declare before hand, that these tales were not fained of suche wisemen without cause, neither yet continued vntill this time, and kept in memorie without good consideration, and therevpon declare the true meanyng of all svche writynge. For vndoubtedly, there is no one Tale among all the poetes, but vnder the same is comprehended somethyng that perteyneth either to the amendement of maners, to the knowledge of truthe, to the setting forth natures worke, or els to the vnderstanding of some notable thing doen. For what other is the painful trauaile of Vlisses, described so largely by Homere, but a liuely picture of mans miserie in this life? And as Plutarche saith, and likewise Basilius Magnus, in the ILIADES are described strength and valiauntnesse of bodie: in ODISSEA, is set forth a liuely paterne of the mynde. The Poetes are Wisemen, and wisshed in harte the redresse of thinges, the which when for feare thei durst not openly rebuke, they did in colours paint them out, and tolde men by shadowes what thei shold do in good sothe: or els, because the wicked were vnworthy to heare the trueth, they spake so that none might vnderstande but those vnto whom thei please to vtter their meanyng, and knewe them to be men of honest conuersacion.' [Lib. iii. fol. 99. b.]

Wilson thus recommends the force of circumstantial description, or, what he calls, *An euident or plaine setting forth of a thing as though it were presently doen*. 'An example. If our enemies shal inuade and by treason win the victory, we shal all die euery mothers sonne of vs, and our citee shal be destroyed, sticke and stone: I se our

¹ King Henry's Jester. In another place he gives us one of Somner's jests. 'William Sommer saying muche adoe for accomptes making, and that Henry VIII. wanted money, such as was due to him,' 'And please your grace,' quoth he, 'you haue so many Frauditours, so many Conueighers, and so many Deceiuers, to get vp your money, that thei get all to themselves.' That is, Auditors, Surveyors, and Receiuers. fol. 102. b. I have seen an old narrative of a progress of Henry VIII. and queen Katharine, to Newbery in Berkshire, where Somner, who had accompanied their majesties as court-bullfohn, fell into disgrace with the people for his impertinence, was detained, and obliged to submit to many ridiculous indignities: but extricated himself from all his difficulties by comic expedients and the readiness of his wit. On returning to the court, he gave their majesties, who were inconsolable for his long absence, a minute account of these low adventures, with which they were infinitely entertained. What shall we think of the manners of such a court?

² Viz. 'Pondering, expending, and reuoluting with myself, your ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacitie, for mundane affaires, I cannot but celebrate and extoll your magnificall dexteritie above all other. For how could you have adapted suche illustrate prerogative, and dominiall superioritie, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been so fertile and wonderfull pregnaut, etc.' It is to the lord Chancellor.

'children made slaues, our daughters rauished, our wiues carried away, 'the father forced to kill his owne sonne, the mother her daughter, 'the sonne his father, the sucking childe slain in his mothers bosom, 'one standyng to the knees in anothers blood, churches spoiled, houses 'plucte down, and al set on fire round about vs, euery one cursing the 'daie of their birth, children cryng, women wailing, &c. Thus, where 'I might haue said, *We shal al be destroyed*, and say [no] more, I haue 'by description set the euill forthe at large.' [Fol. 91. a.] It must be owned that this picture of a sacked city is literally translated from Quintilian. But it is a proof, that we were now beginning to make the beauties of the ancients our own.

On the necessity of a due preservation of character he has the following precepts, which seem to be directed to the writers of Historical Plays. 'In describyng of persons, there ought alwaies a comelinesse 'to be vsed, so that nothing be spoken which may be thought is not 'in them. As if one shold describe Henry VI. He might call hym 'gentle, milde of nature, ledde by perswacion, and ready to forgiue, 'carelesse for wealth, suspecting none, mercifull to al, fearful in aduersitie, and without forecast to espie his misfortvne. Againe, for 'Richarde III., I might brynge him in cruell of harte, ambitious by 'nature, enuious of minde, a deepe dissembler, a close man for weightie 'matters, hardie to reuenge and fearefull to lose hys high estate, trustie 'to none, liberall for a purpose, castyng still the worste, and hoping euer 'for the best¹. By this figure² also, we imagine a talke for some one 'to speake, and accordyng to his persone we frame the oration. As 'if one shoulde bryng in noble Henry VIII. of famous memory, to 'enuegh against rebelles, thus he might order his oration. *What if 'Henry VIII. were aliue, and sawe suche rebellion in the realme, 'would he not saie thus and thus?* Yea methinkes I heare hym 'speake euen now. And so sette forthe suche wordes as we would 'haue hym to say.' [Fol. 91. b.] Shakespeare himself has not delineated the characters of these English monarchs with more truth. And the first writers of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, who *imagine a talk for some one to speake, and according to his person frame the oration*, appear to have availed themselves of these directions, if not to have caught the notion of their whole plan from this remarkable passage.

He next shews the advantages of personification in enlivening a composition. 'Some times it is good to make God, the Countray, or 'some one Towne, to speake; and looke what we would saie in our

¹ Richard III. seems to have been an UNIVERSAL character for exemplifying a cruel disposition. Our author, meaning to furnish a chamber with persons famous for the greatest crimes, says in another place. 'In the bedstede I will set Richard III. of Englande, or 'somelike notable murtherer,' fol. 109. b. Shakespeare was not the first that exhibited this tyrant upon the stage. In 1586, a ballad was printed called a 'tragick report of king 'Richarde the iii.' REGISTR. STATION, B. fol. 210. b.

² Lively Description.

'owne persone, to frame the whole tale to them. Such varietie doeth
'much good to auoide tediousnesse. For he that speaketh all in one
'sorte, though he speake thinges neuer so wittilie, shall sone weary his
'hearers. Figures therefore were inuented, to auoide satietie, and
'cause delite: to refresh with pleasure and quicken with grace the
'dulnesse of mans braine. Who will looke on a white wall an houre
'together where no workemanshippe is at all? Or who will eate still
'one kynde of meate and neuer desire chaunge?' [Fol. 91. b. 92. a.]

Prolix Narratives, whether jocose or serious, had not yet ceased to be the entertainment of polite companies: and rules for telling a tale with grace, now found a place in a book of general rhetoric¹. In treating of *pleasaunt sporte made rehearsyng of a whole matter*, he says, 'Thei that can liuely tell pleasaunt tales and mery dedes doen, and set them out as wel with gesture as with voice, leauing nothing behinde that maie serue for beautifying of their matter, are most mete for this purpose, whereof assuredly ther are but fewe. And whatsoever he is, that can aptlie tell his tale, and with countenance, voice, and gesture, so temper his reporte, that the hearers may still

¹ Yet he has here also a reference to the utility of tales both at the bar and in the Pulpit. For in another place, professedly both speaking of Pleadings and Sermons, he says, 'If tyme maie so serue, it were good when menne be wearied, to make them somewhat merie, and to begin with some pleasaunte tale, or take occasion to ieste wittellie, etc.' fol. 55. b. Again, 'Men commonlie tarie the ende of a merie Plaie, and cannot abide the half hearyng of a sower checkyng Sermon. Therefore euen these aunciente preachers must nowe and thene plaie the fooles in the pulpste to serue the tickle eares of their fletyng audience, etc.' fol. 2. a. I know not if he means Latimer here, whom he commends, 'There is no better preacher among them all except Hugh Latimer the father of al preachers.' fol. 63. a. And again, 'I would thinke it not amiss to speake muche accordyng to the nature and phansie of the ignorant, that the rather thei might be wonne through fables to learne more weightie and graue matters. For al men cannot brooke sage causes and auncient collations. but will like earnest matters the rather, if some be spoken there among agreeing to their natures. The multitude, as Horace doth saie, is a beaste or rather a monster that hath many heddes, and therefore, like vnto the diuersitie of natvres, varietie of inuention must alwaies be vsed. Talke altogether of moste graue matters, or deppeley searche out the ground of thynges, or vse the quiddities of Duns [Scotus] to set forth Gods misteries, you shal se the ignorant, I warrant you, either fall aslepe, or els bid you farewell. The multitude must nedes be made merry; and the more foolish your talke is, the more wise will thei compt it to be. And yet it is no foolishness but rather wysdome to win men, by telling of fables to heare Gods goodness,' fol. 101. a. Also fol. 52. a. 69. a. Much to the same purpose he says, 'Euen in this our tyme, some offende muche in tediousnesse, whose parte it were to comfort all men with cherefulness. Yea, the preachers of God mind so muche edifyng of soules, that thei often forgette we have any bodies. And therefore, some doe not so much good with tellyng the truthe, as thei doe harme with dullyng the hearers; beyng so farre gone in their matters, that oftentimes thei cannot tell when to make an ende,' fol. 70. a. Yet still he allows much praise to the preachers in general of his age. 'Yea, what tell I nowe of suche lessons, seeyng God hath raised suche worthy preachers in this our tyme, that their godlie and learned doynge maie be a most iuste example for all other to followe,' fol. 55. b. By the way, although a zealous gosseller, in another place he obliquely censures the rapacity with which the reformation was conducted under Edward VI. 'I had rather, said one, make my child a cobbler than a preacher, a tankard-bearer than a scholar. For what shall my sonne seke for learnyng, when he shall neuer get thereby any livyng? Set my sonne to that whereby he maie get somewhat. Doe you not see, how euery one catcheth and pulleth from the church what thei can? I feare me, one daie they will plucke downe church and all. Call you this the GOSPELL, when men seke onlie for to provide for their bellies, and care not a groate though their soules go to helle? A patrone of a benefice will have a poore yngramme soule, to beare the name of a parsonne for twentie marke, or tenne pounce; and the patrone hymself will take vp, for his snapshare, as good as an hundred marke. Thus, God is robbed, learnyng decayed, England dishonoured, and honestie not regarded,' fol. 9. a.

'take delite, hym coompte I a man worthie to be highlie estemed. For
'vndoubtedly no man can doe any such thing excepte that thei haue
'a greate mother witte, and by experience confirmed suche their come-
'linesse, whervnto by nature thei were most apte. Manie a man readeth
'histories, heareth fables, seeth worthie actes doen, euen in this our
'age : but few can set them out accordinglie, and tell them liuelie, as the
'matter selfe requireth to be tolde. The kyndes of delityng in this sort
'are diuers: whereof I will set forth many.—*Sporte moued by tellyng
'of olde tales.*—If there be any olde tale or straunge historie, well and
'wittellie applied to some man liuyng, all menne loue to heare it of life.
'As if one were called Arthure, some good felowe that were wel
'acquainted with KYNG ARTHURES BOOKE and the Knightes of his
'Rounde Table, would want no matter to make good sport, and for a
'nede would dubbe him knight of the Rounde Table, or els proue hym
'to be one of his kynne, or else (which were muche) proue him to be
'Arthur himself. And so likewise of other names, merie panions¹
'would make madde pastyme. Oftentimes the deformitie of a mannes
'body giueth matter enough to be right merie, or elles a picture in shape
'like another manne will make some to laugh right hartelye, [fol. 74. a.] &c.' This is no displeasing image of the arts and accomplishments which seasoned the mirth and enlivened the conversations of our forefathers. Their wit seems to have chiefly consisted in mimicry. [Fol. 70. a.]

He thus describes the literary and ornamental qualifications of a young nobleman which were then in fashion, and which he exemplifies in the characters of his lamented pupils, Henry duke of Suffolk and lord Charles Brandon his brother¹. 'I maie commend hym for his
'learnynge, for his skill in the French or in the Italian, for his know-
'ledge in cosmographie, for his skill in the lawes, in the histories of al
'countrees, and for his gift of enditing. Againe, I maie commend
'him for playing at weapons, for running vpon a great horse, for char-
'gyng his staffe at the tilt, for vaulting, for playyng upon instrumentes,
'yea and for painting, or drawing of a plat, as in olde time noble
'princes muche delited therin.' [Fol. 7. a.] And again, 'Suche a man
'is an excellent fellowe, saithe one, he can speake the tongues well, he
'plaies of instrumentes, fewe men better, he feigneth to the lute mar-
'ueilous sweetlie², he endites excellentlie: but for al this, the more is
'the pitee, he hath his faultes, he will be dronke once a daie, he loues
'women well, &c.' [Fol. 67. a.]

¹ Companions. A cant word.

² He gives a curious reason why a young nobleman had better be born in London than any other place. 'The shire or towne helpeth somewhat towards the encrease of honour. As, 'it is much better to be borne in Paris than in Picardie, in London than in Lincolne. For 'that bothe the aire is better, the people more ciuil, and the wealth much greater, and the 'menne for the most parte more wise,' fol. 7. a.

³ He mentions the Lute again, 'The tongue giueth a certaine grace to euery matter, and 'beautifieth the cause, in like manner as a sweete soundyng lute muche setteth forth a meane 'deuised ballade,' fol. 111. a.

The following passage acquaints us, among other things, that many now studied, and with the highest applause, to write elegantly in English as well as in Latin. 'When we haue learned vsuall and ac-
'cvsustomable wordes to set forthe our meanyng, we ought to ioyne
'them together in apte order, that the eare maie delite in hearyng the
'harmonic. I knowe some Englishmen, that in this point haue suche
'a gift in the Englishe as fewe in Latin haue the like; and therefore
'delite the Wise and Learned so much with their pleasaunte composi-
'tion, that many reioyce when thei maie heare suche, and thinke
'much learnyng is gotte when thei maie talke with them¹.' But he
adds the faults which were sometimes now to be found in English com-
position, among which he censures the excess of alliteration.—'Some
'will bee so shorte, and in such wise curtall their sentences, that thei
'had neede to make a commentary immediatelie of their meanyng, or els
'the moste that heare them shal be forced to kepe counsaile. Some

¹ This work is enlivened with a variety of little illustrative stories, not ill told, of which the following is a specimen. 'An Italian havng a sute here in Englande to the archbushoppe
'of Yorke that then was, and commynge to Yorke when one of the Prebendaries there
'brake his bread, as they terme it, and therevpon made a solemne longe diner, the whiche
'perhaps began at eleuen and continued well nigh till fowre in the afternoone, at the whiche
'dinner this bishoppe was: It fortvned that as they were sette, the Italian knockt at the gate,
'vnto whom the porter, perceiuing his errand, answered, that my lorde bishoppe was at
'diner. The Italian departed, and returned betwixte twelve and one; the porter answered
'they were yet at dinner. He came againe at two of the clocke; the porter tolde hym thei
'had not half dined. He came at three a clocke, vnto whom the porter in a heate answered
'neuer a worde, but churlishlie did shutte the gates vpon him. Wherevpon, others told the
'Italian, that ther was no speaking with my Lord, almoste all that daie, for the solemne
'diner sake. The gentilman Italian, wonderyng muche at suche a long sitting, and greatly
'greued because he could not then speake with the archbushoppes grace, departed straight
'towards London; and leauyng the dispatche of his matters with a dere frende of his, toke
'his iourney towards Italie. Three yeres after, it hapened that an Englishman came to
'Rome, with whom this Italian by chaunce fallyng acquainted, asked him if he knewe the
'archbushoppe of Yorke? The Englishman said, he knewe hym right well. I praie you tell
'me, quoth the Italian, *hath that archbishop yet dined?*' The Italian explaining himself,
they both laughed heartily, fol. 78. b. 79. a.

He commends Dr. Haddon's latinity, which is not always of the purest cast. 'There is
'no beter Latine man within England, except Gualter Haddon the lawier,' fol. 63. a. Again
he commends a prosopopeia of the duchess of Suffolk; in Haddon's *Oratio de vita et obitu
fratrum Suffolciensium Henrici et Caroli Brandon* [edit. Hatcher, Lond. 1577. 4to. p. 89.
viz. LUCUBRATIONES G. Haddon,] fol. 94. a.

He mentions John Heiwood's PROVERBS. 'The Englishe Proverbs gathered by Jhon
'Heiwoode helpe well in this behaule [allegory], the which commonlie are nothyng els but
'Allegories, and dark deuised sentences,' fol. 90. a. Again, for furnishing similitudes, 'The
'Prouerbes of Heiwoode helpe wonderfull well for thys purpose,' fol. 96. b.

He condemns, in an example, the growing practice of mothers who do not suckle their
own children, which he endeavours to prove to be both against the law of nature and
the will of God. Fol. 56. a. Here is an early proof of a custom, which may seem to have
originated in a more luxurious and delicate age.

To these miscellaneous extracts I shall only add, that our author who was always esteemed
a sincere advocate for protestantism, and never suspected of leaning to popery, speaking of
an artificial memory, has this theory concerning the use of images in churches. 'When I
'see a lion, the image thereof abideth faster in my minde, than if I should heare some re-
'porte made of a lion. Among all the sences, the iye [eye] sight is most quicke, and con-
'teineth the impression of thinges more assuredlie than any of the other sences doe. And
'the rather, when a manne both heareth and seeth a thing (as by artificiall memorie he doeth
'almost see thinges liuely), he doeth remember it muche the better. The sight printeth
'thinges in a mans memorie as a seale doeth printe a mans name in waxe. And therefore,
'heretofore Images were sette vp for remembrance of saintes, to be LAIE-MENNES BOOKES,
'that the rather be saying [seeing] the pictures of suche men, thei might be stirred to
'followe their good living.—Marry, for this purpose whereof we now write, this would haue
'serued gallic well.' fol. 111. a.

'wil speake oracles, that a man can not tell, which waie to take them. 'Some will be so fine, and so poetically withall, that to their seming 'there shall not stande one heare [hair] amisse, and yet euey bodie 'els shall think them meter [fitter] for a ladies chamber, than for an 'earnest matter in any open assembly.—Some vse overmuch repetition 'of one letter, as *pitifull povertie prayeth for a penie, but puffed pre- 'sumpcion passeth not a poinct, pamperryng his panche with pestilent 'pleasure, procuryng his passeport to poste it to hell pitte, there to be 'punished with paines perpetuall.*' Others, he blames for the affectation of ending a word with a vowel and beginning the next with another. 'Some, he says, ende their sentences al alike, making their 'talke [style] rather to appere rimed meter, than to seme plaine speache. '—I heard a preacher¹ delityng muche in this kinde of composicion, 'who vsed so often to ende his sentence with woordes like vnto that 'which went before, that in my iudgemente, there was not a dozen 'sentences in his whole sermon but thei ended all in rime for the moste 'parte. Some, not best disposed, wished the Preacher a Lute, that 'with his rimed sermon he might vse some pleasaunte melodie, and so 'the people might take pleasure diuers waies, and daunce if thei like.' Some writers, he observes, disturbed the natural arrangement of their words: others were copious when they should be concise, The most frequent fault seems to have been, the rejection of common and proper phrases, for those that were more curious, refined, and unintelligible².

The English RHETORIC of Richard Sherry, school master of Magdalene college at Oxford, published in 1555³, is a jejune and a very different performance from Wilson's, and seems intended only as a manual for school-boys. It is entitled, 'A treatise of the figures of 'grammar and rhetorike, profitable to all that be studious of eloquence, 'and in especiall for such as in grammar scholes doe reade moste elo- 'quente poetes and oratours. Wherevnto is ioyned the Oration which 'Cicero made to Cesar, geuing thanks vnto him for pardonyng and 'restoring again of that noble man Marcus Marcellus. Sette fourth 'by Richard Sherrye Londonar, 1555⁴.' William Fullwood, in his *Enemie of idleness, teaching the manner and style howe to endyte and*

¹ Preaching and controversial tracts occasioned much writing in English after the reformation.

² Fol. 85. a. b. 86. a. One Thomas Wilson translated the *DIANA* of Montemayer, a pastoral Spanish romance, about the year 1595, which has been assigned as the original of the *TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA*. He could hardly be our author, unless that version was one of his early juvenile exercises. This translator Wilson I presume is the person mentioned by Meres as a poet, 'Who for learning and extemporall witte in this facultie is without compare or compeer, as to his great and eternall commendations he manifested in his challenge at the Swanne on the Bank side.' *WITS TREAS.* edit. 1598, 12mo. Again, he mentions one Wilson as an eminent dramatic writer, perhaps the same. There is, by one Thomas Wilson, an *EXPOSITION ON THE PSALMS*, Lond. 1591, 4to. And an *EXPOSITION ON THE PROVERBS*, Lond. 1589, 4to. Among the twelve players sworn the queen's servants in 1583, were 'two rare men, viz. Thomas Wilson for a quicke, delicate, refined extemporall witte, 'and Richard Tarleton, &c.' Stowe's *ANN.* edit. 1615, fol. 597.

³ But there seems to have been a former edition by Richard Day, 1550, in oct.

⁴ For Richard Tottell, 12mo. In 74 leaves.

write all sorts of epistles and letters, set forth in English by William Fullwood merchant, published in 1571¹, written partly in prose and partly in verse, has left this notice. 'Whoso will more circumspectly and narrowly entreat of such matters, let them read the retorike of 'maister doctour Wilson, or of maister Richard Rainolde².' I have never seen Richard Rainolde's RHETORIC, nor am I sure that it was ever printed. The author, Rainolde, was of Trinity college in Cambridge, and created doctor of medicine in 1567³. He wrote also a Latin tract dedicated to the duke of Norfolk, on the condition of princes and noblemen⁴: and there is an old CRONICLE in quarto by one Richard Reynolds⁵. I trust it will be deemed a pardonable anticipation, if I add here, for the sake of connection, that Richard Mulcaster, who from King's college in Cambridge was removed to a Studenship of Christ-church in Oxford about the year 1555, and soon afterwards, on account of his distinguished accomplishments in philology, was appointed the first master of Merchant Taylor's school in London⁶, published a book which contains many judicious criticisms and observations on the English language, entitled, 'The first part of 'the ELEMENTARIE, which entreateth chesely of the right writing of 'the English tung, sett forth by Richard Mulcaster, Lond. 1582⁷.' And, as many of the precepts are delivered in metre, I take this opportunity of observing, that William Bullokar published a 'Bref grammar for 'English, Imprinted at London by Edmund Bollifant, 1586⁸.' This little piece is also called, 'W. Bullokar's abbreviuation of his Grammar 'for English extracted out of his Grammar at larg for the spedi par-

¹ In four books, 12mo. It is dedicated to the master, wardens, and company of Merchant Taylors London. 'Think not Apelles painted piece.' PR. 'The ancient poet Lu-
'canus.' The same person translated into English, THE CASTLE OF MEMORIE, from William Gratarol, dedicated to lord Robert Dudley, master of the horse to the queen, Lond. for W. Howe in Fleetstreet, 1573. 8vo. DED. begins, 'Syth noble Maximilian kyng.'

² Fol. 7. a. In 1562, 'the Boke of Retoryke,' of which I know no more, is entered to John Kyngeston. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 87. b.

³ MSS. Cat. Graduat. Univ. Cant.

⁴ MSS. Stillingfl. 160. 'De statu nobilium virorum et principum.'

⁵ Of the Emperors, from Julius Cesar to Maximilian. Licenced to T. Marshe, in 1566. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 154. b.

⁶ In 1561. It was then just founded as a proseminary for St. John's college Oxford, in a house called the Manour of the Rose in saint Lawrence Pounteney, by the company of Merchant-Taylors. St. John's college had been then established about seven years, which Mulcaster soon filled with excellent scholars till the year 1586. In the Latin plays acted before queen Elizabeth and James I. at Oxford, the students of this college were distinguished. This was in consequence of their being educated under Mulcaster. He was afterward, in 1596, master of St. Paul's school. He was a prebendary of Salisbury, and at length was rewarded by the queen with the opulent rectory of Standford-Rivers in Essex, where he died in 1611. He was elected scholar of King's college Cambridge in 1548. MSS. Hatcher. And Contin. Hatch. Celebrated in its time was his CATECHISMUS PAULINUS *in usum Scholæ Paulinæ conscriptus*, Lond. 1601. 8vo. &c. It is in long and short verse. Many of Mulcaster's panegyrics in Latin verse may be seen prefixed to the works of his cotemporaries. A copy of his Latin verses was spoken before queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth castle in 1575. G. Gascoyne's NARRATIVE, &c. Signat. A. iij.

⁷ Most elegantly printed, in the white letter, by Thomas Vautrollier in qto. 272 pages. The second part never appeared. His 'POSITIONS, wherein those primitive circumstances be examined which are necessarie for the training vp of children either for skill in 'their booke or health in their bodies.' [Lond. 1581, 1587, 4to.] have no connection with this work.

⁸ Coloph. 'Qd W. Bullokar. 12mo. It contains 68 pages.

'cing of English spech, and the eazier coming to the knowledge of 'grammar for other languages.' [Fol. 1.] It is in the black letter, but with many novelties in the type, and affectations of spelling. In the preface, which is in verse, and contains an account of his life, he promises a dictionary of the English language, which, he adds, will make his third work¹. His first work I apprehend to be 'A Treatise of Orthographie in Englishe by William Bullokar,' licenced to Henry Denham in 1580². Among Tanner's books is a copy of his *bref grammar* above-mentioned, interpolated and corrected with the author's own hand, as it appears, for a new impression. In one of these MSS. insertions, he calls this, 'the first grammar for Englishe' 'that euer waz, except my *grammar at large*'³.

The French have vernacular critical and rhetorical systems at a much higher period. I believe one of their earliest is 'Le JARDIN de 'plaisance et FLEUR de rhetorique, contenant plusieurs beaux livres.' It is in quarto, in the gothic type with wooden cuts, printed at Lyons by Olivier Arnoullet for Martin Boullon, and without date. But it was probably printed early in 1500⁴. In one of its poems, LA PIPEE *ou chasse de dieu d'amour*, is cited the year 1491. [Stance, 22. fol. 134.] Another edition, in the same letter, but in octavo, appeared at Paris in 1547, *Veuve de Jehan Treperel et Jehan Jehannot*. Besides the System of Rhetoric, which is only introductory, and has the separate title of L'ART DE RHETORIQUE, *de ses couleurs, figures et especes*⁵, it comprehends a miscellaneous collection of *Balades, rondeaux, chansons, dicties, comedies*, and other entertaining little pieces⁶, chiefly on the subject of the sentimental and ceremonious love which then prevailed. The whole, I am speaking of the oldest edition, contains one hundred and ninety leaves. The RHETORIC is written in the short French rhyme : and the tenth chapter consists of rules for composing Moralities, Farces, Mysteries, and other ROMANS. That chapter is thus introduced, under the Latin rubric PROSECUTIO.

Expediez sont neuf chapitres,
Et comme aussi des derniers titers
Et comme l'on doit composer
Et d'autres Rommans disposer

Il faut un dixieme exposer :
Qu'on doit a se propos poser,
Moralities, Farces, Misteres :
Selon les diverses matieres.

¹ Here he says also, that he has another volume lying by him of *more fame*, which is not to see the light till christened and called forth by the queen.

² Jun. 10 REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 169, a. But I must not forget, that in 1585, he published, 'Esop's fables in tru orthography, with grammer notz. Her-unto ar also 'coloned the shorte sentencz of the wyz Cato, imprinted with lyke form and order: both of which authorz ar translated out of Latin intoo English by William Bullokar.' 12mo.

³ Fol. 68. In his metrical preface he says, that he served in the army under sir Richard Wingfield in queen Mary's time. There is 'A petee scholz of spellinge and writinge Englishe,' licenced to Butter, Jul. 20. 1580. REGISTR. B. fol. 171. a.

⁴ There is another, I suppose a second, edition, without date, in black letter, with wooden cuts, in folio, containing 248 leaves, exclusive of the tables. This has some improvements.

⁵ From fol. 2. a. to fol. 14. a.

⁶ But the compiler has introduced 'Le DONNET, traite ge grammair baillie au feu roi 'Charles viii.' fol. 20. a. One of the pieces is a MORISQUE, in which the actors are Amoreuse grace, Enuieuse jalousie, Espoir de parvenir, Tout habandonne, Sot penser. fol. 32. b.

The Latin rubrics to each species are exceedingly curious. 'Decimum Capitulum pro forma compilandi MORALITATES.—Pro COMEDIS¹. —Pro MISTERIIS compilandis.' Receipts to make poems have generally been thought dull. But what shall we think of dull receipts for making dull poems? Gratian du Pont, a gentleman of Tholouse, printed in 1539 the 'Art et Science de Rhétorique metrisée.' [Par N. Viellard 4to.] It must be remembered, that there had been an early establishment of prizes in poetry at Tholouse, and that the seven troubadours or rhetoricians at Tholouse, were more famous in their time than the seven sages of Greece.² But the 'Grand et vrai Art de

¹ The farce, or comedy, must have,

'Chose qui soit melodieuse,

'Matiere qui soit comedieuse, &c.'

² See Verdier ii. 649. From an ingenious correspondent, who has not given me the honour of his name, and who appears to be well acquainted with the manners and literature of Spain. I have received the following notices relating to this institution, of which other particulars may be seen in the old French History of Languedoc. 'At the end of the second volume of Mayan's ORIGINES DE LA LINGUA ESPANOLA. printed in duodecimo at Madrid in 1737, is an extract from a MSS. entitled *Libro de la Arte de Trovar, o Gaya Sciencia, por Don Enrique de Villena*, said to exist in the library of the cathedral of Toledo, and perhaps to be found in other libraries of Spain. It has these particulars.—The TROVADORES had their origin at Tholouse, about the middle of the twelfth century. A CONSISTORIA de la GAYA SCIENCIA was there founded by Ramon Vidal de Besalin, containing more than 120 celebrated poets, and among these, princes, kings, and emperors. Their art was extended throughout Europe, and gave rise to the Italian and Spanish poetry, *servio el Garona de Hippocrene*. To Ramon Vidal de Besalin succeeded Jofre de Foix, Monge negro, who enlarged the plan, and wrote what he called *Continuacion de trovar*. After him Beïenguer de Troya came from Majorca, and compiled a treatise de *Figuras y Colores Rhetoricos*. And next Guil. Vedal of Majorca wrote *La Suma Vitulina*. To support the GAYA SCIENCIA at the poetical college of Tholouse, the king of France appropriated privileges and revenues: appointing seven *Mantenedores, tiesessen Jsyas*. These constituted the LAWS OF LOVE, which were afterwards aordged by Guill. Moluier under the title *Tratado de las Flores*. Next Fray Ramon framed a system called *Doctrinal*, which was censured by Castilnon. From thence nothing was written in Spanish on this subject, till the time of Don Enrique de Villena.—So great was the credit of the GAY SCIENCE, that Don Juan the first king of Aragon, who died 1393, sent an embassy to the king of France, requesting that some Troubadours might be transmitted to teach this art in his kingdom. Accordingly two *Mantenedores* were dispatched from Tholouse, who founded a college for poetry in Barcelona, consisting of four *Mantenedores*, a Cavalier, a Master in Theology, a Master in Laws, and an honourable Citizen. Disputes about Don Juan's successor occasioned the removal of the college to Tortosa. But Don Ferdinand being elected King, Don Enrique de Villena was taken into his service: who restored the college, and was chosen principal. The subjects he proposed, were sometimes, the Praises of the Holy Virgin, of Arms, of Love, y de *buenas Costumbres*. An account of the ceremonies of their public Acts then follows, in which every composition was recited, being written en *papeles Damasquinos de diversas colores, con letras de oro y de plata, et iluminadas fermosas, lo mayor qua cada una poito*. The best performance had a crown of gold placed upon it: and the author, being presented with a *joya*, or prize, received a licence to *cantur y decir en publico*. He was afterwards conducted home in form, escorted amongst others by two *Mantenedores*, and preceded by minstrels and trumpets, where he gave an entertainment of confects and wine.'

There seems to have been a similar establishment at Amsterdam, called *Rhedertiecker camer*, or the CHAMBER OF RHETORICIANS, mentioned by Isaacus Pontanus. Who adds, 'Sunt autem hi rhetores viri amani et poetici spiritus, qui lingua vernacula, aut prosa aut versa oratione, comedias, tragedias, subindeque et mutas personas, et facta maiorum notantes, magna spectantium voluptate exhibent.' RER. ET URB. AMST. Lib. ii. c. xvi. pag. 118. edit. 1611. fol. In the preceding chapter, he says, that this fraternity of rhetoricians erected a temporary theatre, at the solemn entry of prince Maurice into Amsterdam in 1594, where they exhibited in DUMB SHOW the history of David and Goliath. Ibid. c. xv. p. 117.

Meteranus, in his Belgic history, speaks largely of the annual prizes, assemblies, and contests, of the guilds or colleges of the rhetoricians, in Holland and the Low Countries. They answered in rhyme, questions proposed by the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. At Ghent in 1539, twenty of these colleges met with great pomp, to discuss an ethical question, and each gave a solution in a moral comedy, magnificently presented in the public theatre. In 1561, the rhetorical guild of Antwerp, called the VIOLET, challenged all the neighbouring cities to

‘plein Rhetorique’ in two books, written by Pierre Fabri, properly Le Fevre, an ecclesiastic of Rouen, for teaching elegance in prose as well as rhyme, is dated still higher. Goujet mentions a Gothic edition of this tract in 1521¹. It contains remarks on the versification of mysteries and farces, and throws many lights on the old French writers.

But the French had even an ART OF POETRY so early as the year 1548. In that year Thomas Sibilet published his *Art poetique* at Paris, *Veuve Francois Regnault*. This piece preserves many valuable anecdotes of the old French poetry : and, among other particulars which develop the state of the old French drama, has the following sensible strictures. ‘The French farce contains little or nothing of the Latin ‘comedy. It has neither acts nor scenes, which would only serve to ‘introduce a tedious prolixity : for the true subject of the French farce, ‘or SOTTIE, is every sort of foolery which has a tendency to provoke ‘laughter.—The subject of the Greek and Latin comedy was totally ‘different from every thing on the French stage. For it had more ‘morality than drollery, and often as much truth as fiction. Our ‘MORALITIES hold a place indifferently between tragedy and comedy : ‘but our farces are really what the Romans called mimes, or *Priapees*, ‘the intended end and effect of which was excessive laughter, and on ‘that account they admitted all kinds of licentiousness, as our farces ‘do at present. In the mean time, their pleasantry, does not derive ‘much advantage from rhymes, however flowing, of eight syllables².’ Sibilet’s work is chiefly founded on Horace. His definitions are clear and just, and his precepts well explained. The most curious part of it is the enumeration of the poets who in his time were of most repute. Jacques Pelletier du Mans, a physician, a mathematician, a poet, and a voluminous writer on various subjects both in prose and verse, also published an ART POETIQUE at Lyons, in 1555. [By Jean de Tournes. 8vo.] This critic had sufficient penetration to perceive the false and corrupt taste of his cotemporaries. ‘Instead of the regular ode and ‘sonnet, our language is sophisticated by *ballads, roundeaux, lays*, and ‘*triolet*s. But with these we must rest contented, till the farces which ‘have so long infatuated our nation are converted into comedy, our ‘martyr-plays into tragedy, and our romances into heroic poems. [Ch. ‘de L’ODE.] And again, ‘We have no pieces in our language written ‘in the genuine comic form, except some affected and unnatural ‘MORALITIES, and other plays of the same character, which do not

a decision of the same sort. On this occasion, 340 rhetoricians of Brussels appeared on horseback, richly but fantastically habited, accompanied with an infinite variety of pageantries, sports, and shows. These had a garland, as a reward for the superior splendor of their entry. Many days were spent in determining the grand questions : during which, there were feasting, bonfires, farces, tumbling, and every popular diversion. BELG. HISTOR. UNIVERSAL. fol. 1597. Lib. i. pag. 31. 32.

¹ BIBL. FR. 361. He mentions another edition in 1539. Both at Paris, 12mo.

² Liv. ii. ch. viii. At the end of Sibilet’s work is a critical piece of Quintil against Ch. Fontaine, first printed separately at Paris, 1538. 16mo.

'deserve the name of comedy. The drama would appear to advantage, 'did it but resume its proper state and ancient dignity. We have, 'however, some tragedies in French learnedly translated, among 'which is the HECUBA of Euripides by Lazare de Baif, &c¹.' Of rhyme the same writer says, 'S'il n'étoit question que de parler ornement, il ne faudroit sinon écrire en prose, ou s'il n'étoit question que 'de rimer, il ne faudroit, sinon rimer en farceur: mais en poesie, il 'faut faire tous les deux, et BIEN DIRE, et BIEN RIMER.' [Liv. ii. ch. i. De la RIME.] His chapters of IMITATION and TRANSLATION have much more philosophy and reflection than are to be expected for his age, and contain observations which might edify modern critics. [See Liv. i. ch. v. and vi.] Nor must I forget, that Pelletier also published a French translation of Horace's ART OF POETRY at Paris in 1545, [Par Michel Vascosan. 8vo.] I presume, that Joachim du Bellay's *Deffense et Illustration de la LANGUE FRANCOISE* was published at no great distance from the year 1550. He has the same just notion of the drama, 'As to tragedies and comedies, if kings and states would 'restore them in their ancient glory, which has been usurped by farces 'and MORALITIES, I am of opinion that you would lend your assistance; and if you wish to adorn our language, you know where to find 'models.' [Liv. ii. ch. iv.]

The Italian vernacular criticism began chiefly in commentaries and discourses on the language and phraseology of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace. I believe one of the first of that kind is, 'Le tre Fontane di 'Nicolo Liburnio sopra la grammatica, e l'eloquenza di Dante, del 'Petrarcha, e del Boccaccio. In Venezia, per Gregorio Gregori, 1526².' Numerous expositions, lectures, annotations, and discourses of the same sort, especially on Dante's Inferno, and the Florentine dialect, appeared soon afterwards. Immediately after the publication of their respective poems, Ariosto, whose ORLANDO FURIOSO was styled the *nuova poesia*, and Tasso, were illustrated or expounded by commentators more intricate than their text. One of the earliest of these is, 'Sposizione de Simon Fornari da Reggio sopra l'Orlando Furioso di 'Lodovico Ariosto. In Firenze per Lorenzo Torrentino 1549³.' Perhaps the first criticism on what the Italians call the Volgar Lingua is by Pietro Bembo, 'Prose di Pietro Bembo della volgar Lingua divise 'in tre libri. In Firenze per Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549.' [In 4to.] But the first edition seems to have been in 1525. This subject was discussed in an endless succession of *Regole grammaticali*, *Osservazioni*, *Avvertimenti*, and *Ragionamenti*. Here might also be mentioned, the annotations, although they are altogether explanatory, which often

¹ CH. DE LA COMEDIE ET DE LA TRAGEDIE. See also, to the same purpose, Colletet *Sur la poesie morale*, and Guillaume des Autels, *Repos d'un plus grand travail*.

² In qto. Again, per Marchio Sessa, 1534. 8vo.

³ In 8vo. The *Seconde Partie* appeared ibid. 1550. 8vo.

accompanied the early translations of the Greek and Latin classics into Italian. But I resign this labyrinth of research to the superior opportunities and abilities of the French and Italian antiquaries in their native literature. To have said nothing on the subject might have been thought an omission, and to have said more, impertinent. I therefore return to our own poetical annals.

Our three great poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, seem to have maintained their rank, and to have been in high reputation, during the period of which we are now treating. Splendid impressions of large works were at this time great undertakings. A sumptuous edition of Gower's *CONFESSIO AMANTIS* was published by Berthelette in 1554. On the same ample plan, in 1555, Robert Braham printed with great accuracy, and a diligent investigation of the ancient copies, the first correct edition of Lydgate's *TROYBOKE*¹. I have before incidentally remarked, that Nicholas Briggam, a polite scholar, a student at Oxford and at the Inns of Court, and a writer of poetry, in the year 1555, deposited the bones of Chaucer under a new tomb, erected at his own cost, and inscribed with a new epitaph, in the chapel of bishop Blase, in Westminster Abbey, which still remains². Wilson, as we have just seen in a citation from his *RHETORIC*, records an anecdote, that the more accomplished and elegant courtiers were perpetually quoting Chaucer. Yet this must be restricted to the courtiers of Edward VI. And indeed there is a peculiar reason why Chaucer, exclusive of his real excellence, should have been the favorite of a court which laid the foundations of the reformation of religion. It was, that his poems abounded with satirical strokes against the corruptions of the church, and the dissolute manners, of the monks. And undoubtedly Chaucer long before, a lively and popular writer, greatly assisted the doctrines of his cotemporary Wickliffe, in opening the eyes of the people to the absurdities of popery, and exposing its impostures in a vein of humour and pleasantry. Fox the martyrologist, a weak and a credulous compiler, perhaps goes too far in affirming, that Chaucer has undeniably proved the pope to be the antichrist of the apocalypse. [Tom. ii. p. 42. edit. 1614.]

Of the reign of queen Mary, we are accustomed to conceive every thing that is calamitous and disgusting. But when we turn our eyes

¹ Nothing can be more incorrect than the first edition in 1513.

² Undoubtedly Chaucer was originally buried in this place. Leland cites a Latin elegy, or *NÆNIA*, of thirty-four lines, which he says was composed by Stephanus Surigonus of Milan, at the request of William Caxton the printer : and which, Leland adds, was written on a white tablet by Surigonus, on a pillar near Chaucer's grave in the south ile at Westminster, *SCRIPT. BRIT. GALFRID. CHAUCERUS*. See Caxton's *EPILOGUE* to Chaucer's *BOOKE OF FAME*, in Caxton's *CHAUCEr*. Wood says, that Briggam 'exercised his muse much in poetry, and took great delight in the works of Jeffrey Chaucer : for whose memory he had so great a respect, that he removed his bones into the fourth cross-ile or transept of S. Peter's church, &c.' *ATH. OXON.* i. 130. I do not apprehend there was any removal, in this case, from one part of the abbey to another. Chaucer's tomb has appropriated this aisle, or transept, to the sepulture or to the honorary monuments of our poets.

from its political evils to the objects which its literary history presents, a fair and flourishing scene appears. In this prospect, the mind feels a repose from contemplating the fates of those venerable prelates, who suffered the most excruciating death for the purity and inflexibility of their faith : and whose unburied bodies, dissipated in ashes, and undistinguished in the common mass, have acquired a more glorious monument, than if they had been interred in magnificent shrines, which might have been visited by pilgrims, loaded with superstitious gifts, and venerated with the pomp of mistaken devotion.

SECTION LVI.

THE first poem which presents itself at the commencement of the reign of queen Elizabeth, is the play of GORDOUC, written by Thomas Sackville lord Buckhurst, the original contriver of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*¹. Thomas Norton, already mentioned as an associate with Sternhold and Hopkins in the metrical version of David's Psalms, is said to have been his coadjutor².

It is no part of my plan, accurately to mark the progress of our drama, much less to examine the merit of particular plays. But as this piece is perhaps the first specimen in our language of an heroic tale, written in blank verse, divided into acts and scenes, and cloathed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy, it seems justly to deserve a more minute and a distinct discussion of this general view of our poetry.

It was first exhibited in the great Hall of the Inner Temple by the students of that Society, as part of the entertainment of a grand Christmas, and afterwards before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, on January 18, 1561. It was never intended for the press. But being surreptitiously and very carelessly printed in 1565, an exact edition,

¹ It is scarcely worth observing, that one Thomas Brice, at the accession of Elizabeth printed in English metre a *Register of the Martyrs and Confessors under queen Mary*. Lond. for R. Adams, 1559. 8vo. I know not how far Fox might profit by this work. I think he has not mentioned it. In the Stationers registers, in 1567, were entered to Henry Binneiman, *SONGES and SONNETTS* by Thomas Brice. REGISTR. A. fol. 164. a. I have never seen the book. In 1570, an elegy, called 'An epitaph on Mr. Bryce preacher' occurs, licenced to John Alde. Ibid. fol. 205. b. Again, we have the *COURT OF VENUS*, I suppose a ballad, MORALISED, in 1566, by Thomas Bryce, for Hugh Singleton. Ibid. fol. 156. a.

² Preface to GORDOUC, edit. 1571. Strype says, that Thomas Norton, was a clergyman, a puritan, a man of parts and learning, well known to secretary Cecil and archbishop Parker, and that he was suspected, but without foundation, of writing an answer to Whitgift's book against the puritans, published in 1572. LIFE OF PARKER, p. 364. LIFE OF WHITGIFT, p. 28. I forgot to mention before, that Norton has a copy of commendatory verses prefixed to Turner's *PRESERVATIVE*, a tract against the Pelagians, dedicated to Hugh Latimer, printed Lond. 1551. 12mo. In the Conferences in the Tower with Campion the Jesuit, in 1581, one Norton, but not our author, seems to have been employed as a notary. 'A TRUE REPORTE OF THE DISPUTATION, &c.' Lond. 1587. Bl. Lett. 4to. SIGNAT. A. a. iij.

with the consent and under the inspection of the authors, appeared in 1571, in black letter, thus entitled. 'The TRAGIDIE OF FERREX AND PORREX, set forth without addition or alteration, but altogether as the same was showed on stage before the queenes Majestie about nine yeare past, viz. The xvij day of Januarie, 1561. By the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. Seen and allowed, &c. Imprinted at London by John Daye dwelling ouer Aldersgate.' It has no date, nor notation of pages, and contains only 31 leaves in small octavo¹. In the edition of 1565, it is called the TRAGEDIE OF GORDOBUĆ. The whole title of that edition runs thus. 'The Tragedie of Gordobuc, whereof three actes were wrytten by Thomas Nortone, and the two laste by Thomas Sackvyle. Sett forthe as the same was shewed before the queenes most excellent maiestie in her highnes court of Whitehall, to 18 Jan. 1561. By the gentlemen of thynner Temple in London, Sep, 22, 1565., Printed by William Griffith at the sign of the Falcon in Fleet-street, in quarto². I have a most incorrect black lettered copy in duodecimo, without title, but with the printer's monogram in the last page, I suspect of 1569, which once belonged to Pope³, and from which the late Mr. Spence most faithfully printed a modern edition of the tragedy, in the year 1736. I believe it was printed before that of 1571, for it retains all the errors of Griffith's first or spurious edition of 1565. In the Preface prefixed to the edition of 1571, is the following passage. 'Where [whereas] this tragedy was for furniture of part of the grand Christmasse in the Inner-temple, first written about nine years ago by the right honourable Thomas now lord Buckhurst, and by T. Norton; and afterwards showed before her maiestie, and neuer intended by the authors thereof to be published: Yet one W. G. getting a copie thereof at some young mans hand, that lacked a little money and much discretion, in the last great plague *anno* 1565, about fiue yeares past, while the said lord was out of England, and T. Norton far out of London, and neither of them both made priuy, put it forth exceedingly corrupted, &c.' W. G. is William Griffith, the printer in Fleet-street, above-mentioned. Mr. Garrick had another old quarto edition, printed by Alde, in 1590.

¹ For the benefit of those who wish to gain a full and exact information about this edition, so as to distinguish it from all the rest, I will here exhibit the arrangement of the lines of the title page. 'The Tragidie of Ferrex | and Porrex, | set forth without addition or alteration but altogether as the same was shewed | on stage before the queenes maiestie, | about nine yeares past, *vz*, the | xvij daie of Januarie. 1261. by the Gentlemen of the | Inner Temple. | Seen and allowed &c. ' Imprinted at London by | John Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.' With the Bodleian copy of this edition, are bound up four pamphlets against the papists by Thomas Norton.

² On the books of the Stationers, 'The Tragedie of GORDOBUĆ where iij actes were written by Thomas Norton and the laste by Thomas Sackvyle,' is entered in 1565-6. with William Griffiths. REGISTR. A. fol. 132. b.

³ In the year 1717, my father, then a fellow of Magdalene college at Oxford, gave this copy to Mr. Pope, as appears by a letter of Pope to R. Digby, dat. Jun. 2. 1717. Pope's LETTERS, vol. ix. p. 39. edit. 12mo. 1754. 'Mr. Warton forced me to take Gordobuc, &c.' 'Pope gave it to the late bishop Warburton, who gave it to me about ten years ago, 1770.

These are the circumstances of the fable of this tragedy. Gordobuc, a king of Britain about six hundred years before Christ, made in his life-time a division of his kingdom to his sons Ferrex and Porrex. The two young princes within five years quarrelled for universal sovereignty. A civil war ensued, and Porrex slew his elder brother Ferrex. Their mother Viden, who loved Ferrex best, revenged his death by entering Porrex's chamber in the night, and murdering him in his sleep. The people, exasperated at the cruelty and treachery of this murder, rose in rebellion, and killed both Viden and Gordobuc. The nobility then assembled, collected an army, and destroyed the rebels. An intestine war commenced between the chief lords: the succession of the crown became uncertain and arbitrary, for want of the lineal royal issue: and the country, destitute of a king, and wasted by domestic slaughter, was reduced to a state of the most miserable desolation.

In the dramatic conduct of this tale, the unities of time and place are eminently and visibly violated: a defect which Shakespeare so frequently commits, but which he covers by the magic of his poetry. The greater part of this long and eventful history is included in the representation. But in a story so fertile of bloodshed, no murder is committed on the stage. It is worthy of remark, that the death of Porrex in the bed-chamber is only related. Perhaps the players had not yet learned to die, nor was the poignard so essential an article as at present among the implements of the property-room. Nor is it improbable, that to kill a man on the stage was not now avoided as a spectacle shocking to humanity, but because it was difficult and inconvenient to be represented. The writer has followed the series of facts related in the chronicles without any material variation, or fictitious embarrassments, and with the addition only of a few necessary and obvious characters.

There is a Chorus of Four Ancient and Sage Men of Britain, who regularly close every Act, the last excepted, with an ode in long-lined stanzas, drawing back the attention of the audience to the substance of what has just passed, and illustrating it by recapitulatory moral reflections, and poetical or historical allusions. Of these the best is that which terminates the fourth Act, in which prince Porrex is murdered by his mother Viden. These are the two first stanzas.

When greedie lust in royall seat to reigne,
Hath reft all care of goddes, and eke of men,
And Cruell Heart, Wrath, Treason, and Disdaine,
Within th' ambitious breast are lodged, then
Behold howe MISCHIEFE wide herselfe displaies,
And with the brothers hand the brother slaies!

When blood thus shed doth staine the heauens face,
Crying to Joue for vengeaunce of the deede,
The mightie god euen moueth from his place,

With wrath to wreak. Then sendes he forth with spede
 The dreadful Furies, daughters of the night,
 With serpents girt, carrying the whip of ire,
 With haire of stinging snakes, and shining bright
 With flames and blood, and with a brande of fire.
 These for reuenge of wretched murder done
 Do make the mother kill her onelie son !

Blood asketh blood, and death must death requite :
 Joue, by his iust and euerlasting doom,
 Justly hath euer so required it, &c. [Act. iv. Sc. ult.]

In the imagery of these verses, we discern no faint traces of the hand which drew the terrible guardians of hell-gate, in the INDUCTION to the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*.

The moral beauties and the spirit of the following ode, which closes the third act, will perhaps be more pleasing to many readers

The lust of kingdom knowes no sacred faithe,
 No rule of reason, no regarde of right,
 No kindlie loue, no feare of heauens wrathe :
 But with contempt of goddes, and man's despight,
 Through blodie slaughter doth prepare the waies
 To fatall scepter, and accursed reigne :
 The sonne so lothes the fathers linyerunge daies,
 Ne dreads his hande in brothers blode to staine !

O wretched prince ! ne dost thou yet recorde
 The yet fressh murthers done within the lande,
 Of thie forefathers, when the cruell sworde
 Bereft Morgain his liefe with cosyn's hande ?

Thus fatall plagues pursue the giltie race,
 Whose murderous hand, imbrued with giltles blood,
 Askes vengeance still¹, before the heauens face,
 With endles mischiefes on the cursed broode.

The wicked child thus brings to wofull sier
 The mournefull plaintes, to waste his wery² life :
 Thus do the cruell flames of civyll fier
 Destroye the parted reigne with hatefull strife :
 And hence doth spring the well, from which doth flo,
 The dead black streames of mourning, plaint, and wo. [Act.
 iii. Sc. ult.]

Every act is introduced, as was the custom in our old plays, with a piece of machinery called the *DUMB SHOW*, shadowing by an allegorical exhibition the matter that was immediately to follow. In the construction of this spectacle and its personifications, much poetry and imagination was often displayed. It is some apology for these pre-figurations, that they were commonly too mysterious and obscure, to forestal the future events with any degree of clearness and precision. Not that this mute mimicry was always typical of the ensuing incidents.

¹ Still, omitt. edit. 1565.

² Very, a worse reading, in edit. 1571.

It sometimes served for a compendious introduction of such circumstances, as could not commodiously be comprehended within the bounds of the representation. It sometimes supplied deficiencies, and covered the want of business. Our ancestors were easily satisfied with this artificial supplement of one of the most important unities, which abundantly filled up the interval that was necessary to pass, while a hero was expected from the Holy Land, or a princess was imported, married, and brought to bed. In the meantime, the greater part of the audience were probably more pleased with the emblematical pageantry than with the poetical dialogue, although both were alike unintelligible.

I will give a specimen in the *DOMME SHEWE* preceding the fourth act. 'First, the musick of howeboies began to plaie. Duriinge whiche, there came forth from vnder the stage, as thoughe out of hell, three Furies, *ALECTO*, *MEGERA*, and *CTESIPHONE*, clad in blacke garments sprinkled with bloud and flames, their bodies girt with snakes, their heds spread with serpents instead of heare, the one bearing in her hande a snake the other a whip, and the thirde a burning firebrande : eche driuyng before them a kynge and a queene, which moued by Furies vnnaturally had slaine their owne children. The names of the kinges and queenes were these, *TANTALUS*, *MEDEA*, *ATHAMAS*, *INO*, *CAMBISES*, *ALTHEA*. After that the Furies, and these, had passed aboute the stage thrise, they departed, and then the musicke ceased. Hereby was signified the vnnaturall murders to followe, that is to saie, Porrex slaine by his owne mother. And of king Gordobuc and queene Viden killed by their owne subjectes.' Here, by the way, the visionary procession of kings and queens long since dead, evidently resembles our author Sackville's original model of the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES* : and, for the same reason, reminds us of a similar train of royal spectres in the tent-scene of Shakespeare's *KING RICHARD THE THIRD*.

I take this opportunity of expressing my surprise, that this ostensible comment of the Dumb Show should not regularly appear in the tragedies of Shakespeare. There are even proofs that he treated it with contempt and ridicule. Although some critics are of opinion, that because it is never described in form at the close or commencement of his acts, it was therefore never introduced. Shakespeare's aim was to collect an audience, and for this purpose all the common expedients were necessary. No dramatic writer of his age has more battles or ghosts. His representations abound with the useful appendages of mechanical terror, and he adopts all the superstitions of the theatre. This problem can only be resolved into the activity or the superiority of a mind, which either would not be entangled by the formality, or which saw through the futility, of this unnatural and ex-

trinsic ornament. It was not by declamation or by pantomime that Shakespeare was to fix his eternal dominion over the hearts of mankind.

To return to Sackville. That this tragedy was never a favourite among our ancestors, and has long fallen into general oblivion, is to be attributed to the nakedness and uninteresting nature of the plot, the tedious length of the speeches, the want of a discrimination of character, and almost a total absence of pathetic or critical situations. It is true that a mother kills her own son. But this act of barbarous and unnatural impiety, to say nothing of its almost unexampled atrocity in the tender sex, proceeds only from a brutal principle of sudden and impetuous revenge. It is not the consequence of any deep machination, nor is it founded in a proper preparation of previous circumstances. She is never before introduced to our notice as a wicked or designing character. She murders her son Porrex, because in the commotions of a civil dissension, in self-defence, after repeated provocations, and the strongest proofs of the basest ingratitude and treachery, he had slain his rival brother, not without the deepest compunction and remorse for what he has done. A mother murdering a son is a fact which must be received with horror: but it required to be complicated with other motives, and prompted by a co-operation of other causes, to rouse our attention, and work upon our passions. I do not mean that any other motive could have been found, to palliate a murder of such a nature. Yet it was possible to heighten and to divide the distress, by rendering this bloody mother, under the notions of human frailty, an object of our compassion as well as of our abhorrence. But perhaps these artifices were not yet known or wanted. The general story of the play is great in its political consequences; and the leading incidents are important, but not sufficiently intricate to awaken our curiosity, and hold us in suspense. Nothing is perplexed and nothing unravelled. The opposition of interests is such as does not affect our nicer feelings. In the plot of a play, our pleasure arises in proportion as our expectation is excited.

Yet it must be granted, that the language of GORDOBUC has great purity and perspicuity? and that it is entirely free from that timid phraseology, which does not seem to have taken place till play-writing had become a trade, and our poets found it their interest to captivate the multitude by the false sublime, and by those exaggerated imageries and pedantic metaphors, which are the chief blemishes of the scenes of Shakespeare, and which are at this day mistaken for his capital beauties by too many readers. Here also we perceive another and a strong reason why this play was never popular.

Sir Philip Sydney, in his admirable DEFENCE OF POESIE, remarks, that this tragedy is full of *notable moralitie*. But tragedies are not

to instruct us by the intermixture of moral sentences, but by the force of example, and the effect of the story. In the first act, the three counsellors are introduced debating about the division of the kingdom in long and elaborate speeches, which are replete with political advices and maxims of civil prudence. But this stately sort of declamation, whatever eloquence it may display, and whatever policy it may teach, is undramatic, unanimated, and unaffecting. Sentiment and argument will never supply the place of action upon the stage. Not to mention, that these grave harangues have some tincture of the formal modes of address, and the ceremonious oratory, which were then in fashion. But we must allow, that in the strain of dialogue in which they are professedly written, they have uncommon merit, even without drawing an apology in their favour from their antiquity : and that they contain much dignity, strength of reflection, and good sense, couched in clear expression and polished numbers. I shall first produce a specimen from the speech of Aroſtus who is styled a Counsellor to the King, and who is made to defend a specious yet perhaps the least rational side of the question.

And in your lyfe, while you shall so beholde
 Their rule, their vertues, and their noble deedes,
 Such as their kinde behighteth to vs all ;
 Great be the profites that shall growe thereof :
 Your age in quiet shall the longer last,
 Your lastinge age shall be their longer staie :
 For cares of kynges, that rule, as you haue rulde
 For publique wealth, and not for private ioye,
 Do waste mannes lyfe, and hasten crooked age,
 With furrowed face, and with enfeebled lymmes,
 To drawe on creepynge Death a swifter pace.
 They two, yet yonge, shall beare the parted regne
 With greater ease, than one, now olde, alone,
 Can welde the whole : for whom, muche harder is
 With lessened strength the double weight to beare
 Your age, your counsell, and the graue regarde
 Of father, yea of suche a fathers name,
 Nowe at beginning of their sondred reigne,
 When is the hazarde of their whole heatesse,
 Shall bridle so the force of youthfull heates,
 And so restraine the rage of insolence
 Whiche most assailes the yong and noble minds,
 And so shall guide and traine in tempred staie
 Their yet greene bending wittes with reuerent awe,
 As now inured with vertues at the first.
 Custom, O king, shall bringe delightfulness ;
 By vse of vertue, vice shall growe in hate.
 But if you so dispose it, that the daye
 Which endes your life, shal first begin their reigne

Great is the perill. What will be the ende,
 When suche beginning of suche liberties
 Voide of suche stayes as in your life do lye,
 Shall leaue them free to random of their will,
 An open prey to traiterous flattery,
 The greatest pestilence of noble youthe :
 Which perill shal be past, if in your life,
 Their tempred youth, with aged fathers awe,
 Be brought in vre of skilfull staiedness, &c. [Act i. Sc. ii.]

From an obsequious complaisance to the king, who is present, the topic is not agitated with that opposition of opinion and variety of arguments which it naturally suggests, and which would have enlivened the disputation and displayed diversity of character. But Eubulus, the king's secretary, declares his sentiments with some freedom, and seems to be the most animated of all our three political orators.

To parte your realme vnto my lords your sonnes,
 I think not good, for you, ne yet for them,
 But worst of all for this our native land :
 Within one lande one single rule is best
 Diuided reignes do make diuided hartes,
 But peace preserues the countrey and the prince.
 Suche is in man the greedie minde to reigne,
 So great is his desire to climbe aloft
 In wordly stage the stateliest partes to beare,
 That faith, and iustice, and all kindly loue,
 Do yelde vnto desire of soueraigntie.
 Where egall state doth raise an egall hope,
 To winne the thing that either wold attaine.
 Your grace remembreth, howe in passed yeres
 The mightie Brute, first prince of all this lande,
 Possessed the same, and ruled it well in one :
 He, thinking that the compasse did suffice,
 For his three sonnes three kingdoms eke to make,
 Cut it in three, as you would nowe in twaine :
 But how much Brittish blod hath since been spilt,
 What princes slaine before their timely hour,
 To ioyne againe the sondred vnitie ?
 What wast of townes and people in the lande ?
 What treasons heaped on murders and on spoiles ?
 Whose iust reuenge euen yet is scarcely ceased,
 Ruthfull remembraunce is yet raw in minde, &c. [Act i. Sc. ii.]

The illustration from Brutus is here both apposite and poetical.

Spence, with a reference to the situation of the author lord Buckhurst in the court of queen Elizabeth, has observed in his preface to the modern edition of this tragedy, that 'tis no wonder, if the language of kings and statesmen should be less happily imitated by a poet than a privy counsellor.' This is an insinuation that Shakespeare, who has left many historical tragedies, was less able to conduct some

parts of a royal story than the statesman lord Buckhurst. But I will venture to pronounce, that whatever merit there is in this play, and particularly in the speeches we have just been examining, it is more owing to the poet than the privy counsellor. If a first minister was to write a tragedy, I believe the piece will be the better, the less it has of the first minister. When a statesman turns poet, I should not wish him to fetch his ideas or his language from the cabinet. I know not why a king should be better qualified than a private man, to make kings talk in blank verse,

The chaste elegance of the following description of a region abounding in every convenience, will gratify the lover of classical purity

Yea, and that half, which in abounding store
Of things that serue to make a welthie realme,
In statelie cities, and in frutefull soyle,
In temperate breathing of the milder heauen,
In thinges of nedeful vse, whiche friendlie sea
Transportes by traffike from the forreine partes
In flowing wealth, in honour and in force, &c. [Act ii. Sc. i.]

The close of Marcella's narration of the murder of Porrex by the queen, which many poets of a more enlightened age would have exhibited to the spectators, is perhaps the most moving and pathetic speech in the play. The reader will observe, that our author, yet to a good purpose, has transferred the ceremonies of the tournament to the court of an old British king.

O queene of adamante ! O marble breaste !
If not the fauour of his comelie face,
If not his princelie chere and countenance,
His valiant active armes, his manlie breaste,
If not his faier and semelie personage,
His noble lymmes in suche proporcion¹ caste,
As would have wrapped² a sillie womans thought,
If this mought not haue moued thy bloodie harte,
And that most cruell hande, the wretched weapon
Euen to let fall, and kisse him in the face,
With teares for ruthe to reauue suche one by death :
Should nature yet consent to slaye her sonne ?
O mother thou, to murder thus thie childe !
Euen Joue, with Justice, must with lightening flames
From heauen send downe some strange reuenge on thee.
Ah ! noble prince, how oft have I beheld
Thee mounted on thy fierce and traumpling stede,
Shying in armour bright before thy tylte,
And with thy mistresse' sleaue tied on thy helme,
And charge thy staffe, to please thy ladies eie,

¹ In the edition of 1565, this word is *preparacion*. I mention this, as a specimen of the great incorrectness of that edition.

² Wrapped, rapt, i. e. ravished. I once conjectured *warped*. We have 'wrapped in wo.
Act iv. Sc. ii.

That bowed the head peece of thy frendly foe?
 Howe oft in armes on horse to bende the mace?
 How oft in arms on foote to breake the sworde?
 Which neuer now these eyes may see againe ! [Act iv. Sc. ii.]

Marcella, the only lady in the play except the queen, is one of the maids of honour ; and a modern writer of tragedy would have made her in love with the young prince who is murdered.

The queen laments the loss of her eldest and favorite son, whose defeat and death had just been announced, in the following soliloquy. The ideas are too general, although happily expressed : but there is some imagination in her wishing the old massy palace had long ago fallen, and crushed her to death.

Why should I lyue, and lynger forth my time
 In longer lief, to double my distresse?
 O me most wofull wight, whome no mishap
 Long ere this daie could haue bereued hence !
 Mought not these handes, by fortune or by fate,
 Haue perst this brest, and life with iron reft?
 Or in this pallaice here, where I so longe
 Haue spent my daies, could not that happie houre
 Ones, ones, haue hapt, in which these hugie frames
 With death by fall might haue oppressed me !
 Or should not this most hard and cruell soile,
 So oft where I haue prest my wretched steps,
 Somtyme had ruthe of myne accursed lief,
 To rend in twaine, and swallowe me therin !
 So had my bones possessed now in peace
 Their happie graue within the closed ground,
 And greadie wormes had gnawen this pynd hart
 Without my feelynge paine ! So should not now
 This lyyng brest remayne the ruthefull tombe
 Wherein my hart, yelden to dethe, is graued, &c. [Act iv.
 Sc. i.]

There is some animation in these imprecations of prince Ferrex upon his own head, when he protests that he never conceived any malicious design, or intended any injury, against his brother Porrex. [Act ii. Sc. i.]

The wrekefull gods poure on my cursed head
 Eternall plagues, and neuer dyng woes !
 The hellish prince [Pluto] adjudge my dampned ghoste
 To Tantale's thirst, or proude Ixions wheele,
 Or cruel gripe², to gnaw my growing harte ;
 To duryng tormentes and vnquenched flames ;
 If euer I conceiued so foule a thought,
 To wishe his ende of life, or yet of reigne.

¹ That shaft of the lauce.

² The vulture of Prometheus.

It must be remembered, that the ancient Britons were supposed to be immediately descended from the Trojan Brutus, and that consequently they were acquainted with the pagan history and mythology. Gordobuc has a long allusion to the miseries of the siege of Troy. [Act iii. Sc. i.]

In this strain of correct versification and language, Porrex explains to his father Gordobuc, the treachery of his brother Ferrex.

When thus I saw the knot of loue unknitte :
 All honest league, and faithful promise broke,
 The lawe of kind and trothe thus rent in twain,
 His hart on mischiefe set, and in his brest
 Black treason hid : then, then did I dispaier
 That euer tyme coulede wyne him frende to me ;
 Then sawe I howe he smyled with slaying knife
 Wrapped vnder cloke, then saw I depe deceite
 Lurke in his face, and death prepared for mee, &c. [Act iv.
 Sc. ii.]

As the notions of subordination, of the royal authority, and the divine institution of kings, predominated in the reign of queen Elizabeth, it is extraordinary, that eight lines, inculcating in plain terms the doctrine of passive and unresisting obedience to the prince, which appeared in the fifth act of the first edition of this tragedy, should have been expunged in the edition of 1571, published under the immediate inspection of the authors¹. It is well known, that the Calvinists carried their ideas of reformation and refinement into government as well as religion: and it seems probable, that these eight verses were suppressed by Thomas Norton, Sackville's supposed assistant in the play, who was not only an active and I believe a sensible puritan, but a licencer of the publication of books under the commission of the bishop of London².

As to Norton's assistance in this play, it is said on better authority than that of Antony Wood, who supposes GORDOBUC to have been in old English rhyme, that the three first acts were written by Thomas Norton, and the two last by Sackville. But the force of internal evidence often prevails over the authority of assertion, a testimony which is diminished by time, and may be rendered suspicious from a variety of other circumstances. Throughout the whole piece, there is an invariable uniformity of diction and versification. Sackville has two poems of considerable length in the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, which fortunately furnish us with the means of comparison: and every

¹ See Signat. D. V. edit. 1571

² For instance, '*Seven steppes to heaven, also The seven psalmes reduced into meter by W. Hunnys, The hunny suckles, &c.*' by Hunnys. Nov. 8, 1581, to Denham. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 185. a. Also, in the same year, '*The picture of two pernicious variettes called Prig Pickthorn and Clem Cleobaske described by a peevish painter.*' Ibid. fol. 184. a. All 'under the hands of Mr. THOMAS NORTON.' Et alibi passim. 'The STAGE OF POPISH TOYES, written by T. N.' perhaps the same, is licenced to Binne-man, Feb. 22. 1580. Ibid. fol. 178. a.

scene of GORDOBUC is visibly marked with his characteristical manner, which consists in a perspicuity of style, and a command of numbers, superior to the tone of his times¹. Thomas Norton's poetry is of a very different and a subordinate cast : and if we may judge from his share in our metrical psalmody, he seems to have been much more properly qualified to shine in the miserable mediocrity of Sternhold's stanza, and to write spiritual rhymes for the solace of his illuminated brethren, than to reach the bold and impassioned elevations of tragedy.

SECTION LVII.

THIS appearance of a regular tragedy, with the division of acts and scenes, and the accompaniment of the ancient chorus, represented both at the Middle temple and at Whitehall, and written by the most accomplished nobleman of the court of queen Elizabeth, seems to have directed the attention of our more learned poets to the study of the old classical drama, and in a short time to have produced vernacular versions of the JOCASTA of Euripides, as it is called, and of the ten Tragedies of Seneca. I do not find that it was speedily followed by any original compositions on the same legitimate model.

The JOCASTA of Euripides was translated by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmarsh, both students of Gray's-inn, and acted in the refectory of that society, in the year 1566. Gascoigne translated the second, third, and fifth acts, and Kinwelmarsh the first, and fourth. It was printed in Gascoigne's poems, of which more will be said hereafter, in 1577, under the following title 'JOCASTA, a 'Tragedie written in Greeke by Euripides. Translated and digested into 'Acte, by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmershe of Graies 'inn, and there by them presented, An. 1566.' The Epilogue was written in quatrains by Christopher Yelverton, then one of their brother students. So strongly were our audiences still attached to spectacle, that the authors did not venture to present their play, without introducing a DUMB SHEW at the beginning of every act. For this, however, they had the example and authority of GORDOBUC. Some of the earliest specimens of Inigo Jones's Grecian architecture are marred by Gothic ornaments.

It must, however, be observed, that this is by no means a just or exact translation of the JOCASTA, that is the PHOENISSÆ, of Euripides.

¹ The same may be said of Sackville's SONNET prefixed to Thomas Hoby's English version of Castiglio's IL CORTEGIANO, first printed in 1558. The third part, on the *behaviour of Court-ladies*, appears to have been translated in 1557, at the request of the marchioness of Northampton.

It is partly a paraphrase, and partly an abridgement, of the Greek tragedy. There are many omissions, retrenchments, and transpositions. The chorus, the characters, and the substance of the story, are entirely retained, and the tenor of the dialogue is often preserved through whole scenes. Some of the beautiful odes of the Greek chorus are neglected, and others substituted in their places, newly written by the translators. In the favorite address to Mars¹, Gascoigne has totally deserted the rich imagery of Euripides, yet has found means to form an original ode, which is by no means destitute of pathos or imagination.

O fierce and furious Mars! whose harmefull hart
Reioiceth most to shed the giltlesse blood ;
Whose headie will doth all the world subvert,
And doth enuie the pleasant merry mood
Of our estate, that erst in quiet stood:
Why dost thou thus our harmlesse towne annoy,
Whych mighty Bacchus gouerned in ioy?
Father of warre and death, that doost remoue,
With wrathfull wrecke, from wofull mothers brest
The trusty pledges of their tender loue !
So graunt the goddes, that for our finall rest
Dame Venus' pleasant lookes may please thee best:
Whereby, when thou shalt all amazed stand,
The sword may fall out of thy trembling hand²;
And thou mayst proue some other way ful wel
The bloody prowess of thy mighty speare,
Wherewith thou raiseth from the depth of hel
The wrathful sprites of all the Furies there ;
Who, when they wake, do wander euery where,
And neuer rest to range about the costes,
T^o enrich that pit with spoyle of dammed ghostes.
And when thou hast our fields forsaken thus,
Let cruel DISCORD beare thee company,
Engirt with snakes and serpents venomous ;
Euen She, that can with red vermilion die
The gladsome greene that florisht pleasantly ;
And make the greedy ground a drinking cyp,
To sup the blood of murdered bodies vp.
Yet thou returne, O Ioie, and pleasant Peace!
From whence thou didst against our willes depart :
Ne let thy worthie mind from trauel cease,

¹ See PHOENISS. p. 140. edit. Barnes.

ὦ πολύμοχθος Ἀρης,
Τί ποθ' αἵματι
καὶ θανάτῳ κατέχῃ, &c.

² So Tibullus, where he cautions Mars not to gaze on his mistress. Lib. iv. ii. 3.
At tu, violente, caveto,
Ne tibi miranti turpiter arma cadant.

To chase disdayne out of the poysned heart,
 That raysted warre to all our paynes and smart,
 Euen from the breast of Oedipus his sonne
 Whose swelling pride hath all this iarra begon, &c. [Act ii.
 Sc. ult.]

I am of opinion, that our translators thought the many mythological and historical allusions in the Greek chorus, too remote and unintelligible, perhaps too cumbersome, to be exhibited in English. In the ode to CONCORD, which finishes the fourth act, translated by Kinwelmershe, there is great elegance of expression and versification. It is not in Euripides.

O blissefull CONCORD, bred in sacred brest
 Of hym that rules the resteless-rolling skie,
 That to the earth, for mans assured rest,
 From height of heauens vouchsafest downe to flie !
 In thee alone the mightie power doth lie,
 With sweete accorde to keepe the frowning starres,
 And eueri planet els, from hurtful warres.
 In thee, in thee, such noble vertue bydes,
 As may commaund the mightiest gods to bend :
 From thee alone such sugred friendship slydes
 As mortall wights can scarcely comprehend.
 To greatest strife thou setst deliteful end,
 O holy Peace, by thee are only found
 The passing ioyes that euerie where abound !
 Thou only, thou, through thy celestiall might,
 Didst first of all the heauenly pole deuide
 From th' old confused heap, that Chaos hight :
 Thou madste the sunne, the moone, the starres, to glyde
 With ordered course, about this worlde so wyde :
 Thou haste ordaynde Dan Tytans shining light
 By dawne of day to change the darksome night.
 When tract of time returnes the lusty ver, [spring]
 By thee alone the buds and blossoms spring,
 The fields with flours be garnisht euery where ;
 The blooming trees abundant fruite doe bring,
 The chereful byrdes melodiously doe sing :
 Tho doest appoynt the crop of summers seede,
 For mans releefe, to serue the winters neede.
 Thou dost inspire the hearts of princely peers,
 By prouidence proceeding from aboue,
 In flowring youth to choose their proper feeres ; [mates]
 With whom they liue in league of lasting loue,
 Till fearful death doth flitting life remoue :
 And looke howe fast to death man may payes his due
 So fast agayne doest thou his stock renewe.
 By thee the basest thing aduanced is :
 Thou euery where doest graffe such golden peace,

As filleth man with more than earthly blisse:
 The earth by thee doth yeelde her sweet increase,
 At beck of thee al bloody discords cease.
 And mightiest realms in quyet do remayne,
 Whereas thy hand doth hold the royall rayne.

But if thou fayle, then all things gone to wrack:
 The mother then doth dread her natural childe:
 Then euery towne is subject to the sack,
 Then spotles maydes, then virgins be defilde;
 Then rigour rules, then reason is exile;
 And this, thou woful THEBES! to ovr greate payne,
 With present spoyle art likely to sustayne.

Methink I heare the wayful-weeping cryes
 Of wretched dames in euery coast resound!
 Methinks I see, howe vp to heauenly skies,
 From battred walles the thundering-claps rebound:
 Methink I heare, howe al things go to ground:
 Methink I see how souldiers wounded lie
 With gasping breath, and yet they cannot die, &c. [Act
 iv. Sc. ult.]

The constant practice of ending every act with a long ode sung by the chorus, seems to have been adopted from GORDOBU¹.

But I will give a specimen of this performance as a translation, from that affecting scene, in which Oedipus, blind and exiled from the city, is led on by his daughter Antigone, the rival in filial fidelity of Lear's Cordelia, to touch the dead and murdered bodies of his queen Jocasta, and his sons Eteocles and Polynices. It appears to be the chief fault of the translators, that they have weakened the force of the original, which consists in a pathetic brevity, by needless dilatations, and the affectations of circumlocution. The whole dialogue in the original is carried on in single lines. Such, however, is the pregnant simplicity of the Greek language, that it would have been impossible to have rendered line for line in English.

OEDIPUS. — I must commend thy noble heart.

ANTIGONE.— Father, I will not liue in company, [I will not marry.]
 And you alone wander in wildernes.

OEDIPUS. — O yes, dear daughter, leaue thou me alone
 Amid my plagues: be merry while thou mayst.

¹ It may be proper to observe here, that the tragedy of TANCRED and GISMUND, acted also before the queen at the Inner temple, in 1568, has the chorus. The title of this play, not printed till 1592, shows the quick gradations of taste. It is said to be 'Newlie revived and polished according to the decorum of these daies, by R. W. Lond. printed by T. Scarlet, &c. 1592,' 4to. R. W. is Robert Wilmot, mentioned with applause as a poet in Webbe's DISCOURSE, Signat. C. 4. The play was the joint production of five students of the society. Each seems to have taken an act. At the end of the fourth is *Composuit Chr. Hatton*, or sir Christopher Hatton, undoubtedly the same that was afterwards exalted by the queen to the office of lord Keeper for his agility in dancing.

ANTIGONE.—And who shall guide these aged feete of yours,
That banisht beene, in blind necessitie?

OEDIPUS. — I will endure, as fatal lot me driues,
Resting these crooked sory sides of mine
Where so the heauens shall lend me harborough.
And, in exchange of rich and stately towres,
The woods, the wildernes, the darksome dennes,
Shall be the boure of mine unhappy bones.

ANTIGONE.—O father, now where is your glory gone?

OEDIPUS. — One happy day did rayse me to renowne,
One haples day hath throwen mine honor downe.

ANTIGONE.—Yet wil I bear a part of your mishaps.

OEDIPUS. — That fitteth not amyd thy pleasant yeres.

ANTIGONE.—Deare father, yes : let youth geue place to age.

OEDIPUS. — Where is thy mother? Let me touch her face :
That with these hands I may yet feele the harme
That these blind eyes forbid me to behold.

ANTIGONE.—Here father, here is her corps, here put your hand.

OEDIPUS. — O wife, O mother ! O, both woful names !
O woful mother, and O woful wife !
O would to God, alas ! O would to God,
Thou nere had been my mother, nor my wife !
But where now lie the paled bodies two
Of mine vnluckie sonnes? O where be they?

ANTIGONE.—Lo, here they lie, one by another dead !

OEDIPUS. — Stretch out this hand, deare daughter, stretch this hand
Vpon their faces.

ANTIGONE.—Lo father, loe, now you do touch them both,

OEDIPUS. — O bodies deare ! O bodies deerely bought
Vnto your father ! Bought with hard mishap !

ANTIGONE.—O louely name of my dear Polynice !
Why cannot I of cruel Creon crave,
Ne with my death now purchase thee, a graue?

OEDIPUS. — Now comes Apollo's oracle to passe,
That I in Athens towne should end my dayes.
And since thou doest, O daughter mine, desire
In this exile to be my wofull mate,
Let me thy hand, and let vs goe together.

ANTIGONE.—Loe here all prest, [ready] my deare beloued father !
A feeble guyde, and eke a simple scout, e
To passe the perils in [of] a doubtful way.

OEDIPUS. — Vnto the wretched be a wretche guyde.

ANTIGONE.—In this alonly equall to my father.

OEDIPUS. — And where shall I set foorth my trembling feete?

O reach me yet some surer staffee¹, to stay
My staggering pace amyd these wayes vnknownen.

ANTIGONE.—Here, father, here, and here, set foorth your feete,

OEDIPUS. — Nowe can I blame none other for my harmes
But secret spite of fore-decreed fate.
Thou art the cause, that crooked, old, and blind,
I am exilde farre from my cuntry soyle, &c. [Act v.
Sc. ult.]

That it may be seen in some measure, how far these two poets, who deserve much praise for even an attempt to introduce the Grecian drama to the notice of our ancestors, have succeeded in translating this scene of the tenderest expostulation, I will place it before the reader in a plain literal version.

‘OED. My daughter, I praise your filial piety. But yet—ANT.
‘But if I was to marry Creon’s son, and you, my father, be left alone
‘in banishment? OED. Stay at home, and be happy. I will bear
‘my own misfortunes patiently. ANT. But who will attend you, thus
‘blind and helpless, my father? OED. I shall fall down, and be
‘found lying in some field on the ground, as it may chance to happen².
‘ANT. Where is now that Oedipus, and his famous riddle of the
‘Sphinx? OED. He is lost? one day made me happy, and one day
‘destroyed me! ANT. Ought I not, therefore, to share your miseries?
‘OED. It will be but a base punishment of a princess with her blind
‘father! ANT. To one that is haughty: not to one that is humble,
‘and loves her father. OED. Lead me on then, and let me touch the
‘dead body of your mother. ANT. Lo, now your hand is upon her³.
‘OED. O my mother! O my most wretched wife! ANT. She lies
‘a wretched corpse, covered with every woe. OED. But where are
‘the dead bodies of my sons Eteocle and Polynices? ANT. They
‘lie just by you, stretched out close to one another. OED. Put my
‘blind hands upon their miserable faces! ANT. Lo now, you touch
‘your dead children with your hand. OED. O, dear, wretched car-
‘cases, of a wretched father! ANT. O, to me the most dear name of
‘my brother Polynices⁴! OED. Now, my daughter, the oracle of
‘Appollo proves true. ANT. What? Can you tell any more evils
‘than those which have happened? OED. That I should die an
‘exile at Athens. ANT. What city of Attica will take you in? OED.
‘The sacred Colonus, the house of equestrian Neptune. Come then,
‘lend your assistance to this blind father, since you mean to be a com-

¹ *She giueth him a staffe and stayeth him herself also.* Stage-direction.

² It is impossible to represent the Greek, v. 1681.

Πεσών, ὅπου μοι μοῖρα, κείσομαι πέδῳ.

³ ‘The dear old woman,’ in the Greek.

⁴ Creon had refused Polynices the rites of sepulture. This was a great aggravation of the distress.

'panion of my flight. ANT. Go then into miserable banishment ! O
 'my ancient father, stretch out your dear hand ! I will accompany
 'you, like a favourable wind to a ship. OED. Behold, I go !
 'Daughter, be you my unfortunate guide ! ANT. Thus, am I, am I,
 'the most unhappy of all the Theban virgins ! OED. Where shall
 'I fix my old feeble foot ? Daughter, reach to me my staff. ANT.
 'Here, go here, after me. Place your foot here, my father, you that
 'have the strength only of a dream. OED. O most unhappy banish-
 'ment ! Creon drives me in my old age from my country. Alas !
 'alas ! wretched, wretched things have I suffered, &c!¹

So sudden were the changes or the refinements of our language, that in the second edition of this play, printed again with Gascoigne's poems in 1587, it was thought necessary to affix marginal explanations of many words, not long before in common use, but now become obsolete and unintelligible. Among others, are *behest* and *quell*². This, however, as our author says, was done at the request of a lady, who did not understand *poetical wordes or termes*³.

Seneca's ten Tragedies were translated at different times and by different poets. These were all printed together in 1581, under this title, 'SENECA HIS TENNE TRAGEDIES, TRANSLATED INTO 'ENGLISH. *Mercurii Nutrices horæ*. IMPRINTED AT LONDON IN 'FLEETSTREETE *neare unto sainte Dunstons church* by Thomas 'Marsh, 1581⁴. The book is dedicated, from Butley in Cheshire, to sir Thomas Henneage, treasurer of the queen's chamber. I shall speak of each man's translation distinctly⁵.

The HYPPOLITUS, MEDEA, HERCULES, OETEUS, and AGAMEMNON, were translated by John Studely, educated at Westminster school, and afterwards a scholar of Trinity college in Cambridge. The HYPPOLITUS, which he calls the fourth and *most ruthfull tragedy*, the MEDEA, in which are some alterations of the chorus⁶, and the HERCULES OETEUS, were all first printed in Thomas Newton's collection of 1581, just mentioned⁷. The AGAMEMNON was

¹ PHOENISS. v. 1677. seq. p. 170. edit. Barnes.

² *Command. Kill*. By the way, this is done throughout this edition of Gascoigne's Poems. So we have Nill, *will not*, &c.

³ Page 128. Among others, words not of the obsolete kind are explained, such as *Monarchie, Diademe*, &c. Gascoigne is celebrated by Gabriel Harvey, as one of the English poets who have written in praise of women. GRATULAT. VALIDENS. edit. Binne-man, 1578. 4to. Lib. iv. p. 22.

CHAUCERUSQUE adsit, SURREIUS et inclutus adsit
 GASCOIGNOQUE aliquis sit, mea Corda, locus,

⁴ Coloph. 'IMPRINTED AT LONDON IN FLEETSTREET *Near unto Saint Dunston's church* by Thomas Marsh, 1581.' Containing 217 leaves.

⁵ I know not the purport of a book licenced to E. Matts, 'Discourses on Seneca the tragedian,' Jan. 22, 1601. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 71. b.

⁶ See NEWT. edit. fol. 121. a.

⁷ But I must except the MEDEA, which is entered as translated by John Studley of Trinity college in Cambridge, in 1565-6, with T. Colwell. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 140. b. I have never seen this separate edition, Also the HIPPOLITUS, is entered to Jones and

first and separately published in 1566, and entitled, 'the cyght Tragedie of Seneca entituled AGAMEMNON, translated out of Latin into English by John Studley student in Trinitie college in Cambridge. Imprinted at London in Fleete streete beneath the Conduit at the signe of S. John Euangelyst by Thomas Colwell A.D. 'M.D.LXVI.' [Bl. Lett. 12mo.] This little book is extremely scarce, and hardly to be found in the choicest libraries of those who collect our poetry in black letter¹. Recommendatory verses are prefixed, in praise of our translator's performance. It is dedicated to secretary Cecil. To the end of the fifth act our translator has added a whole scene: for the purpose of relating the death of Cassandra, the imprisonment of Electra, and the flight of Orestes. Yet these circumstances were all known and told before. The narrator is Euribates, who in the commencement of the third act had informed Clitemnestra of Agamemnon's return. These efforts, however imperfect or improper, to improve the plot of a drama by a new conduct or contrivance, deserve particular notice at this infancy of our theatrical taste and knowledge. They show that authors now began to think for themselves, and that they were not always implicitly enslaved to the prescribed letter of their models. Studley, who appears to have been qualified for better studies, misapplied his time and talents in translating Bale's Acts of the Popes. That translation, dedicated to Thomas lord Essex, was printed in 1574². He has left twenty Latin distichs on the death of the learned Nicholas Carr, Cheke's successor in the Greek professorship at Cambridge³.

The OCTAVIA is translated by T. N. or Thomas Nuce, or Newce, a fellow of Pembroke-hall in 1562, afterwards rector of Oxburgh in Norfolk, Beccles, Weston-Market, and vicar of Gaysley, in Suffolk⁴; and at length prebendary of Ely cathedral in 1586. [Feb. 21]. This version is for the most part executed in the heroic rhyming couplet. All the rest of the translators have used, except in the chorus, the Alexandrine measure, in which Sternhold and Hopkins rendered the psalms, perhaps the most unsuitable species of English versification that could have been applied to this purpose. Nuce's OCTAVIA was first printed in 1566⁵. He has two very long

Charlewood, in 1579. REGISTR. B. In 1566-7, I find an entry to Henry Denham, which I do not well understand, 'for printing the fourth part of Seneca's workes.' REGISTR. A. fol. 152. b. HIPPOLITUS is the fourth Tragedy.

¹ Entered in 1565-6. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 136. b.

² In qto. Bl. Lett. 'The pageaunt of POPES, &c. &c. English with sundrye additions, by J. S.' For Thomas Marshe, 1574.

³ At the end of Bartholomew Dodington's EPISTLE of Carr's Life and Death, addressed to sir Walter Mildmay, and subjoined to Carr's Latin Translation of seven Orations of Demosthenes. Lond. 1571. 4to. Dodington, a fellow of Trinity college, succeeded Carr in the Greek chair, 1560. Camden's MONUM. ECCLES. Coll. Westmon. edit. 1600. 4to. Signat. K. 2.

⁴ Where he died in 1617, and is buried with an epitaph in English rhyme. Bentham's ELV. p. 251.

⁵ For in that year, there is a receipt for licence to Henry Denham to print it REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 148. b.

copies of verses, one in English and the other in Latin, prefixed to the first edition of Studley's *AGAMEMNON* in 1566, just mentioned.

Alexander Nevyle, translated, or rather paraphrased, the *OEDIPUS*, in the sixteenth year of his age, and in the year 1560, not printed till the year 1581¹. It is dedicated to doctor Wootton, a privy counsellor and his godfather. Notwithstanding the translator's youth, it is by far the most spirited and elegant version in the whole collection, and it is to be regretted that he did not undertake all the rest. He seems to have been persuaded by his friends, who were of the graver sort, that poetry was only one of the lighter accomplishments of a young man, and that it should soon give way to the more weighty pursuits of literature. The first act of his *OEDIPUS* begins with these lines, spoken by Oedipus.

The night is gon, and dreadfull day begins at length t' apeere,
And Phœbus, all bedimde with clowdes, himselfe aloft doth reere :
And gliding forth with deadly hue, a doleful blase in skies
Doth beare : great terror and dismay to the beholders eyes !
Now shall the houses voyde be seene, with Plague deuoured quight,
And slaughter which the night hath made, shall day bring forth to
light.

Doth any man in princely throne reioyce ? O brittle ioy !
How many ills, how fayre a face, and yet how much annoy,
In thee doth lurk, and hidden lies ? What heapes of endles strife ?
They iudge amisse, that deeme the Prince to haue the happie life.
[Fol. 78. a.]

Nevyl was born in Kent, in 1544, [Lambarde, *PERAMB. KENT.* p. 72.] and occurs taking a master's degree at Cambridge, with Robert earl of Essex, on the sixth day of July, 1581. [MSS. Catal. Grad. Univ. Cant.] He was one of the learned men whom archbishop Parker retained in his family, [Strype's *GRINDAL*, p. 196.] and at the time of the archbishop's death, in 1575, was his secretary². He wrote a Latin narrative of the Norfolk insurrection under Kett, which is dedicated to archbishop Parker, and was printed in 1575³. To this he added a Latin account of Norwich, printed the same year, called *NORVICUS*, the plates of which were executed by Lyne and Hogenberg, archbishop Parker's do-

¹ But in 1563, is a receipt for Thomas Colwell's licence to print 'a booke entituled the lamentable History of the prynce Oedypus.' *REGISTR. STATION. A.* fol. 89. a.

² Strype, *LIFE OF PARKER*, p. 497. He is styled *ARMIGER.* Dedication to his *KETTUS*.

³ Lond. 4to. The title is, 'KETTUS, sive de furoribus Norfolciensium Ketto duce.' Again at London, 1582, by Henry Binneman, 8vo. And in Englishe, 1615, and 1623. The disturbance was occasioned by an inclosure in 1549, and began at an annual play, or spectacle, at Wymondham, which lasted two days and two nights, according to ancient custom, p. 6. edit. 1582. He cites part of a ballad sung by the rebels, which had a most powerful effect in spreading the commotion, p. 88. Prefixed is a copy of Latin verses on the death of his patron archbishop Parker. And a recommendatory Latin copy by Thomas Drant, the first translator of Horace. Strype's *PARKER*, p. 499. Nevile has another Latin work, *APOLOGIA AD WALLÆ PROCERES*, Lond. for Binneman, 1576. 4to. He is mentioned in that part of G. Gascoigne's poems called *DEVISES*. His name, and the date 1565, are inscribed on the *CARTULARIUM S. GREGORII CANTUARIE*, among bishop More's books, with two Latin lines which I hope he did not intend for hexameters.

mestic engravers, in 1574¹. He published the Cambridge verses on the death of sir Philip Sydney, which he dedicated to lord Leicester, in 1587². He projected, but I suspect never completed, an English translation of Livy, in 1577³. He died in 1614⁴.

The HERCULES FURENS, THYESTES, and TROAS, were translated into English by Jasper Heywood. The HERCULES FURENS was first printed at London in 1561, and dedicated to William Herbert lord Pembroke, with the following pedantic Latin title. 'Lucii Annaei Senecae tragoedia prima, quæ inscribitur HERCULES FURENS, nuper recognita, et ab omnibus mendis quibus scatebat sedulo purgata, et in studiosae juventutis utilitatem in Anglicum tanta fide conversa, ut carmen pro carmine, quoad Anglica lingua patiatur, pene redditum videas, per Jasperum Heywodum Oxoniensem.' The THYESTES, said to be *faithfully Englished by Jasper Heywood fellow of Alsolne colledge in Oxenforde*, was also first separately printed by Berthelette at London, in 1560⁵. He has added a scene to the fourth act, a soliloquy by Thyestes, who bewails his own misfortunes, and implores vengeance on Atreus. In this scene, the speaker's application of all the torments of hell, to Atreus's unparalleled guilt of feasting on the bowels of his children, furnishes a sort of nauseous bombast, which not only violates the laws of criticism, but provokes the abhorrence of our common sensibilities. A few of the first lines are tolerable.

¹ It is sometimes accompanied with an engraved map of the Saxon and British kings. See *Hollinshed CHRONICLE* i. 129.

² Lond. 4to. viz. 'Academice Cantabrigiensis Lacrymæ tumulo D. Philippi Sidneii sacratæ.'

³ See Note in the Register of the Stationers Company, dated May 3, 1577. Registr. B. fol. 139. b. It was not finished in 1577.

⁴ Oct. 4. Bateley's CANTERB. APP. 7. Where see his Epitaph. He is buried in a chapel in Canterbury cathedral with his brother Thomas, dean of that church. The publication of Seneca's OEDIPUS in English by Stadley, or rather Gascoigne's JOCASTA, produced a metrical tale of ETHIOLES AND POLYNES, in 'THE FORREST OF FANCY, wherein is contained very pretty APOTHEGMES, and PLEASANT HISTORIES, both in meter and prose, SONGES, SONETS, EPIGRAMES, and EPISTLES, &c. Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoote, &c. 1579.' 4to. SIGNAT. B. ij. Perhaps Henry Chettle, or Henry Constable, is the writer or compiler. At least the colophon is, 'Finit, H. C.' By the way, it appears, that Chettle was the publisher of GREENE'S GREATSWORTH OF WIT in 1592. It is entered to W. Wrighte, Sept. 20. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 292. b.

⁵ In 12mo. It is dedicated in verse to sir John Mason. Then follows in verse also, 'The translator to the booke.' From the metrical Preface which next follows, I have cited many stanzas. This is a Vision of the poet Seneca, containing 27 pages. In the course of his PREFACE, he laments a promising youth just dead, whom he means to compliment by saying, that he now 'lyues with Ioue, another Ganymede.' But he is happy that the father survives, who seems to be sir John Mason. Among the old Roman poets he mentions Palinigenius. After Seneca has delivered him the THYESTES to translate, he feels an unusual agitation, and implores Megaera to inspire him with tragic rage.

'O thou Megaera, then I sayd,
'(Wherewith thou Tantal drouste from hell)
'Enspyre my pen!' —————
Enflame me more and more;
'Than euer yet before.
My synewes all dyd shake;
My teethe began to quake.

If might of thyne it bee
That thus dysturbeth mee,
This sayde, I felt the Furies force
And ten tymes more now chafte I was
My haire stooode vp, I waxed wood
And, as the Furye had me vext,
And thus enflamed, &c.

He then enters on his translation. Nothing is here wanting but a better stanza.

O kyng of Dytis dungeon darke, and grysly ghost of hell,
That in the deepe and dreadfull denne of blackest Tartare dwell,
Where leane and pale Diseases lye, where Feare and Famyne are,
Where Discord standes with bleeding browes, where euery kinde of
care ;

Where Furies fight on beds of steele, and heares of craulng snakes,
Where Gorgon gremme, where Harpies are, and lothsom limbo lakes,
Where most prodigious! vgly things the hollow hell doth hyde,
If yet a monster more mishapt, &c.

In the TROAS, which was first faultily printed in or before 1560², afterwards reprinted in 1581 by Newton, he has taken greater liberties. At the end of the chorus after the first act, he has added about sixty verses of his own invention. In the beginning of the second act, he has added a new scene, in which he introduces the spectre of Achilles raised from hell, and demanding the sacrifice of Polyxena. This scene, which is in the octave stanza, has much of the air of one of the legends in the MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES. To the chorus of this act, he has subjoined three stanzas. Instead of translating the chorus of the third act, which abounds with the hard names of the ancient geography, and which would both have puzzled the translator and tired the English reader, he has substituted a new ode. In his preface to the reader, from which he appears to be yet a fellow of All Souls college, he modestly apologises for these licentious innovations, and hopes to be pardoned for his seeming arrogance, in attempting 'to set forth in 'English this present piece of the flowre of all writers Seneca, among 'so many fine wittes, and towardly youth, with which England this day 'florisheth.' [Fol. 95. a.] Our translator Jasper Heywood has several poems extant in the *Paradise of Daintie Deuises*, published in 1573. He was the son of John Heywood, commonly called the epigrammatist, and born in London. In 1547, at twelve years years of age, he was sent to Oxford, and in 1553 elected fellow of Merton college. But inheriting too large a share of his father's facetious and free disposition, he sometimes in the early part of life indulged his festive vein in extravagancies and indiscretions, for which being threatened with expulsion, he resigned his fellowship³. He exercised the office of Christmas-prince, or lord of misrule, to the college: and seems to have given offence, by suffering the levities and jocularities of that character to mix with his life and general conversation⁴. In the

¹ So Milton, on the same subject, and in the true sense of the word, PAR. L. ii. 625.

— All monstrous, all PRODIGIOUS things.

² I have never seen this edit. of 1560 or before, but he speaks of it himself in the METRICAL PREFACE to the THYESTES just mentioned, and says it was most carelessly printed at the sign of the hand and star. This must have been at the shop of Richard Tottel within Temple Bar.

³ Harrington's Epigrams, 'Of Old Haywood's sonnes.' B. ii. 102.

⁴ Among Wood's papers, there is an oration DE LIGNO ET FOENO, spoken by Heywood's cotemporary and fellow-collegian, David de la Hyde, in commendation of his execution of his office

year 1558, he was recommended by cardinal Pole, as a polite scholar, an able disputant, and a steady Catholic, to sir Thomas Pope founder of Trinity college in the same university, to be put in nomination for a fellowship of that college, then just founded. But this scheme did not take place¹. He was, however, appointed fellow of All Souls college the same year. Dissatisfied with the change of the national religion, within four years he left England, and became a Catholic priest and a Jesuit at Rome, in 1562. Soon afterwards he was placed in the theological chair at Dilling in Switzerland, which he held for seventeen years. At length returning to England, in the capacity of a popish missionary, he was imprisoned, but released by the influence of the earl of Warwick. For the deliverance from so perilous a situation, he complimented the earl in a copy of English verses, two of which, containing a most miserable paronomasy on his own name, almost bad enough to have condemned the writer to another imprisonment, are recorded in Harrington's Epigrams. [EPIGR. lib. iii. Epigr. i.] At length he retired to Naples, where he died in 1597. [ATH. OXON. i. 290.] He is said to have been an accurate critic in the Hebrew language². His translation of the TROAS, not of Virgil as it seems, is mentioned in a copy of verses by T. B³. prefixed to the first edition, above-mentioned, of Studley's AGAMEMNON. He was intimately connected abroad with the biographer Pitts, who has given him rather too partial a panegyric.

Thomas Newton, the publisher of all the ten tragedies of Seneca in English, in one volume, as I have already remarked, in 1581⁴, himself added only one to these versions of Studley, Nevile, Nuce, and Jasper Heywood. This is the THEBAIS, probably not written by Seneca, as it so essentially differs in the catastrophe from his OEDIPUS. Nor is it likely the same poet should have composed two tragedies on the same subject, even with a variation of incidents. It is without the chorus and a fifth act. Newton appears to have made his translation in 1581, and perhaps with a view only of completing the collection. He is more prosaic than most of his fellow-labourers, and seems to have paid the chief attention to perspicuity and fidelity. In the general EPISTLE DEDICATORY to sir Thomas Henneage, prefixed to the volume, he says, 'I durst not haue geuen the aduenture to approach your presence, vpon trust of any singularity, that in this Booke hath vnskilfully dropped out of myne owne penne, but that I hoped the perfection of others artificiall workmanship that haue trauayled herein, as well as myselfe, should somewhat couer my nakednesse, and pur-

¹ MSS. Collectan. Fr. Wise. LIFE OF SIR T. POPE,

² H. MORUS, HIST. PROVINC. ANGL. SOC. JES. Lib. iv. num. 11. sub. ann. 1585.

³ With these initials, there is a piece prefixed to Gascoigne's poems, 1579.

⁴ There is a receipt from Marsh for 'Seneca's Tragedies in English.' Jul. 2. 1581. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 181. b. The English version seems to have produced an edition of the original for Man and Brome, Sept. 6. 1585. Ibid. fol. 205. b.

'chase my pardon.—Theirs I knowe to be deliuered with singular
'dexterity: myne, I confesse to be an vnflidge [unfledged] nestling,
'vnable to flye; an vnnatural abortion, and an vnperfect embryon:
'neyther throughlye laboured at Aristophanes and Cleanthes candle,
'neither yet exactly waighed in Critolaus his precise ballaunce. Yet
'this I dare saye, I haue deliuered myne authors meaning with as
'much perspicuity as so meane a scholar, out of so meane a stoare,
'in so smal a time, and vpon so short a warning, was well able to per-
'forme, &c¹.'

Of Thomas Newton, a slender contributor to this volume, yet perhaps the chief instrument of bringing about a general translation of Seneca, and otherwise deserving well of the literature of this period, some notices seem necessary. The first letter of his *ENCOMIA* is a large capital D. Within it is a shield exhibiting a sable Lion rampant, crossed in argent on the shoulder, and a half moon argent in the dexter corner, I suppose his armorial bearing. In a copartment, towards the head, and under the semicircle, of the letter, are his initials, T. N. He was descended from a respectable family in Cheshire, and was sent while very young, about thirteen years of age, to Trinity college in Oxford. [REGISTR. *ibid.*] Soon afterwards he went to Queen's college in Cambridge; but returned within a very few years to Oxford, where he was readmitted into Trinity college. He quickly became famous for the pure elegance of his Latin poetry. Of this he has left a specimen in his *ILLUSTRIA ALIQUOT ANGLORUM ENCOMIA*, published at London in 1589². He is perhaps the first Englishman that wrote Latin elegiacs with a classical clearness and terseness after Leland, the plan of whose *ENCOMIA* and *TROPHÆA* he seems to have followed in this little work³. Most of the learned and

¹ Dated, 'From Butley in Cheshyre the 24. of Aprill. 1581.'

I am informed by a MSS. note of Oldys, that Richard Robinson translated the *THEBAIS*. Of this I know no more, but R. Robinson was a large writer both in verse and prose. Some of his pieces I have already mentioned. He wrote also 'CHRISTMAS RECREATIONS of histories' and moralizations applied for our solace and consolations,' licenced to T. East. Dec. 5. 1576. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 136. b. And, in 1569, is entered to Binneman, 'The ruefull tragedy of Hemidos, etc. by Richard Robinson.' REGISTR. A. fol. 190. a. And, to T. Dawson in 1579, Aug. 26, 'The Vineyard of Vertue a booke gathered by R. Robinson.' REGISTR. B. fol. 163. a. He was a citizen of London. The reader recollects his English *GESTA ROMANORUM*, in 1577. He wrote also 'The auncient order, societie, and vnitie laudable, of PRINCE ARTHURE, and his knightly armory of the ROUND TABLE. With a threefold assertion, etc.' Translated and collected by R. K.' Lond. for J. Wolfe, 1583. Bl. Lett. 4to. This work is in metre, and the armorial bearings of the knights are in verse. Prehxed is a poem by Churchyard, in praise of the Bow. His translation of Leland's *ASSERTIO ARTHURI* (Bl. Lett. 4to.) is entered to J. Wolfe, Jun. 6. 1582. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 189. b. I find, licenced to R. James in 1565, 'A booke intituled of very pleasaunte sonnettes and storyes in myter' [metre] by Clement Robynson., REGISTR. B. fol. 141. a.

² His master John Brunswerd, at Macclesfield-school, in Cheshire, was no bad Latin poet. *PROGYNASMATA ALIQUOT POEMATATA*, Lond. 1590, 4to. See Newton's *ENCOM.* p. 128. 131. Brunswerd died in 1589, and his epitaph, made by his scholar Newton, yet remains in the chancel of the church of Macclesfield.

Alpha poetarum, coryphæus grammaticorum,
Flos *ωιδάγων*, hæc sepelitur humo.

³ Lond. 1589. 4to. Reprinted by Hearne, Oxon. 1715. 8vo.

ingenious men of that age, appear to have courted the favours of this polite and popular encomiast. His chief patron was the unfortunate Robert earl of Essex. I have often incidentally mentioned some of Newton's commendatory verses, both in English and Latin, prefixed to cotemporary books, according to the mode of that age. One of his earliest philological publications is a *NOTABLE HISTORIE OF THE SARACENS*, digested from Curio, in three books, printed at London in 1575¹. I unavoidably anticipate in remarking here, that he wrote a poem on the death of queen Elizabeth, called 'ATROPOION DELION,' or, 'the Death of Delia with the Tears of her funeral. A poetical 'excusive discourse of our late Eliza. By T. N. G. Lond. 1603.' [qto. W. Johnes.] The next year he published a flowery romance, 'A 'pleasant new history, or a fragrant posie made of three flowers Rosa, 'Rosalynd, and Rosemary, London, 1604.' [qto.] Philips, in his *THEATRUM POETARUM*, attributes to Newton, a tragedy in two parts, called *TAMBURLAIN THE GREAT, OR THE SCYTHIAN SHEPHERD*. But this play, printed at London in 1593, was written by Christopher Marlowe². He seems to have been a partisan of the puritans, from his pamphlet of *CHRISTIAN FRIENDSHIP, with an Invective against dice-play and other profane games*, printed at London, 1586³. For some time our author practised physic, and, in the character of that profession, wrote or translated many medical tracts. The first of these, on a curious subject, *A direction for the health of magistrates and students*, from Gratarolus, appeared in 1574. At length taking orders, he first taught school at Macclesfield in Cheshire, and afterwards at Little Ilford in Essex, where he was beneficed. In this department, and in 1596, he published a correct edition of Stanbridge's Latin Prosody⁴. In the general character of an author, he was a voluminous and a laborious writer. He died at Little Ilford, and was interred in his church, in 1607. From a long and habitual course of studious and industrious pursuits he had acquired a considerable fortune, a portion of which he bequeathed in charitable legacies.

It is remarkable, that Shakespeare has borrowed nothing from the English Seneca. Perhaps a copy might not fall in his way. Shakespeare was only a reader by accident. Hollinshed and translated Italian novels supplied most of his plots or stories. His storehouse of learned history was North's Plutarch. The only poetical fable of antiquity, which he has worked into a play, is *TROILUS*. But this he borrowed from the romance of Troy. Modern fiction and English his-

¹ In qto. With a SUMMARY annexed on the same subject.

² Heywood's Prologue to Marlow's *JEW OF MALTA*, 1633.

³ In octavo. From the Latin of Lamb. Danæus.

⁴ 'Vocabula magistri Stanbrigii ab insinitis quibus scatebant mendis repurgata, observata, interim (quoad ejus fieri potuit) carminis ratione, et meliuscule etiam correctâ, studio et industria Thomae Newtoni Cestreshyrii. Edinb. excud. R. Waldegrave.' I know not if this edit. which is in oct. is the first. Our author published one or two translations on theological subjects.

tory were his principal resources. These perhaps were more suitable to his taste : at least he found that they produced the most popular subjects. Shakespeare was above the bondage of the classics.

I must not forget to remark here, that, according to Ames, among the copies of Henry Denman recited in the register of the Company of Stationers¹, that printer, is said, on Jan. 8, 1583, among other books, to have *yielded into the hands and dispositions* of the master, wardens, and assistants, of that fraternity, 'Two or three of Seneca his tragedies².' These, if printed after 1581, cannot be new impressions of any single plays of Seneca, of those published in Newton's edition of all the ten tragedies.

Among Hatton's MSS. in the Bodleian library at Oxford³, there is a long translation from the HERCULES OETAEUS of Seneca, by queen Elizabeth. It is remarkable that it is blank verse, a measure which her majesty perhaps adopted from GORDON; and which therefore proves it to have been done after the year 1561. It has, however, no other recommendation but its royalty.

SECTION LVIII.

BUT, as scholars began to direct their attention to our vernacular poetry, many more of the ancient poets now appeared in English verse. Before the year 1600, Homer, Musaeus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Martial, were translated. Indeed most of these versions were published before the year 1580. For the sake of presenting a connected display of these early translators, I am obliged to trespass, in a slight degree, on that chronological order which it has been my prescribed and constant method to observe. In the mean time we must remember, that their versions, while they contributed to familiarise the ideas of the ancient poets to English readers, improved our language and versification; and that in a general view, they ought to be considered as valuable and important accessions to the stock of our poetical literature. These were the classics of Shakespeare.

I shall begin with those that were translated first in the reign of Elizabeth.

¹ I find nothing of this in REGISTER. B.

² They are mentioned by Ames, with these pieces, viz. 'Pasquin in a trauance. 'The hoppe garden. Ovid's metamorphosis. The courtier. Cesar's commentaries in English. Ovid's epistles. Image of idleness. Flower of friendship. Schole of vertue. Gardener's 'laborynth. Demosthene's orations.' I take this opportunity of acknowledging my great obligations to that very respectable society, who in the most liberal manner have indulged me with a free and unreserved examination of their original records : particularly to the kind assistance and attention of one of its members, Mr. Lockyer Davies, Bookseller in Holbourn.

³ MSS. MUS. BODL. 55. 12. [Olim HYPER. BODL.] It begins,

'What harminge hurle of Fortune's arme, etc.'

abeth. But I must premise, that this inquiry will necessarily draw with it many other notices much to our purpose, and which could not otherwise have been so conveniently disposed and displayed.

Thomas Phaier, already mentioned as the writer of the story of OWEN GLENDOUR in the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, a native of Pembrokeshire, educated at Oxford, a student of Lincoln's Inn, and an advocate to the council for the Marches of Wales, but afterwards doctorated in medicine at Oxford, translated the seven first books of the *Eneid* of Virgil, on his retirement to his patrimonial seat in the forest of Kilgarran in Pembrokeshire, in the years 1555, 1556, 1557. They were printed at London in 1558, for Ihon Kyngston, and dedicated to queen Mary¹. He afterwards finished the eighth book on the tenth of September, within forty days, in 1558. The ninth, in thirty days, in 1560. Dying at Kilgarran the same year, he lived only to begin the tenth. [Ex coloph. ut supr.] All that was thus done by Phaier, one William Wightman published in 1562, with a dedication to sir Nicholas Bacon, 'The nyne first books of the *Eneidos* of Virgil 'conuerted into English verse by Thomas Phaier doctour of physick, ' &c.' [qto. Bl. Lett. Rowland Hall.] The imperfect work was at length completed, with Mapheus's supplemental or thirteenth book, in 1583, by Thomas Twyne, a native of Canterbury, a physician of Lewes in Sussex, educated in both universities, an admirer of the mysterious philosophy of John Dee, and patronised by lord Buckhurst the poet². The ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books, were finished at London in

¹ Qto. Bl. Lett. At the end of the seventh book is this colophon, 'Per Thomam Phaier in 'foresta Kilgerran finitum iij. Decembris. Anno 1557. Opus xij. dierum.. And at the end of every book is a similar colophon, to the same purpose. The first book was finished in 11 days, in 1555. The second in 20 days, in the same year. The third in 20 days in the same year. The fourth in 15 days, in 1556. The fifth in 24 days, on May the third, in 1557, 'post periculum eius Karmardini,' i.e. at Charmarthen. The sixth in 20 days, in 1557.

Phaier has left many large works in his several professions of law and medicine. He is pathetically lamented by sir Thomas Chudoner as a most skilful physician, *ENCOM.* p. 356. Lond. 1579. 4to. He has a recommendatory English poem prefixed to Philip Betham's *MILITARY PRECEPTS*, translated from the Latin of James earl of Purlinias, dedicated to lord Studley, Lond. 1544. 4to. For E. Whitchurch.

There is an entry to Purfoot in 1400, for printing 'sereten verses of Cupydo by Mr. Fayre ' [Phaier]. *REGISTR. STATION. A.* fol. 154. a.

² His father was John Twyne of Bodington in Hampshire, an eminent antiquary, author of the *Commentary DE REBUS ALMONIIS*, etc. Lond. 1570. It is addressed to, and published by, with an epistle, his said son THOMAS. Lawrence, a fellow of All Souls and a civilian, and John Twyne, both THOMAS's brothers, have copies of verses prefixed to several cotemporary books, about the reign of queen Elizabeth. THOMAS wrote and translated many tracts, which it would be superfluous and tedious to enumerate here. To his *BREVIARIE OF BRITAINNE*, a translation from the Latin of Humphrey Lluyd, in 1573, are prefixed recommendatory verses, by Browne prebendary, and Grant the learned schoolmaster, of Westminster, Llodowyhe Lloyd a poet in the *PARADISE OF DAINTIE DEVICES*, and his two brothers, aforesaid, Laurence and John.

Our translator, THOMAS TWYNE, died in 1613, aged 70, and was buried in the chancel of saint Anne's church at Lewes, where his epitaph of 14 verses still, I believe, remains on a brass plate affixed to the eastern wall.

Large antiquarian and historical MSS. collections, by the father JOHN TWYNE, are now in Corpus Christi library at Oxford. In his *COLLECTANEA VARIA*, (ibid. vol. iii. fol. 2.) he says he had written the Lives of T. Robethon, T. Lupset, Rad. Barnes, T. Eliot, R. Sampson, T. Wriothesle, Gul. Paget, G. Day, Joh. Christopherson, N. Wooton. He is in Leland's *ENCOMIA*, p. 83.

1573. The whole was printed at London in 1584, with a dedication, dated that year from Lewes, to Robert Sackville, [4to. Bl. Lett. Ab. Veale] the eldest son of lord Buckhurst, who lived in the dissolved monastery of the Cluniacs at Lewes¹. So well received was this work, that it was followed by three new editions in 1596, [Thomas Creed] 1607, and 1620². Soon after the last-mentioned period, it became obsolete and was forgotten³.

Phaier undertook this translation for the *defence*, to use his own phrase, of the English language, which had been by too many deemed incapable of elegance and propriety, and for the 'honest recreation of 'you the nobilitie, gentlemen, and ladies, who studie in Latine.' He adds, 'By mee first this gate is set open. If now the young writers 'will uouchsafe to enter, they may finde in this language both large 'and abvndant camps [fields] of uarietie, wherein they may gather in- 'numerable sortes of most beavtifull flowers, figures, and phrases, not 'only to supply the imperfection of mee, but also to garnish all kinds 'of their own verses with a more cleane and compendious order of 'meeter than heretofore hath bene accustomed⁴.' Phaier has omitted, misrepresented, and paraphrased many passages; but his performance in every respect is evidently superior to Twyne's continuation. The measure is the fourteen-footed Alexandrine of Sternhold and Hopkins. I will give a short specimen from the siege of Troy, in the second book. Venus addresses her son Eneas.

Thou to thy parents hest take heede, dread not, my minde obey :
In yonder place, where stones from stones, and bildings huge to sway,
Thou seest, and mixt with dust and smoke thicke stremes of reekings rise
Himselfe the god Neptune that side doth furne in wonders [wonderous]
wise :

With forke threetinde the wall vproots, foundations allto shakes,
And quite from vnder soile the towne, with groundworks all vprakes.
On yonder side with Furies most, dame Iuno fiercely stands,
The gates she keeps, and from the ships the Greeks, her friendly
bands,

In armour girt she calles.

Lo ! there againe where Pallas sits, on fortes and castle-towres,
With Gorgons eyes, in lightning cloudes inclosed grim she lowres,
The father-god himselfe to Greeks their mights and courage steres,
Himselfe against the Troyan blood both gods and armour reres.
Betake thee to thy flight, my sonne, thy labours ende procure,
I will thee neuer faile, but thee to resting place assure.

¹ Now ruined. But to this day called, *Lord's Place*.

² All 4to. Bl. Lett. In the edit. of 1607, printed at London by Thomas Creede, it is said to 'be newly set forth for the delight of such as are studious in poetrie.'

³ In 1562, are entered with Nicholas England 'the fyrste and ix parte of Virgill.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 85. a. I suppose Phaier's *first nine* books of the *Eneid*. And, in 1561-2, with W. Copland, the 'booke of Virgill in 4to.' Ibid. fol. 73. b. REGISTR. C. fol. 8. a. sub. ann. 1595.

⁴ See 'Maister Phaier's Conclusion to his intpretation of the *Aeneidos* of Virgil, by him 'conuerted into English verse.'

She said, and through the darke night-shade herselfe she drew from sight :

Appere the grisly faces then, Troyes en'mies vgly dight.

The popular ear, from its familiarity, was tuned to this measure. It was now used in most works of length and gravity, but seems to have been consecrated to translation. Whatever absolute and original dignity it may boast, at present it is almost ridiculous, from an unavoidable association of ideas, and because it necessarily recalls the tone of the versification of the puritans. I suspect it might have acquired a degree of importance and reverence, from the imaginary merit of its being the established poetic vehicle of scripture, and its adoption into the celebration of divine service.

I take this opportunity of observing, that I have seen an old ballad called GADS-HILL by *Faire*, that is probably our translator Phaier. In the Registers of the Stationers, among seven *Ballettes* licenced to Will. Bedell and Rich. Lante, one is entitled 'The Robbery of Gads hill,' under the year 1558¹. I know not how far it might contribute to illustrate Shakespeare's HENRY IV. The title is promising.

After the associated labours of Phaier and Twyne, it is hard to say what could induce Robert Stanyhurst, a native of Dublin, to translate the four first books of the Eneid into English hexameters, which he printed at London, in 1583, and dedicated to his brother Peter Plunket, the learned baron of Dusanay in Ireland². Stanyhurst at this time was living at Leyden, having left England for some time on account of the change of religion. In the choice of his measure, he is more unfortunate than his predecessors, and in other respects succeeded worse. It may be remarked, that Meres, in his WITS TREASURIE, printed in 1598, among the learned translators, mentions only 'Phaier, 'for Virgil's Aeneads.' [Fol. 289. p. 2.] And William Webbe, in his DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETS printed in 1586³, entirely omits our author, and places Phaier at the Head of all the English translators. Thomas Nashe, in his APOLOGY OF PIERCE PENNILESSE, printed in 1593, observes, that 'Stanyhurst the otherwise learned, trod a foul

¹ REGISTR. A. fol. 32. b. Clivell's RECATANTION, a poem in qto. Lond. 1634. Clavell was a robber, and here recites his own adventures on the high-way. His first depredations are on Gad's-hill. fol. 1.

² In oct. Licenced to Binneman, Jan. 24. 1582. 'By a copie printed at Leiden.' REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 192. b. At the end of the Virgil are the four first of David's psalms Englished in Latin measures, p. 82. Then follow 'Certayne Poetical Conceits (in 'Latyn and English) Lond. 1583.' Afterwards are printed Epitaphs written by our author, both in Latin and English. The first, in Latin, is on James earl of Ormond, who died at Ely-house, Oct. 18. 1546. There is another on his father, James Stanyhurst, Recorder of Dublin, who died, aged 51, Dec. 27. 1573. With translations from More's Epigrams. Stanyhurst has a copy of recommendatory verses prefixed to Verstegan's RESTITUTION OF DECAYED INTELLIGENCE, Antwerp, 1605. 4to.

³ For John Charlewood. But there is a former edition for Walley, 1584, 4to. I know not to which translation of Virgil, Puttenham in THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE refers, where he says, 'And as one who translating certayne bookes of Virgil's AENEIDS into English meetre, 'said, that Aeneas was fayne to trudge out of Troy, which teime became better to be spoken 'of a beggar, or of a rouge or a lackey, etc.' Lib. iii. ch. xxiii. p. 229.

'lumbring, boisterous, wallowing measure in his translation of Virgil. 'He had neuer been praised by Gabriel Harvey' for his labour, if 'therein he had not been so famously absurd.' Harvey, Spenser's friend, was one of the chief patrons, if not the inventor, of the English hexameter, here used by Stanyhurst. I will give a specimen in the first four lines of the second book.

With tentiue listning each wight was setled in harkning;
Then father Æneas chronicled from loftie bed hautie:
You bid me, O princess, to scarifie a festered old sore,
How that the Troians were preest by the Grecian armie. [Fol. 21.]

With all this foolish pedantry, Stanyhurst was certainly a scholar. But in this translation he calls Chorebus, one of the Trojan chiefs, a *bedlamite*, he says that old Priam girded on his sword *Morglay*, the name of a sword in the Gothic romances, that Dido would have been glad to have been brought to bed even of a cockney, a *Dandiprat hophthumb*, and that Jupiter, in kissing his daughter, *bust his pretty prating parrot*. He was admitted at University college, in 1563, where he wrote a system of logic in his eighteenth year². Having taken one degree, he became successively a student at Furnival's and Lincoln's Inn. He has left many theological, philosophical, and historical books. In one of his EPITAPHS called COMMUNE DEFUNCTORUM, he mentions Julietta, Shakespeare's Juliet, among the celebrated heroines³. The title, and some of the lines, deserve to be cited, as they show the poetical squabbles about the English hexameter. 'An Epitaph against rhyme, entituled COMMUNE DEFUNCTORUM such as our vnlearned Rithmours accustomably make vpon 'the death of euerie Tom Tyler, as if it were a last for euerie one his 'foote, in which the quantities of syllables are not to be heeded.'—

A Sara for goodness, a great Bellona for budgenesse,
For myldnesse Anna, for chastitye godlye Susanna.
Hester in a good shift, a Iudith stoute at a dead lift:
Also IULIETTA, with Dido rich Cleopatra:
With sundrie nameless, and women many more blamenesse, &c⁴.

His Latin DESCRIPTIO HIBERNIÆ, translated into English, appears

¹ Gabriell Harvey, in his *FOURE LETTERS AND CERTAINE SONNETS*, says, 'I cordially commend to the deare louers of the Muses, and namely to the professed sonnes of the same, 'Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham Fraunce, Thomas Watson, Samuel Daniel, Thomas Nashe, and the rest, whom I affectionately thancke for their studious 'endeuours commendably employed in enriching and polishing their natue tongue, etc.' LETT. iii. p. 29. Lond. 1592. 4to.

² *Harmonia sive Catena Dialectica in Porphyrianas constitutiones*, a commentary on Porphyry's *ISAGOGÆ*. Lond. 1570, fol. Campion, then of S. John's college, afterwards the Jesuit, to whom it was communicated in MSS. says of the author, 'Mirifice lætatus sum, 'esse adolescentem in academia nostra, tali familia, eruditione, probitate, cujus extrema pueritia cum multis laudabili maturitate viris certare possit.' *EPISTOL.* edit. Ingoldstat. 1602. fol. 50. Four or five of Campion's *EPISTLES* are addressed to Stanyhurst.

³ Meres mentions Stanyhurst and Gabriel Harvey, as 'Jambical poets.' Stanyhurst translated some epigrams of sir Thomas More. They are at the end of his Virgil.

⁴ At the end of his Virgil. *SIGNAT. H. iij.* He mentions the friends Damon and Pythias in the same piece.

in the first volume of Hollinshed's Chronicles, printed in 1583. He is styled by Camden. 'Eruditissimus ille nobilis 'Richardus Stanihurst¹.' He is said to have been caressed for his literature and politeness by many foreign princes². He died at Brussels in 1618³.

Abraham Fleming, brother to Samuel¹, published a version of the BUCOLICS of Virgil, in 1575, with notes, and a dedication to Peter Osborne esquire. This is the title, 'The BUKOLIKES of P. Virgilius 'Maro, with alphabetical Annotations, &c. Drawne into plaine and familiar English verse by Abr. Fleming, student, &c. London by John 'Charlewood, &c. 1575.' His plan was to give a plain and literal translation, verse for verse. These are the five first lines of the tenth Eclogue.

O Arethusa, graunt this labour be my last indeede !
A few songes vnto Gallo, but let them Lycoris reede :
Needes must I singe to Gallo mine, what man would songes deny ?
So when thou ronnest vnder Sicane seas, where froth doth fry,
Let not that bytter Doris of the salte streame mingle make.

Fourteen years afterwards, in 1589, the same author published a version both of the BUCOLICS and GEORGICS of Virgil, with notes, which he dedicated to John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury⁵. This is commonly said and supposed to be in blank verse, but it is in the regular Alexandrine without rhyme. It is entitled, 'The BUKOLIKES 'of P. Virgilius Maro, &c. otherwise called his pastoralls or Shepherds 'Meetings. Together with his GEORGICS, or Ruralls, &c. All newly 'translated into English verse by A. F. At London by T. O. for T. Woodcock, &c. 1589.' I exhibit the five first verses of the fourth Eclogue.

O Muses of Sicilia ile, let's greater matters singe !
Shrubs, groves, and bushes lowe, delight and please not every man :
If we do singe of woodes, the woods be worthy of a consul

¹ In HIBERNIA. COME WEST MEATH.

² In the title of his HERODIANA MARIANA he styles himself 'Serenissimorum principum SACELLANUS.' That is, Albert archduke of Austria and his princess Isabell. Antw. 1509. 8vo.

³ Coxeter says a miscellany was printed in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign 'by R. S. 'that is, R. Stanyhurst.' I presume he may probably mean, a collection called 'The PACE-NIX NEST, Built vp with most rare and refined workes of noble men, woorthy knights, 'gallant gentlemen, Masters of Art, and braue schollars. Full of varietie, excellent inuention, and singular delight, &c. Set forth by R. S. of the Inner Temple gentleman. Imprinted 'at London by John Jackson, 1593. 4to. But I take this R. S. to be Richard Stapylton, who has a copy of verses prefixed to Greene's MAMILLIA, printed in 1593. Bl. Lett. By the way, in this miscellany there is a piece by 'W. S. Gent.' p. 77. Perhaps by William Shakespeare. But I rather think by William Smyth, whose 'CLORIS, or the Complaynt of the Passion of the 'despised Sheppard,' was licenced to E. Bolfaunt, Oct. 5. 1596. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 14. a. The initials W. S. are subscribed to 'Corin's dreame of his faire CHLORIS,' in ENGLANDS HELICON. (Signat. H. edit. 1614.) And prefixed to the tragedy of LOERINE, edit. 1595. Also 'A booke called AMOURS by J. (or G.) D. with certen other Sonnets by W. S.' is entered to Elcazar Edgar, Jan. 3. 1599. REGISTR. C. fol. 55. a. The initials W. S. are subscribed to a copy of verses prefixed to N. Breton's WIL OF WIT, &c. 1606. 4to.

⁴ They were both born in London. Thinne apud Hollinsh. vol. ii. 1590. Samuel wrote an elegant Latin Life of queen Mary, never printed. He has a Latin recommendatory poem prefixed to Edward Grant's SMICILEGIUM of the Greek tongue, a Dialogue, dedicated to Lord Burleigh, and printed at London in 1575. 8vo.

⁵ The Bucolics and Georgics, I think these, are entered, 1600. REGISTR. STAT. See also under 1595. *ibid*.

Nowe is the last age come, whereof Sybilla's verse foretold :
And now the Virgin come againe, and Saturnes kingdom come.

The fourth Georgic thus begins.

O my Mecenas, now will I dispatch forthwith to shew
The heauenly gifts, or benefits, of airie honie sweet.
Look on this piece of work likewise, as thou hast on the rest,

Abraham Fleming supervised, corrected, and enlarged the second edition of Holinshed's chronicle 1585¹. He translated Aelian's *VARIOUS HISTORY* into English in 1576, which he dedicated to Goodman dean of Westminster, 'Ælian's Registre of Hystories by 'Abraham Fleming,' [qto.] He published also *Certaine select epistles of Cicero into English*, in 1576. [Lon. qto.] And, in the same year, he imparted to our countrymen a fuller idea of the elegance of the ancient epistle, by his 'PANOPHIE OF EPISTLES from 'Tully, Isocrates, Pliny, and others, printed at London 1576².' He translated Synesius's Greek PANEGYRIC on BALDNESS, which had been brought into vogue by Erasmus's *MORIÆ ENCOMIUM*³. Among some other pieces, he Englished many celebrated books written in Latin about the fifteenth century and at the restoration of learning, which was a frequent practice, after it became fashionable to compose in English, and our writers had begun to find the force and use of their own tongue⁴. Sir Will. Cordall, the queen's solicitor-general was his chief patron⁵.

William Webbe, who is styled a graduate, translated the *GEORGICS* into English verse, as he himself informs us in the *DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE*, lately quoted, and printed in 1586⁶. And in the same discourse, which was written in defence of the new fashion of English hexameters, he has given us his own version of two of Virgil's *BUCOLICS*, written in that unnatural and impracticable mode of versification⁷. I must not forget here, that the same Webbe

¹ His brother Samuel assisted in compiling the *INDEX*, a very laborious work, and made other improvements.

² Quarto. For Ralph Newbery.

³ Lond. 1579. 12mo. At the end, is his *FABLE OF HERMES*.

⁴ Among his original pieces are, 'A memorial of the charitable almes deedes of William 'Lambe, gentleman of the chapel under Henry 8th, and citizen of London, Lond. 1580. 8vo. 'The Battell between the Virtues and Vices, Lond. 1582. 8vo.—'The Diamant of Devotion in 'six parts, Lond. 1586. 12mo.—'The Cundyt of Comfort, for Denham, 1579.' He prefixed a recommendatory Latin poem in iambs to the *VOYAGE* of Dennis Settle, a retainer of the earl of Cumberland, and the companion of Martin Frobisher, Lond. 1577. 12mo. Another, in English, to Kendal's *FLOWRES OF EPIGRAMMES*, Lond. 1577. 12mo. Another to John Baret's *ALVEARE*, or quadruple Lexicon of English, Latin, Greek, and French. Dedicated to Lord Burleigh, Lond. 1580, fol. edit. 2. [Mss. *ASHMOL.* Oxon. 835.] Another to W. Whetstone's *ROCK OF REGARD*. I take this opportunity of observing, that the works of one John Fleming, an ancient English poet, are in Dublin-college library, of which I have no farther notice, than that they are numbered. 304. *REGISTR. STATION.* B. fol. 160. a. 171. a. 168. a.

⁵ His *PANOPHIE* is dedicated to Cordall. Life of sir Thomas Pope, p. 226. edit. 2.

⁶ For the sake of juxtaposition, I observe here, that Virgil's *Bucolics* and fourth Georgic were translated by one Mr. Brimsly, and licenced to Man, Sept. 3. 1619. *REGISTR. STATION.* C. fol. 305. a. And the 'second parte of Virgil's *Æneids* in English, translated by sir 'Thomas Wroth knight,' Apr. 4. 1620. Ibid. fol. 313. b.

⁷ In 1594, Richard Jones published *Pan his Pipe*, conteyninge Three Pastorall Eglogs

ranks Abraham Fleming as a translator after Barnabie Googe the translator of Palingenius's ZODIAC, not without a compliment to the poetry and the learning of his brother Samuel, whose excellent *Inventions*, he adds, had not yet been made public.

Abraham Fraunce, in 1591, translated Virgil's ALEXIS into English hexameters, verse for verse, which he calls *The lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis*¹. It must be owned, that the selection of this particular Eclogue from all the ten for an English version, is somewhat extraordinary. But in the reign of queen Elizabeth, I could point out whole sets of sonnets written with this sort of attachment, for which perhaps it will be but an inadequate apology, that they are free from direct impurity of expression and open immodesty of sentiment. Such at least is our observance of external propriety, and so strong the principles of a general decorum, that a writer of the present age who was to print love-verses in this style, would be severely reproached and universally proscribed. I will instance only in the AFFECTIONATE SHEPHERD of Richard Barnefelde, printed in 1595. Here, through the course of twenty sonnets, not inelegant, and which were exceedingly popular, the poet bewails his unsuccessful love for a beautiful youth, by the name of Ganimede, in a strain of the most tender passion, yet with professions of the chastest affection². Many descriptions and incidents which have a like complexion, may be found in the futile novels of Lodge and Lilly.

Fraunce is also the writer of a book, with the affected and unmeaning title of the 'ARCADIAN RHETORIKE, or the preceptes of Rhetoricke 'made plaine by examples, Greeke, Latyne, Englishe, Italian, Frenche, 'and Spanishe.' It was printed in 1588, and is valuable for its English examples³.

In consequence of the versions of Virgil's Bucolies, a piece appeared in 1584, called 'A Comoedie of Titerus and Galathea⁴.' I suppose this to be Lilly's play called GALLATHEA, played before the queen at Greenwich on New Year's day by the choristers of st. Pauls.

It will perhaps be sufficient barely to mention Spenser's CULEX, which is a vague and arbitrary paraphrase, of a poem not properly be-

'in Englyshe hexamiter with other delightfull verses.' Licenced January 3. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 316. b.

¹ At the end of the *countesse of Pembrake's Fry-church*, in the same measure, Lond. 8vo. He wrote also in the same verse, *The Lamentation of Amyntas for the death of Phillis*. Lond. 1587. 4to. He translated into English hexameters the beginning of Heliodorus's *ETHIOPICS*. Lond. 1591. 8vo.

² At London, for H. Lownes, 1596. 16mo. Another edition appeared the same year, with his *CYNTHIA and Legend of CASSANDRA*. For the same, 1596. 16mo. In the preface of this second edition he apologises for his Sonnets, 'I wil vnsshadow my conceit: being nothing 'else but an imitation of Virgill in the second Eclogue of ALEXIS.' But I find, 'CYNTHIA 'with certeyne Sonnettes and the Legend of Cassandra,' entered to H. Lownes, Jan. 18. 1594. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 317. a.

³ Entered to T. Gubbyn and T. Newman, Jun. 11. 1588. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 229. b.

⁴ Entered April 1, to Cawood. Ibid. A. 203. b. Lilly's GALATEA, however, appears to be entered as a new copy to T. Man, Oct. 1, 1591. Ibid. fol. 280. b.

longing to Virgil. From the testimony of many early Latin writers it may be justly concluded, that Virgil wrote an elegant poem with this title. Nor is it improbable that in the *CULEX* at present attributed to Virgil, some very few of the original phrases, and even verses, may remain, under the accumulated incrustation of critics, imitators, interpolators, and paraphrasts, which corrupts what it conceals. But the texture, the character, and substance, of the genuine poem is almost entirely lost. The *CEIRIS*, or the fable of Nisus and Scylla, which follows, although never mentioned by any writer of antiquity, has much fairer pretensions to genuineness. At least the *CEIRIS*, allowing for uncommon depravations of time and transcription, appears in its present state to be a poem of the Augustan age, and is perhaps the identical piece dedicated to the Messala whose patronage it solicits. It has that rotundity of versification, which seems to have been studied after the Roman poetry emerged from barbarism. It has a general simplicity, and often a native strength, of colouring; nor is it tinctured, except by the casual innovation of grammarians, with those sophistications both of sentiment and expression, which afterwards of course took place among the Roman poets, and which would have betrayed a recent forgery. It seems to the work of a young poet: but its digressions and descriptions which are often too prolix, are not only the marks of a young poet, but of early poetry. It is interspersed with many lines, now in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Eneid*. Here is an argument which seems to assign it to Virgil. A cotemporary poet would not have ventured to steal from poems so well known. It was natural, at least allowable, for Virgil to steal from a performance of his youth, on which he did not set any great value, and which he did not scruple to rob of a few ornaments, deserving a better place. This consideration excludes Cornelius Gallus, to whom Fontanini, with much acute criticism, has ascribed the *CEIRIS*. Nor, for the reason given, would Virgil have stolen from Gallus. The writer has at least the art of Virgil, in either suppressing, or throwing into shade, the trite and uninteresting incidents of the common fabulous history of Scylla, which were incapable of decoration, or had been preoccupied by other poets. The dialogue between the young princess Scylla, who is deeply in love. and her nurse, has much of the pathos of Virgil. There are some traces which discover an imitation of Lucretius: but on the whole, the structure of the verses, and the predominant cast and manner of the composition, exactly resemble the *ARGONAUTICA* of Catullus, or the *EPI-THALAMIUM* of PELEUS AND THETIS. I will instance in the following passage, in which every thing is distinctly and circumstantially touched, and in an affected pomp of numbers. He is alluding to the stole of Minerva, interwoven with the battle of the giants, and exhibited at Athens in the magnificent Panathenaic festival. The classical reader will perceive one or two interpolations: and lament, that this rich

piece of embroidery has suffered a little from being unskilfully darned by another and a more modern artificer.

Sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, peplo,
Qualis Erectheis olim portatur Athenis,
Debita cum castæ solvuntur vota Minervæ,
Tardaque confecto redeunt quinquennia lustro,
Cum levis alterno Zephyrus concrebuit Euro,
Et prono gravidum provexit pondere cursum.
Felix ille dies, felix et dicitur annus :
Felicis qui talem annum videre, diemque !
Ergo Pallodiæ texuntur in ordine pugnæ :
Magna Gigantæis ornantur pepla tropæis,
Horrida sanguineo pinguntur prælia cocco.
Additur aurata dejectus cuspide Typho,
Qui prius Ossæis consternens æthera saxis,
Emathio celsum duplicabat vertice Olympum.
Tale deæ velum solemnî in tempore portant. [Ver. 21. seq.]

The same stately march of hexameters is observable in Tibullus's tedious panegyric on Messala : a poem, which, if it should not be believed to be of Tibullus's hand, may at least, from this reasoning be adjudged to his age. We are sure that Catullus could not have been the author of the *CEIRIS*, as Messala, to whom it is inscribed, was born but a very few years before the death of Catullus. One of the chief circumstances of the story is a purple lock of hair, which grew on the head of Nisus king of Megara, and on the preservation of which the safety of that city, now besieged by Minos, king of Crete, entirely depended. Scylla, Nisus's daughter, falls in love with Minos, whom she sees from the walls of Megara : she finds means to cut off this sacred ringlet, the city is taken, and she is married to Minos. I am of opinion that Tibullus, in the following passage, alludes to the *CEIRIS*, then newly published, and which he points out by this leading and fundamental fiction of Nisus's purple lock.

Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas ;
Aurea nec superent munera Pieridas !
CARMINE PURPUREA est Nisi coma : carmina ni sint,
Ex humero Pelopis non nituisset ebur. [ELEG. Lib. i. iv. 61.]

Tibullus here, in recommending the study of the poets to the Roman youth, illustrates the power of poetry ; and, for this purpose, with much address he selects a familiar instance from a piece recently written, perhaps by one of his friends.

Spenser seems to have shewn a particular regard to these little poems, supposed to be the work of Virgil's younger years. Of the *CULEX* he has left a paraphrase, under the title of *VIRGIL'S GNAT*, dedicated to lord Leceister, who died in 1588. It was printed without a title page at the end of the '*TEARES OF THE MUSES*, by Ed. Sp. ' London, imprinted for William Ponsonbie dwelling in Paules church-

'yard at the sign of the bishops head, 1591¹.' From the CEIRIS he has copied a long passage, which forms the first part of the legend of Britomart in the third book of the FAIRY QUEEN.

Although the story of MEDEA existed in Guido de Columna, and perhaps other modern writers in Latin, yet we seem to have had a version of Valerius Flaccus in 1565. For in that year, I know not if in verse or prose, was entered to Purfoote, 'The story of Jason, how he gotte the golden flece, and howe he did begyle Media [Medea], out of Laten into Englishe by Nycholas Whyte².' Of the translator Whyte, I know nothing more.

Of Ovid's METAMORPHOSIS, the four first books were translated by Arthur Golding in 1565. [Lond. Bl. Lett. 4to.] 'The fyrst fower bookes of the Metamorphosis owte of Latin into English meter by Arthur Golding, gentleman, &c. Imprinted at London by Willyam Seres 1565³.' But soon afterwards he printed the whole, or, 'The xv. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso entytuled METAMORPHOSIS, translated out of Latin into English meetre, by Arthur Golding Gentleman. A worke uery pleasant and delectable, Lon. 1575.' William Seres was the printer, as before⁴. This work became a favorite, and was reprinted in 1587, 1603, and 1612⁵. The dedication, an epistle in verse, is to Robert earl of Leicester, and dated at Berwick, April 20, 1567. In the metrical Preface to the Reader, which immediately follows, he apologises for having named so many fictitious and heathen gods. This apology seems to be intended for the weaker puritans⁶. His style is poetical and spirited, and his versification clear: his manner ornamental and diffuse, yet with a sufficient observance of the original. On the whole, I think him a better poet and a better translator than Phaier. This will appear from a few of the first lines of the second book, which his readers took for a description of an enchanted castle.

The princely pallace of the Sun, stood gorgeous to behold,
On stately pillars builded high, of yellow burnisht gold;
Beset with sparkling carbuncles, that like to fire did shine,
The rooffe was framed curiously, of yuorie pure and fine.
The two-doore-leues of siluer clere, a radiant light did cast:
But yet the cunning workemanship of thinges therein far past
The stuffe whereof the doores were made: for there a perfect plat
Had Vulcane drawne of all the world, both of the sources that

¹ In quoto. White Lett. Containing twenty-four leaves.

² REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 132. a.

³ It is entered 'A boke entituled Ouidii Metamorphoses.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 117. b.

⁴ Bl. Lett. 4to. It is supposed that there were earlier editions, viz. 1567, and 1576. The last is mentioned in Coxeter's papers, who saw it in Dr. Rawlinson's collection.

⁵ All in Bl. Lett. 4to. That of 1603, by W. W. Of 1612, by Thomas Purfoot.

⁶ Afterwards he says, of his author,

And now I have him made so well acquainted with our toong,
As that he may in English verse as in his owne be soong,
Wherein although for plesant stile, I cannot make account, &c.

Embrace the earth with winding waves, and of the stedfast ground,
 And of the heauen itself also, that both encloseth round.
 And first and foremost of the sea, the gods thereof did stand,
 Loude-sounding Tryton, with his shrill and writhen trumpe in hand,
 Unstable Protew, changing aye his figure and his hue,
 From shape to shape a thousand sights, as list him to renue.—
 In purple robe, and royall throne of emerauds freshe and greene,
 Did Phœbus sit, and on each hand stood wayting well besene,
 Dayes, Months, Yeeres, Ages, Seasons, Times, and eke the equall
 Houres ;

There stood the SPRINGTIME, with a crowne of fresh and fragrant floures :
 There wayted SUMMER naked starke, all saue a wheaten hat :
 And AUTUMNE smerde with treading grapes late at the pressing-vat :
 And lastly, quaking for the colde, stood WINTER all foilorne,
 With rugged head as white as doue, and garments al to torne ;
 Forladen [overladen] with the isycles, that dangled vp and downe,
 Upon his gray and hoarie beard, and snowie frozen crowne.
 The Sunne thus sitting in the midst, did cast his piercing eye, &c.

But I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing a few more lines,
 from the transformation of Athamas and Ino, in the fourth book.
 Tisiphone addresses Juno. [Fol. 50. a. edit. 1603.]

The hatefull hag Tisiphone, with hoarie ruffled heare, [hair]
 Remouing from her face the snakes, that loosely dangled theare,
 Said thus, &c.

He proceeds,

The furious fiend Tisiphone, doth cloth her out of hand,
 In garment streaming gory blood, and taketh in her hand
 A burning cressett¹ steeped in blood, and girdeth her about
 With wreathed snakes, and so goes forth, and at her going out,
 Feare, terror, griefe, and pensiuenesse, for company she tooke,
 And also madnesse with his slaught and gastly-staring looke.
 Within the house of Athamas no sooner foote she set,
 But that the postes began to quake, and doores looke blacke as iet.
 The sunne withdrew him : Athamas and eke his wife were cast
 With ougly sightes in such a feare, that out of doores agast
 They would have fled. There stood the fiend, and stopt their passage out ;
 And splaying² forth her filthy armes beknit with snakes about,
 Did tosse and waue her hatefull head. The swarme of scaled snakes
 Did make an yrksome noyce to heare, as she her tresses shakes.
 About her shoulders some did craule, some trayling downe her brest,
 Did hisse, and spit out poison greene, and spirt with tongues infest,
 Then from amid her haire two snakes, with venymd hand she drew,
 Of which she one at Athamas, and one at Ino threw,
 The snakes did craule about their brests, inspiring in their heart
 Most grieuous motions of the minde : the body had no smart
 Of any wound : it was the minde that felt the cruell stinges.
 A poyson made in syrup-wise, she also with her brings,
 The filthy fome of Cerberus, the casting of the snake
 Echidna, bred among the fennes, about the Stygian lake.

¹ A torch. The word is used by Milton

² Displaying.

Desire of gadding forth abroad, Forgetfullness of minde,
 Delight in mischiefe, Woodnesse¹, Tears, and Purpose whole inclinde
 To cruell murther: all the which, she did together grinde.
 And mingling them with new-shed blood, she boyled them in brasse,
 And stird them with a hemlock stalke. Now while that Athamas
 And Ino stood, and quakt for feare, this poyson ranke and fell
 She turned into both their brests, and made their hearts to swell.
 The whisking often round about her head, her balefull brand,
 She made it soone, by gathering winde, to kindle in her hand.
 Thus, as it were in tryumph-wise, accomplishing her hest,
 To duskie Pluto's emptie realme, she get her home to rest,
 And putteth off the snarled snakes that girded-in her brest.

We have here almost as horrid a mixture as the ingredients in Macbeth's cauldron. In these lines there is much enthusiasm, and the character of the original composition. The abruptnesses of the text are judiciously retained, and perhaps improved. The translators seems to have felt Ovid's imagery, and this perhaps is an imagery in which Ovid excels.

Golding's version of the METAMORPHOSIS kept its ground, till Sandys's English Ovid appeared in 1632. I know not who was the author of what is called a *ballet*, perhaps a translation from the Metamorphosis, licensed to John Charlewood, in 1569, 'The vnfortunate end of Iphis sonne vnto Teucer kynge of Troye².' Nor must I omit 'The tragicall and lamentable Historie of two faythfull mates 'Ceyx kynge of Thrachine, and Alcione his wife, drawn into English 'meeter by William Hubbard, 1569³.' In stanzas.

Golding was of a gentleman's family, a native of London, and lived with secretary Cecil at his house in the Strand⁴. Among his patrons, as we may collect from his dedications, were also sir Walter Mildmay, William lord Cobham, Henry earl of Huntingdon, lord Leicester, sir Christopher Hatton, lord Oxford, and Robert earl of Essex. He was connected with sir Philip Sydney: for he finished an English translation of Phillip Mornay's treatise in French on the Truth of Christianity, which had been begun by Sydney, and was published in 1587⁵. He enlarged our knowledge of the treasures of antiquity by publishing English translations, of Justin's History in 1574⁶, of Cesar's Commentaries in 1565⁷, of Seneca's BENEFITS in 1577⁸,

¹ Madness.

² REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 186. a. See Malone's SUPPL. SHAKESP. i. 60. seq.

³ Impr. at London, by W. Howe for R. Johnes. Bl. Lett. 12mo. In eight leaves.

⁴ His dedication to the four first books of Ovid is from Cecil-house, 1564. See his Dedication to his English version of Peter Aretine's WAR OF ITALY WITH THE GOTHs, Lond. 1563. 12mo. To this he has prefixed a long preface on the causes of the irruption of the Goths into Italy. He appears to have also lived in the parish of All Saints *ad murum*, London-wall, in 1577. EPIST. prefixed to his SENECA. His POSTILs of Chytræus are dedicated from Pauls Belchamp to sir W. Mildmay, March 10, 1570.

⁵ In 4to. It was afterwards corrected and printed by Thos. Wilcox, 1604.

⁶ Lond. 4to. Again 1578. There is the PSALTER in English, printed with Henry Middleton, by Arthur Golding. Lond. 1571. 4to.

⁷ The Dedication to Cecil is dated from Pauls Belchamp, 12 Octob. Lond. 12mo. Again, 1590. There was a translation by Tiptoft earl of Worcester, printed by Rastall. No date. I suppose about 1530.

⁸ Lond. 4to. To sir Christopher Hatton.

and of the GEOGRAPHY of Pomponius Mela, and the POLYHISTORY of Solinus, in 1587, and 1590. [Lond. 4to.] He has left versions of many modern Latin writers, which then had their use, and suited the condition and opinions of the times; and which are now forgotten, by the introduction of better books, and the general change of the system of knowledge. I think his only original work is an account of an Earthquake in 1580. Of his original poetry I recollect nothing more, than an encomiastic copy of verses prefixed to Baret's *ALVEARE* published in 1580. It may be regretted, that he gave so much of his time to translation. In *GEORGE GASCOIGNE'S PRINCELY PLEASURES OF KENILWORTH-CASTLE*, an entertainment in the year 1575, he seems to have been a writer of some of the verses, 'The deuise of the Ladie of the Lake also was master Hunnes—The verses, as I think, were penned, some by master Hunnes, some by 'master Ferres, and some by master Goldingham.' [Signat. B. ij.] The want of exactness through haste or carelessness, in writing or pronouncing names, even by cotemporaries, is a common fault, especially in our old writers; and I suspect Golding is intended in the last name¹. He is ranked among celebrated translators by Webbe and Meres.

The learned Ascham wishes that some of these translators had used blank verse instead of rhyme. But by blank verse, he seems to mean the English hexameter or some other Latin measure. He says, 'Indeed, Chauser, Thomas Norton of Bristow, my Lord of Surrey, M. Wiat, Thomas Phaier, and other gentlemen, in translating Ouide, 'Palingenius, and Seneca, haue gone as farre to their great praise as 'the cobby they followed would cary them. But if such good wittes, 'and forward diligence, had been directed to followe the best exam- 'ples, and not haue beene caryed by tyme and custome to content 'themselves with that barbarous and rude Ryming, amongst theyr 'other woorthye prayses which they haue iustly deserued, this had not 'been the least, to be counted among men of learning and skill, more 'like vnto the Grecians than the Gothians in handling of theyr verse².' The sentiments of another cotemporary critic on this subject were somewhat different. 'In queene Maries time florished aboue any 'other doctour Phaier, one that was learned, and excellently well tran- 'slated into English verse heroicall, certaine bookes of Virgil's 'Æneidos. Since him followed maister Arthur Golding, who with no 'less commendation turned into English meetre the Metamorphosis 'of Ouide, and that other doctour who made the supplement to those 'bookes of Virgil's Æneidos, which maister Phaier left vndoone.'

¹ But I must observe, that one Henry Goldingham is mentioned as a gesticulator, and one who was to perform Arion on a dolphin's back, in some spectacle before queen Elizabeth. *MERRY PASSAGES AND JEASTS*, MSS. HARL. 6395. One B. Goldingham is an actor and a poet, in 1579, in the pageant before queen Elizabeth at Norwich. *HOLLINSH. CHRON.* iii. fol. 1298. col. 1.

² Fol. 52. a. 53. b. edit. 1589. 4to.

Again, he commends 'Phaier and Golding, for a learned and well con-
'nected verse, specially in translation cleare, and uery faithfully
'answering their authours intent!'

I learn from Coxeter's notes, that the FASTI were translated into English verse before the year 1570. If so, the many little pieces now current on the subject of LUCRETIA, although her legend is in Chaucer, might immediately originate from this source. In 1568, occurs, a *Ballett* called 'the greivous complaynt of Lucrece².' And afterwards, in the year 1569, is licenced to James Robertes, 'A ballet of the death 'of Lucryssia,' [REGISTR. A. fol. 192. b.] There is also a ballad of the legend of Lucrece, printed in 1576. These publications might give rise to Shakespeare's RAPE OF LUCRECE, which appeared in 1594. At this period of our poetry, we find the same subject occupying the attention of the public for many years, and successively presented in new and various forms by different poets. Lucretia was the grand example of conjugal fidelity throughout the Gothic ages³.

The fable of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, in the fourth book of the METAMORPHOSIS, was translated by Thomas Peend, or De la Peend, in 1565⁴. I have seen it only among Antony Wood's books in the Ashmolcan Museum. An Epistle is prefixed, addressed to Nicolas St. Leger esq. from the writer's *studie* in Chancery-lane opposite Serjeant's-inn. At the end of which, is an explanation of certain poetical words occurring in the poem. In the preface he tells us, that he had translated great part of the METAMORPHOSIS; but that he abandoned his design, on hearing that another, undoubtedly Golding, was engaged in the same undertaking. Peend has a commendatory poem prefixed to Studley's version of Seneca's AGAMEMNON, in 1566. In 1562, was licenced 'the boke of Perymus and Thesbye,' copied perhaps in the MIDSUMMER NIGHTS DREAM. I suppose a translation from Ovid's fable of Pyramus and Thisbe⁵.

¹ Puttenham's ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, Lond. 1589. 4to. Lib. i ch. 30. fol. 49. 5r.

² REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 174. a. To John Alde. The story might, however, have been taken from Livy: as was 'The Tragedy of Appius and Virginia,' in verse. This, reprinted in 1575, is entered to R. Jones, in 1567. Ibid. fol. 163. a. And there is the Terannye of judge Apius, a ballad, in 1569. Ibid. fol. 184. b.

³ It is remarkable, that the sign of Berthelette the king's printer in Fleet-street, who flourished about 1540, was the Lucretia, or as he writes it, LUCRETIA ROMANA.

There is another Lucretia belonging to our old poetic story. Laneham, in his Narrative of the queen's visit at Kenilworth-castle in 1575, mentions among the favorite story-books 'Lucrez and Eurialus,' p. 34. This is, 'A boke of ij lovers Euryalus and Lucrezzie '[Lucretia] pleasaunte and dilectable,' entered to T. Norton, in 1569. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 189. a. Again, under the title of 'A booke entituled the excellent historye of 'Euryalus and Lucretia,' to T. Creede, Oct. 19, 1596. REGISTR. C. fol. 14. b. This story was first written in Latin prose, and partly from a real event, about the year 1440, by Æneas Sylvius, then imperial poet and secretary, afterwards pope Pius II. It may be seen in EPISTOLARUM LACONICARUM ET SELECTARUM FARRAGINES DUÆ, collected by Gilbertus Cognatus, and printed at Basil, 1554. 12mo. (FARRAG. ii. p. 386.) In the course of the narrative, Lucretia is compared by her lover to Polyxena, Venus, and AEMILIA. The last is the Emilia of Boccace's Theseid, or Palamon and Arcite. p. 48r.

⁴ It is licenced to Colwell that year, with the title of the 'pleasaunte fable of Ovide 'intituled Salmacis and Hermaphroditus. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 135. a.

⁵ In quarto. Lond. for T. Hackett. Bl. Lett.

The fable of Narcissus had been translated, and printed separately in 1560, by a nameless author, 'The fable of Ovid tretting of Narcissus translated out of Latin into English mytre, with a moral thereunto, very plesante to rede, Lond. 1560¹.' The translator's name was luckily suppressed. But at the close of the work are his initials, 'Finis. T. H.' Annexed to the fable is a moralisation of twice the length in the octave stanza. Almost every narrative was anciently supposed or made to be allegorical, and to contain a moral meaning.

¹ REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 92. a. To William Griffiths. I know not whether the following were regular versions of Ovid, or poems formed from his works now circulating in English. Such as 'the Ballet of Pygmalion,' to R. Jones, in 1568. Ibid. fol. 176. a. Afterwards reprinted and a favorite story. There is the 'Ballet of Pygmalion,' in 1568. Ibid. fol. 176. a.—'A ballet intituled the Golden Apple,' to W. Pickering, in 1568. Ibid. fol. 175. a.—'A ballet intituled Hercules and his Ende,' to W. Griffiths, in 1563. Ibid. fol. 102. b. There is also, which yet may be referred to another source, 'A ballet intituled the History of Troilus, whose troth had well been tryed,' to Purfoote, in 1565. Ibid. fol. 134. b. This occurs again in 1581, and 1608. The same may be said of the 'History of the tow [two] mooste noble prynces of the worlde Astionax and Polixene [Astyanax] of Troy,' to T. Hackett, in 1565. Ibid. fol. 139. a. Again, in 1567, 'the ballet of Acrisius,' that is, Acrisius the father of Danae. Ibid. fol. 177. b. Also, 'A ballet of the mesyrable state of king Medas,' or Midas, in 1569. Ibid. fol. 185. b. These are a few and early instances out of many. Of the METAMORPHOSIS OF PYGMALIONS IMAGE, by Marston, printed 1598, and alluded to by Shakespeare, (MEAS. MEAS. iii. 2) more will be said hereafter.

There is likewise, which may be referred hither, a 'boke intituled Procris and Cephalus divided into four parts,' licenced Oct. 22, 1578, to J. Wolfe, perhaps a play, and probably ridiculed in the MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, under the title *Shefalus and Procrus*. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 302. a.

There is also, at least originating from the English Ovid, a pastoral play, presented by the queen's choir-boys, Peele's ARRAIGNEMENT OF PARIS, in 1584. And I have seen a little novel on that subject, with the same compliment to the queen, by Dickenson, in 1593. By the way, some passages are transferred from that novel into another written by Dickenson, 'ARISBAS, Euphrates amidst his slumbers, or Cupid's Journey to hell, &c. By J. D. Lond. For T. Creede, 1594, 4to.' One of them, where Penona falls in love with a beautiful boy named Hyaltus, is as follows. Signat. E. 3. 'She, desirous to winne him with ouer-cloying kindnesse, fed him with apples, gaue him plumes, presented him peares. Having made this entrance into her future solace, she would vse oft his company, kisse him, coll him, check him, chucked him, walke with him, weepe for him, in the fields, neere the fountaines, sit with him, sue to him, omitting no kindes of dalliance to wooe him, &c.' I have selected this passage, because I think it was recollected by Shakespeare in the MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, where he describes the caresses bestowed by the queen of the faeries on her loved boy, ACT v. SC. i.

Come sit thee down upon this flowery bed
While I thy amiable cheeks do coy,
And stick musk roses in thy sleek smooth head. ———
I have a ventrous fairy that shall seek
The squirrel's hoard, &c.

See also, ACT ii. SC. i. In the ARRAIGNEMENT OF PARIS just mentioned, we have the same subject and language.

Plays with Amyntas lusty boye, and coyees him in the dales.

To return. There is, to omit later instances, 'A proper ballet dialogue-wise between Troy-lus and Cressida,' Jun. 23, in 1581. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 180. b. 'Endimion and Phoebe,' a *booke*, to John Bushye, April 12, 1575. Ibid. fol. 181. b. A ballad, 'a mirror meete for wanton and insolent daies by example of Medusa kinge of Phorcus his daughter,' Feb. 13, 1577. Ibid. fol. 145. b. 'The History of Glascus and Scylla,' to R. Jones, Sept. 22, 1589. Ibid. fol. 243. b. Narcissus and Phaeton were turned into plays before 1610. Heywood's APOLOG. ACTORS. Lilly's SAFIRO and PHAO, ENDIMION, and MIDAS, are almost too well known to be enumerated here. The two last, with his GALATHEA, were licenced to T. Man, Oct. 7, 1590. Of PENIOPLES WERBE, unless Greene's, I can say nothing. Licenced to E. Agas, June 26, 1577. Ibid. fol. 219. b. Among Harrington's EPIGRAMS, is one entitled, 'Ovid's Confession translated into English for General Norreyes,' 1593. Epigr. 25. lib. iii. Of this I know no more. The subject of this note might be much further illustrated.

In the reign of Elizabeth, a popular ballad had no sooner been circulated, than it was converted into a practical instruction, and followed by its MORALISATION. The old registers of the Stationers afford numerous instances of this custom, which was encouraged by the encrease of puritanism¹. Hence in Randolph's MUSE'S LOOKING-GLASS, where two puritans are made spectators of a play, a player, to reconcile them in some degree to a theatre, promises to *moralise* the plot : and one of them answers,

——— That MORALIZING
I do approve : it may be for instruction².

Ovid's IBIS was translated, and illustrated with annotations, by Thomas Underdowne, born, and I suppose educated, at Oxford. It was printed at London in 1569. [REGISTR. STAT. A. fol. 177. b.] with a dedication to Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurst, the author of GORDOUC, and entitled, 'Ouid 'his inuective against Ibis Translated into meeter, whereunto is added 'by the translator a short draught of all the stories and tales containned 'therein uery pleasant to read. Imprinted at London by T. East and 'H. Middleton, Anno Domini 1569.' The notes are large and historical. There was a second edition by Binneman in 1577³. This is the first stanza.

Whole fiftie yeares be gone and past Since I alyue haue been
Yet of my Muse ere now there hath No armed verse be seene.

The same author opened a new field of romance, and which seems partly to have suggested sir Philip Sydney's ARCADIA, in translating into English prose the ten books of Heliodorus's Ethiopic history, in 1577⁴. This work, the beginning of which was afterwards versified by Abraham Fraunce in 1591, is dedicated to Edward earl of Oxford. The knights and dames of chivalry, sir Tristram and Bel Isoulde, now

¹ As, '*Maukin was a Coventry mayde*,' moralised in 1563. REGISTR. A. fol. 102. a. With a thousand others. I have seen other moralisations of Ovid's stories by the puritans. One by W. K. or William Kethe, a Scotch divine, no unready rhymers, mentioned above.

In our singing-psalms, the psalms 70, 104, 122, 125, 134, are signatured with W. K. or William Kethe. These initials have been hitherto undecyphered. At the end of Knox's APPELLATION to the Scotch bishops, printed at Geneva in 1558, is psalm 93, turned into metre by W. Kethe, 12mo. He wrote, about the same time, *A ballad on the fall of the whore of Babylon*, called 'I'ye the mare Tom-boy.' STRYPE, ANN. REF. vol. ii. B. i. ch. 11, p. 102. edit. 1725. Another is by J. K. or John Keyser, mentioned above as another coadjutor of Sternhold and Hopkins, and who occurs in 'THE ARBOR OF AMITIE, wherein is comprised 'pleasaunt poems and pretie poesies, set foorth by Thomas Howell, gentleman, anno. 1568.' Imprinted at London, J. H. Denham, 12mo. Bl. Lett. Dedicated to ladie Anne Talbot. Among the recommendatory copies is one signed, 'John Keeper, student.' See also 'J. 'K. to his friend H.' fol. 27. a. And 'H. to K.' ibid. Again, fol. 33. b. 34. a. and 38, 39, &c.

² ACT. i. Sc. ii. edit. Oxf. 1638. 4to. Again. Mrs. Flowerdew says, 'Pray, sir, continue the 'the moralizing.' ACT. iii. Sc. i.

³ Both are in octavo. Salmacis and Hermaphrodite was translated by F. Beaumont, 1602. He also translated part of Ovid's 'Remedy of Love. As did sir T. Overbury the whole soon afterwards, Lond. 1620. 8vo. But I believe there is a former edition, no date. 8vo.

⁴ Bl. Lett. Lond. 4to. A second edition appeared in 1587. But in 1568-9, there is an entry to Francis Coldocke to print 'a booke intit. the end of the xth boke' of Heliodorus's Ethiopics. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 178. b.

began to give place to new lovers and intrigues : and our author published the *Excellent historie of Theseus and Ariadne*, most probably suggested by Ovid, which was printed at London in 1566. [Octavo Black Letter.]

The ELEGIES of Ovid, which convey the obscenities of the brothel in elegant language, but are seldom tinctured with the sentiments of a serious and melancholy love, were translated by Christopher Marlowe belowmentioned, and printed at Middleburgh without date. This book was ordered to be burnt at Stationers hall, in 1599, by command of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London¹.

Ovid's REMEDY OF LOVE had an anonymous translator in 1599². But this version was printed the next year under the title of 'Ovidius Naso his REMEDIE OF LOVE, translated and entituled to 'the youth of England, by F. L. London 1600.' [qto.]

The HEROICAL EPISTLES of Ovid, with Sabinus's Answers, were *set out and translated* by Thomas Turberville, a celebrated writer of poems in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and of whom more will be said in his proper place³. This version was printed in 1567, and followed by two editions⁴. It is dedicated to Thomas Howard viscount Byndon⁵. Six of the Epistles are rendered in blank verse. The rest in four-lined stanzas. The printer is John Charlewood, who appears to have been printer to the family of Howard, and probably was retained as a domestic for that liberal purpose in Arundel-house, the seat of elegance and literature till Cromwell's usurpation⁶. Turberville was a polite scholar, and some of the passages are not unhappily turned. From Penelope to Ulysses.

To thee that lingrest all too long

Thy wife, Vlysses, sends:

'Gaine write not, but by quicke returne

For absence make amendes.——

O that the surging seas had drencht

¹ REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 316. a. b. There were two impressions.

² Dec. 25, REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 55. a. To Brown and Jagger. Under the same year occur, *Orydes Epistles in Englyshe*, and *Orydes Metamorphoses in Englyshe*. Ibid. fol. 57. a. There seems to have been some difficulty in procuring a licence for the *Comedie of 'Sappho'*, Apr. 9, 1583. REGISTR. B. fol. 198. b.

³ 'The Heroicall Epistles of the learned poem Publius Naso in English verse, set out and translated by George Turberville gentleman, with Aulus Sabinus answers to certain of the same.' Lond. for Henry Denham, 1567. 12mo.

⁴ In 1569 and 1600. All at London, Black Letter.

⁵ I find entered to Henry Denham, in 1565-6, a *booke* called 'the fyrste epeistle of Ovide.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 148. b. Again the same year, to the same, 'Anepeistle of Ovide 'beynge the iijth epeistle.' Ibid. fol. 149. a. In the same year, to the same, the rest of Ovid's Epistles. Ibid. fol. 152. a. There is 'A booke entit. Oenone to Paris, wherein 'is deciphered the extremitie of Love, &c.' To R. Jones, May 17, 1594. REGISTR. B. fol. 307. b.

⁶ In the *Defensative against the poyson of supposed prophesies*, written by Henry Howard, afterwards earl of Northampton and lord privy-seal, and printed (4to.) in 1583, the printer, John Charlewood, styles himself printer to Philip earl of Arundel. And in many others of his books, he calls himself printer to lord Arundel. Otherwise, he lived in Barbican, at the sign of the Half eagle and Key.

That hatefull letcher tho',
When he to Lacedæmon came
Inbarkt, and wrought our woe!

I add here, that Mantuan, who had acquired the rank of a classic, was also versified by Turberville in 1594¹.

Coxeter says, that he had seen one of Ovid's Epistles translated by Robert earl of Essex. This I have never seen; and, if it could be recovered, I trust it would only be valued as a curiosity. A few of his sonnets are in the Ashmolean Museum, which have no marks of poetic genius. He is a vigorous and elegant writer of prose. But if Essex was no poet, few noblemen of his age were more courted by poets. From Spenser to the lowest rhymer he was the subject of numerous sonnets, or popular ballads. I will not except Sydney. I could produce evidence to prove, that he scarce ever went out of England, or even left London, on the most frivolous enterprise, without a pastoral in his praise, or a panegyric in metre, which were sold and sung in the streets. Having interested himself in the fashionable poetry of the times, he was placed high in the ideal Arcadia now just established: and among other instances which might be brought, on his return from Portugal in 1589, he was complimented with a poem, called, 'An Egloge gratulatorie entituled to the right honorable and renowned shepherd of Albions Arcadie Robert earl of Essex and for his returne lately into England².' This is a light in which lord Essex is seldom viewed. I know not if the queen's fatal partiality, or his own inherent attractions, his love of literature, his heroism, integrity, and generosity, qualities which abundantly overbalance his presumption, his vanity, and impetuosity, had the greater share in dictating these praises. If adulation were any where justifiable, it must be when paid to the man who endeavoured to save Spenser from starving in the streets of Dublin, and who buried him in Westminster Abbey with becoming solemnity. Spenser was persecuted by Burleigh, because he was patronised by Essex.

Thomas Churchyard, who will occur again, rendered the three first of the TRISTIA, which he dedicated to sir Christopher Hatton, and printed at London in 1580³.

Among Coxeter's papers is mentioned the *ballet* of Helen's epistle to Paris, from Ovid, in 1570, by B. G. I suspect this B. G. to be the author of a poem called 'A booke intituled a new tragicall historye of 'too lovers,' as it is entered in the register of the Stationers, where it

¹ The four first Eclogues of Mantuan, I suppose in English, were entered to Binneman in 1566. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 151. b. And 'the rest of the egloggs of Mantuan,' to the same, in 1566. Ibid. fol. 154. b.

² Licenced to R. Jones, Aug. 1, 1589. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 246. b.

³ In quarto. An entry appears in 1577, and 1591. REGISTR. STATION.

is licenced to Alexander Lacy, under the year 1563¹. Ames recites this piece as written by Ber. Gar. perhaps Bernard Gardiner. [HIST. PRINT. 532. 552.] Unless Gar, which I do not think, be the full name. The title of BALLET was often applied to poems of considerable length. Thus in the register of the Stationers, Sackville's LEGEND OF BUCKINGHAM, a part of the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES, is recited, under the year 1557, among a great number of ballads, some of which seem to be properly so styled, and entitled, 'The murninge of Edward duke of Buckynham.' Unless we suppose this to be a popular epitome of Sackville's poem, then just published². A romance, or History, versified, so as to form a book or pamphlet, was sometimes called a ballad. As, 'A ballett intituled an history of Alexander Campaspe and Apelles, and of the faythfull fryndeshippe betweene theym, printed for Colwell, in 1565³. This was from the grand romance of Alexander⁴. Sometimes a Ballad is a work in prose. I cannot say whether, 'A ballet intituled the incorraggen all kynde of men to the reedyfyinge and buyldynge Poules steeple againe,' printed in 1564, [Ibid. fol. 116. a.] was a pathetic ditty, or a pious homily, or both. A play or interlude was sometimes called a ballet, as, 'A Ballet intituled AN ENTERLUDE, The cruel detter by Wayer,' printed for Colwell, in 1565. [Ibid. fol. 138. a.] Religious subjects were frequently called by this vague and indiscriminating name. In 1561, was published 'A new ballet of iiij. commandements. [Ibid. fol. 75. b.] That is, four of the Ten Commandments in metre. Again, among many others of the same kind, as puritanism gained ground, 'A ballet intituled the xvij. chapter of the iiij [second] boke of Kynges.' [Ibid. fol. 166. a.] And I remember to have seen, of the same period, a Ballet of the first chapter of Genesis. And John Hall, above-mentioned, wrote or compiled in 1564, 'The COURTE OF VERTUE, contaynyng many holy or spretuall songes, sonettes, psalmes, balletts, and shorte sentences, as well of holy scriptures, as others⁵.

¹ REGISTR. A. fol. 102. It was reprinted, in 1568, for Griffiths, ibid. fol. 174. b. Again, the same year, for R. Jones, 'The ballet intituled the story of ij faythfull lovers.' Ibid. fol. 177. b. Again, for R. Tottell, in 1564, 'A tragicall historye that happened betweene ij Englishe lovers.' Ibid. fol. 118. a. I know not if this be 'The famooste and notable history of two faythfull lovers named Alfayns and Archelaus in myter,' for Colwell, in 1565. Ibid. fol. 133. a. There is also 'A proper historye of ij Duches lovers,' for Purfoote, in 1567. Ibid. fol. 163. a. Also, 'The moste famous history of ij Spaneshe lovers,' to R. Jones, in 1569. Ibid. fol. 192. b. A poem, called *The tragical history of DIDACO AND VIOLENTA*, was printed in 1576.

² I will exhibit the mode of entry more at large. 'To John Kyng THESE BOOKES FOLLOWYNGE, Called A Nosegay. *The seale herowe of women*, and also a *Sacke full of Newes*.' Then another paragraph begins, 'To Mr John Wallis, and Mrs. Toye, these BALLETS FOLLOWYNGE, that ysto say,——' Then follow about forty pieces, among which is this of the Duke of Buckingham. REGISTR. A. fol. 22. a. But in these records, BOOK and BALLET are often promiscuously used.

³ REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 137. b.

⁴ There is, printed in 1565, 'A ballet intituled Apelles and Pygmalie, to the tune of the fyrst Apelles.' Ibid. fol. 140. b. And, under the year 1565, 'A ballet of kyng Pollicute [f. Polyeuctes] to the tune of Apelles.' Ibid. fol. 133. b. Also, 'The Songe of Appeltes,' in the same year. Ibid. fol. 138. a. By the way, Lilly's Campaspe, first printed in 1591, might originate from these pieces.

⁵ For T. Marshe. Ibid. fol. 118. b.

It is extraordinary, that Horace's ODES should not have been translated within the period of which we are speaking¹. In the year 1566, Thomas Drant published, what he called, 'A MEDICINABLE MORALL, that is, the two bookes of Horace his satyres Englished, according to the prescription of saint Hierome, &c². London, for Thomas Marshe, 1566³.' It is dedicated to 'my Lady Bacon and my Lady Cecill fauourers of learning and vertue.' The following year appeared, 'Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Pistles, and Satyrs Englished, and to the earle of Ormoute by Thomas Drant addressed. [With a Greek motto.] Imprinted at London in Fletestrete nere to S. Dunstones church, by Thomas Marshe, 1567⁴.' This version is very paraphrastic and sometimes parodical. In the address to the reader prefixed, our translator says of his Horace, 'I haue translated him sumtymes at randun. And nowe at this last time welnye worde for worde, and lyne for lyne. And it is maruaile that I, being in all myne other speaches so playne and perceauable, should here desyer or not shun to be harde, so farre forth as I can kepe the lerninge and sayinges of the author.' What follows is too curious not to be transcribed, as it is a picture of the popular learning, and a ridicule of the idle narratives, of the reign of queen Elizabeth. 'But I feare me a number do so thincke of thys booke, as I was aunswered by a prynter not long agone: Though sayth he, sir, your boke be wyse and ful of learnyng, yet peradventure it wyl not be saleable: Signifying indeede, that slim slames, and gue gawes, be they neuer so sleight and slender, are sooner rapte vp thenne are those which be lettered and clarkly makings. And no doubt the cause that bookes of learnynge seme so hard is, because such and so greate a scull of amarouse [amorous] pamphlets haue so preoccupied the eyes and eares of men, that a multytude beleue ther is none other style or phrase ells worthe gra-

¹ I believe they were first translated by sir Thomas Hawkins, knight, in 1625.

² That is, *Quod malum est muta, quod bonum est prode*, from his Epistle to Rufinus.

³ At the end of this translation, are, 'The waylings of the prophet Hieremias done into Englishe verse. Also Epigrammes. T. Drant, *Antidoti salutaris amator*. Perused and allowed accordyng to the queenes maiesties iniunctions.' Of the Epigrams, four are in English, and seven in Latin. This book is said to be authorised by the bishop of London. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 140. b. I know not whether or no the EPIGRAMS were not printed separate: for in 1567, is licenced to T. Marshe, 'A booke intituled Epygrames and Sentences spirituall by Draunte.' Ibid. fol. 165. a. The argument of the JEREMIAH, which he compared with the Hebrew and the Septuagint, begins,

Jerusalem is iustlie plagude,
The queene of townes the prince of realmes

And left disconsolate,
Deuusted from her state.

In 1586, Mar. 11. are entered to J. Wolfe, 'LAMENTATION OF JEREMYE in prose and meeter in English, with Tremellius's Annotations to the prose.' REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 216. a. Donne's POEMS, p. 306. seq. edit. 1633. 4to.

⁴ In qto. BL. Lett. In the front of the Dedication he styles himself 'Maister of Arte, and Student in Diuinitye.' There is a licence in 1566-7, to Henry Weekes for 'Orace epestles in Englishe.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 155. a. And there is an entry of the EPISTLES in 1501. REGISTR. B. I find also entered to Colwell, 'The fyrste two sataris and peysels of Orace Englished by Lewis Evans schoolemaister.' in 1564. REGISTR. A. fol. 121. a. This piece is not catalogued among Evan's works in Wood, ATH. OXON. i. 178. Nor in Tanner, BIBL. p. 270.

'mercy'. No bookes so ryfe or so frindly red, as be these bokes.—
 'But if the setting out of the wanton tricks of a payre of louers, as
 'for example let them be cauled sir Chaunticleare and dame Partilote,
 'to tell howe their firste combination of loue began, howe their eyes
 'floted, and howe they anchored, their beames mingled one with the
 'others bewtye. Then, of their perplexed thowghts, their throwes,
 'their fancies, their dryrie driftes, now interrupted now vnperfyted, their
 'loue days, their sugred words, and their sugred ioyes. Afterward,
 'howe enuyous fortune, through this chop or that chaunce, turned
 'their bless to bale, seueringe two such bewtiful faces and dewtiful
 'hearts. Last, at partynge, to ad-to an oration or twane, inter-
 'changeably had betwixt the two wobegone persons, the one thicke
 'powderd with manly passionat pangs, the other watered with woman-
 'ish teares. Then to shryne them up to god Cupid, and make mar-
 'tirres of them both, and therwyth an ende of the matter.' Afterwards,
 reverting to the peculiar difficulty of his own attempt, he adds,
 'Neyther any man which can iudge, can iudge it one and the like

1 We have this passage in a poem called PASQUILL'S MADNESSE. Lond. 1600 4to. fol. 36.

And tell prose writers, stories are so stale,
 That pennie ballads make a better sale.

And in Burton's Melancholy, fol. 122. edit. 1624. 'If they reade a booke at any time 'tis an
 'English Cronicle, sir Huon of Bourdeaux, or Amadis de Gaulle, a playe booke, or some pam-
 'phlett of newes.' Hollinshed's and Stowe's CHRONICLES became at length the only fashionable
 reading. In *The Guls Hornbooke*, it is said, 'The top [the leads] of saint Paules contains
 'more names than Stowe's Cronicle.' Lond. 1609. 4to. p. 21. Bl. Lett. 'That the ladies now
 began to read novels we find from this passage, 'Let them learne plaine workes of all
 'kinde, so they take heed of too open seaming. Instead of songs and musicke, let them
 'learne cookerie and laundrie. And instead of reading sir Philip Sidney's ARCADIA, let
 'them reade the *Groundes of good Huswifery*. I like not a female poetesse at any hand.—
 'There is a pretty way of breeding young maidens in an Exchange-shop, or Saint Martines le
 'Grand. But many of them gett such a foolish trick with carrying their band-box to gentle-
 'mens chambers, &c.' TOM OF ALL TRADES, or the *plaine Path way to Preferment*, &c.'
 By Thomas Powell, Lond. 1631. 4to. p. 47. 48.

Female writers of poetry seem to have now been growing common: for, in his ARTE OF
 ENGLISH POESIE, Puttenham says, 'Darke worde, or doubtful speech, are not so narrowly
 'to be looked vpon in a large poeme, nor specially in the pretie poesies and deuises of Ladies
 'and Gentlewomen-makers, [poetesses,] whom we would not haue too precise poets, least with
 'their shrewd wits, when they were married, they might become a little too fantastickall
 'wiues.' Lib. iii. ch. xxi. p. 209. Decker, in the GULS HORNBOK, written in 1609, in the
 chapter *How a gallant should behaue himself in a play-house*, mentions the necessity of hoard-
 ing up a quantity of *play-scrapes*, to be ready for the attacks of the '*Arcadian and Euphuised*
 'gentlewomen.' Ch. vi. p. 27. seq. Edward Hake, in *A Touchstone for this time present*,
 speaking of the education of young ladies, says, that the girl is 'eyther altogether kept from
 'exercises of good learning, and knowledge of good letters, or else she is so nouseled in AMO-
 'ROUS bookes, vaine STORIES, and funde trifeling fancies, &c.' Lond. by Thomas Hacket,
 1574, 12mo. SIGNAT. C. 4. He adds, after many severe censures on the impiety of dancing,
 that 'the substance which is consumed in two yeares space vpon the apparail of one
 'meane gentlemans daughter, or vpon the daughter or wife of one citizen, woulde bee suffi-
 'cient to finde a poore student in the vniuersitye by the space of foure or five yeares at the
 'least.' Ibid. SIGNAT. D. 2. But if girls are bred to learning, he says, 'It is for no other
 'ende, but to make them companions of carpet knights, and giglots for amorous louers.
 Ibid. SIGNAT. C. 4. Gabriel Harvey, in his elegy DE AULICA, or character of the Maid of
 Honour, says, among many other requisite accomplishments,

Sallet item, pingatque eadem, DOCTUMQUE POEMA
 Pangat, nec Musas nesciat illa meas.

GRATULATIONES VALDINENSES, Lond. Binneman, 1578. 4to. Lib. iv. p. 21. He adds, that
 she should have in her library, Chaucer, lord Surrey, and Gascoigne, together with some medi-
 cal books. Ibid. p. 22.

‘laboure to translate Horace, and to make and translate a loue booke,
 ‘a shril tragedye, or a smooth and platleuyled poesye. Thys can I
 ‘truly say of myne owne experyence, that I can soner translate twelve
 ‘verses out of the Greeke Homer than sixe out of Horace.’ Horace’s
 satirical writings, and even his Odes, are undoubtedly more difficult
 to translate than the narrations of epic poetry, which depend more on
 things than words: nor is it to be expected, that his satires and epistles
 should be happily rendered into English at this infancy of style and
 taste, when his delicate turns could not be expressed, his humour and
 his urbanity justly relished, and his good sense and observations on life
 understood. Drant seems to have succeeded best in the exquisite
 Epistle to Tibullus, which I will therefore give entire.

To Albius Tibullus, a deuisor. [An inventor, a poet.]

Tybullus, frend and gentle iudge
 Of all that I do clatter¹,
 What dost thou all this while abroad,
 How might I learne the matter?
 Dost thou inuente such worthy workes
 As Cassius’ poem²es passe?
 Or doste thou closelie creeping lurcke
 Amid the wholsom grasse?
 Addicted to philosophie,
 Contemning not a whitte
 That’s seemlie for an honest man,
 And for a man of witte. [*Sapiente.*]
 Not thou a bodie without breast!
 The goddes made thee t’ excell
 In shape, the gods haue lent thee goodes,
 And arte to vse them well.
 What better thing vnto her childe
 Can wish the mother kinde?
 Than wisdome, and, in fyled frame²,
 To vtter owte his minde:
 To haue fayre fauoure, fame enoughe,
 And perfect staye, and health;
 Things trim at will, and not to feele
 The emptie ebb of wealth.
 Twixt hope to haue, and care to kepe,
 Twixt feare and wrathe, awaye
 Consumes the time: eche daye that cummes,
 Thinke it the latter daye.
 The hower that cummes unlooked for
 Shall cum more welcum aye.
 Thou shalt Me fynde fat and well fed,
 As pubble³ as may be;

¹ He means to express the loose and rough versification of the *SERMONES*.

² Having a comely person. Or, to speak with elegance.

³ I have never seen this word, which is perhaps provincial. The sense is obvious.

And, when thou wilt, a merie mate,
To laughe and chat with thee. [Signat. C iiii.]

Drant undertook this version in the character of a grave divine, and as a teacher of morality. He was educated at St. John's college in Cambridge; where he was graduated in theology, in the year 1569. [Catal. Grad. Cant. MSS.] The same year he was appointed prebendary of Chichester and of St. Pauls. The following year he was installed archdeacon of Lewes in the cathedral of Chichester. These preferments he probably procured by the interest of Grindall archbishop of York, of whom he was a domestic chaplain. [MSS. Tann.] He was a tolerable Latin poet. He translated the ECCLESIASTES into Latin hexameters, which he dedicated to sir Thos. Henneage, a common and a liberal patron of these times, and printed at London in 1572¹. At the beginning and end of this work, are six smaller pieces in Latin verse. Among these are the first sixteen lines of a paraphrase on the book of JOB. He has two miscellanies of Latin poetry extant, the one entitled SYLVA, dedicated to queen Elizabeth, and the other POEMATATA VARIA ET EXTERNA. The last was printed at Paris, from which circumstance we may conclude that he travelled². In the SYLVA, he mentions his new version of David's psalms, I suppose in English verse. [Fol. 56.] In the same collection, he says he had begun to translate the Iliad, but had gone no further than the fourth book. [Fol. 75.] He mentions also his version of the Greek EPIGRAMS of Gregory Nazianzen. [Fol. 50.] But we are at a loss to discover, whether the latter were English or Latin versions. The indefatigably inquisitive bishop Tanner has collected our translator's Sermons, six in number which are more to be valued for their type than their doctrine, and at present are of little more use, than to fill the catalogue of the typographical antiquary³. Two of them

¹ For Thomas Daye. qto. The title is, 'In Solomonis regis ECCLESIASTEM, seu de Vanitate mundi Concionem, paraphrasis poetica. Lond. per Joan. Dayum 1572.' There is an entry to Richard Fielde of the 'Ecclesiastes in English verse.' Nov. 11, 1566. REG. STAT. C. fol. 15. a. And by Thomas Granger, to W. Jones, April 30, 1620. Ibid. fol. 313. b.

² Drant has two Latin poems prefixed to Nevill's KETTUS, 1575. 4to. Another, to John Seton's LOGIC with Peter Carter's annotations, Lond. 1574, 12mo. And to the other editions. [Seton was of St. John's in Cambridge, chaplain to bishop Gardiner for seven years, and highly esteemed by him. Made D.D. in 1544. Installed prebendary of Winchester, Mar¹ 19, 1553. Rector of Henton in Hampshire, being 42 years old, and B.D. A. Wood, MSS. C. 237. He is extolled by Leland for his distinguished excellence both in the classics and philosophy. He published much Latin poetry. Stryke's ELIZ. p. 242. Carter was also of St. John's in Cambridge.] Another, with one in English, to John Sadler's English version of Vegetius's TACTICS, done at the request of sir Ed. Brudenell and addressed to the earl of Bedford, Lond. 1572. 4to. He has a Latin epitaph, or elegy, on the death of doctor Cuthbert Scot, designed bishop of Chester, but deposed by queen Elizabeth for popery, who died a fugitive at Louvaine, Lond. 1565. He probably wrote this piece abroad. There is licenced to T. Marsh, in 1565, 'An Epigramme of the death of Cuthbert Skotte by Roger Sherlock, and replied agaynste by Thomas Drant.' REG. STAT. A. fol. 134. b. A Latin copy of verses, DE SEIPSO, is prefixed to his HORACE.

³ Codd, Tanner Oxon. Two are dedicated to Thomas Heneage. Three to sir Francis Knollys. Date of the earliest, 1569. Of the latest, 1572. In that preached at court 1569, he tells the ladies, he can give them a better clothing than any to be found in the queen's wardrobe: and mentions the speedy downfall of their 'high plummy heads.' Signat. K v4

were preached at St. Mary's hospital¹. Drant's latest publication is dated in 1572.

Historical ballads occur about this period with the initials T. D. These may easily be mistaken for Thomas Drant, but they stand for Thomas Deloney, a famous ballad writer of these times, mentioned by Kemp, one of the original actors in Shakespeare's plays, in his *NINE DAIES WONDER*. Kemp's miraculous morris-dance, performed in nine days from London to Norwich, had been misrepresented in the popular ballads, and he thus remonstrates against some of their authors. 'I haue made a priuie search what priuate jig-monger of your jolly number had been the author of these abhominable ballets written of me. I was told it was the great ballade maker T. D. or Thomas Deloney, chronicler of the memorable Lives of the SIX YEOMEN OF THE WEST, JACK OF NEWBERY², THE GENTLE CRAFT³, and such like honest men, omitted by Stowe, Hollinshed, Grafton, Hall, Froysart, and the rest of those welldescriuing writers⁴.'

I am informed from some MSS. authorities, that in the year 1571, Drant printed an English translation from Tully, which he called, *The chosen eloquent oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero for the poet Archias, selected from his orations, and now first published in English*. [MSS. Coxeter.] I have never seen this version, but I am of opinion that the translator might have made a more happy choice. For in this favorite piece of superficial declamation, the specious orator, when he is led to a formal defence of the value and dignity of poetry, instead of illustrating his subject by insisting on the higher utilities of poetry, its political nature, and its importance to society, enlarges only on the immortality which the art confers, on the poetic faculty being communicated by divine inspiration, on the public honours paid to Homer and Ennius, on the esteem with which poets were regarded by Alexander and Themistocles, on the wonderful phenomenon of an extemporaneous effusion of a great number of verses, and even recurs to the trite and obvious topics of a school-boy in saying, that poems are a pleasant relief after fatigue of the mind, and that hard rocks and

Lond. 1570, 12mo. I find the following note by bishop Tanner. 'Thomæ Drantæ Angli 'Andvordingammi PRÆSUL. Dedicat. to Archbishop Grindal. PR. DED.—*Illuxit ad extremum dies ille.*'—I presume, that under the word *Andvordinghamii* is concealed our author's native place. His father's name was Thomas.

¹ At St. *Maries Spittle*. In the statutes of many of the ancient colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, it is ordered, that the candidates in divinity shall preach a sermon, not only at Paul's-cross, but at St. Mary's Hospital in Bishopgate-street, 'ad Hospitale beatæ Mariæ.'

² Entered to T. Myllington, Mar. 7, 1596. REGR. STAT. C. fol. 20. b.

³ I presume he means, an anonymous comedy called 'THE SHOEMAKERS HOLYDAY or the GENTLE CRAFT. With 'the humorous life of sir John Eyre shoemaker, and Lord Mayor 'of London.' Acted before the queen on New Year's Day by Lord Nottingham's players. I have an edition, Lond. for J. Wright, 1618. Bl. Lett. 4to. Prefixed are the *first and second THREE MAN'S SONGS*. But there is an old prose history in quarto called the GENTLE CRAFT, which I suppose is the subject of Harrington's Epigram, 'Of a Boke called the GENTLE 'CRAFT.' B. iv. 11. 'A Boke called the GENTLE CRAFTe intreating of Shoemakers,' is entered to Ralph Blore, Oct. 19, 1597. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 25, a. Ibid, fol. 63. a.

⁴ Edit. 1600. 4to. SIGNAT. D. 2.

savage beasts have been moved by the power of song. A modern philosopher would have considered such a subject with more penetration, comprehension, and force of reflection. His excuse must be, that he was uttering a popular harangue.

SECTION LIX.

THE epigrams of Martial were translated in part by Timothy Kendall, born at North Aston in Oxfordshire, successively educated at Eaton and at Oxford, and afterwards a student of the law at Staple's-inn. This performance, which cannot properly or strictly be called a translation of Martial, has the following title, 'FLOWERS OF EPIGRAMMES 'out of sundrie the most singular authors selected, etc. By Timothie 'Kendall late of the vniuersitie of Oxford, now student of Staple Inn. London, 1577¹.' It is dedicated to Robert earl of Leicester. The epigrams translated are from Martial, Pictorius, Borbonius, Politian, Bruno, Textor, Ausonius, the Greek anthology, Beza, sir Thomas More, Henry Stephens, Haddon², Parkhurst³, and others. But by much the greater part is from Martial.⁴ It is charitable to hope, that our translator Timothy Kendall wasted no more of his time at Staples-inn in culling these fugitive blossoms. Yet he has annexed to these versions his TRIFLES or juvenile epigrams, which are dated the same year⁵.

Meres, in his WITS TREASURY, mentions doctor Johnson, as the translator of Homer's BATRACHOMUOMACHY, and Watson of Sophocles's ANTIGONE, but with such ambiguity, that it is difficult to determine from his words whether these versions are in Latin or English. [Fol. 289, p. 2.] That no reader may be misled, I observe here, that

¹ In duodecimo. They are entered at Stationers Hall, Feb. 25, 1576. REGISTR. B. fol. 138. a. To John Sheppard.

² Walter Haddon's POEMATATA, containing a great number of metrical Latin epitaphs, were collected, and published with his LIFE, and verses at his death, by Giles Fletcher and others, in 1576. T. Baker's Letters to bishop Tanner, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. And by Hatcher, 1567, 4to.

³ John Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, a great reformer, published, LUDICRA SEU EPIGRAMMATA JUVENILIA, Lond. 1572. 4to. Also, EPIGRAMMATA SERIA. Lond. 1560. 8vo. He died in 1574. Wilson's Collection of EPIGRAPHIA on Charles and Henry Brandon, Lond. 1552.

⁴ Kendal is mentioned among the English EPIGRAMMATISTS by Meres.

⁵ The first line is,

'Borbon in France bears bell awaie.'

That is, Nicholas Borbonius, whose NUGÆ, or Latin Epigrams, then celebrated, have great elegance. But Joachim du Bellai made this epigram on the Title.

Paule, tuum inscribis NUGARUM nomine librum,
In toto libro nil melius titulo.

Our countryman Owen, who had no notion of Borbonius's elegant simplicity, was still more witty.

Quas tu dixisti NUGAS, non esse putasti, Non dico NUGAS esse, sed esse puto.

Christopher Johnson, a celebrated head-master of Winchester school, afterwards a physician, translated Homer's *FROGS AND MICE* into Latin hexameters, which appeared in quarto. at London, in 1580¹. Thomas Watson author of a *HUNDRED SONNETS, or the passionate century of Love*, published a Latin *ANTIGONE* in 1581². The latter publication, however, shews at this time an attention to the Greek tragedies.

Christopher Marlowe, or Marloe, educated in elegant letters at Cambridge, Shakespeare's cotemporary on the stage, often applauded both by queen Elizabeth and king James the first, as a judicious player, esteemed for his poetry by Jonson and Drayton, and one of the most distinguished tragic poets of his age, translated Coluthus's *RAPE OF HELEN* into English rhyme, in the year 1587. I have never seen it; and I owe this information to the MSS. papers of a diligent collector of these sagacious anecdotes. [MSS. Coxeter.] But there is entered to Jones in 1595, 'A booke entituled *RAPTUS HELENÆ*, Helens Rape, 'by the Athenian duke Theseus³.' Coluthus's poem was probably brought into vogue, and suggested to Marlowe's notice, by being paraphrased in Latin verse the preceding year by Thomas Watson, the writer of sonnets just mentioned. [Lond. 1586, 4to.] Before the year 1598, appeared Marlowe's translation of the *LOVES OF HERO AND ALEXANDER*, the elegant prolusion of an unknown sophist of Alexandria, but commonly ascribed to the ancient Musaeus. It was left unfinished by Marlowe's death; but what was called a second part, which is nothing more than a continuation from the Italian, appeared by one Henry Petowe, in 1598⁴. Another edition was published, with the first book of Lucan, translated also by Marlowe, and in blank verse, in 1600⁵. At length George Chapman, the translator of Homer,

¹ Entered to T. Purfoote, Jan. 4 1579. With 'certain orations of Isocrates.' *REGISTR. STATION. B.* fol. 165. a.

² In quarto. Licenced to R. Jones. Jul. 31. 1581. *Ibid.* fol. 182. b.

³ April 12. *REGISTR. STATION. B.* fol. 131. b.

⁴ For Purfoot, 4to. Petowe's Preface, which has a high panegyric on Marlowe. He says he begun where Marlowe left off. In 1593, Sept. 28, there is an entry to John Wolfe of 'A 'book entituled *Hero and Leander*, beinge an amorous poem devised by Christopher Marlowe.' *REGISTR. STATION. B.* fol. 300. b. The translation, as the entire work of Marlowe, is mentioned twice in Nashe's *Lenten Stuff*, printed in 1599. It occurs again in the registers of the Stationers, in 1597, 1598, and 1600. *REGISTR. C.* fol. 31. a. 34. a. I learn from Mr. Malone, that Marlowe finished only the two first Sestiads, and about one hundred lines of the third. Chapman did the remainder. Petowe published the *Whipping of Runawaies*, for Burbie, in 1603.

There is an old ballad on *Jephtha judge of Israel*, by William Petowe. In the year 1567, there is an entry to Alexander Lacy, of 'A ballett intituled the Songe of Jesphas dowghter 'at his death.' *REGISTR. STATION. A.* fol. 162. a. Perhaps this is the old song of which Hamlet in joke throws out some scraps to Polonius, and which has been recovered by Mr. Steevens. *HAMLET. ACT. II. SC. 7.* [See also *Jesse judge of Israel*, in *REGISTR. D.* fol. 93. Dec. 14. 1624.] This is one of the pieces which Hamlet calls *pious chansons*, and which taking their rise from the reformation, abounded in the reign of Elizabeth. Hence, by the way, we see the propriety of reading *pious chansons*, and not *pons chansons*, or ballads sung on *bridges*, with Pope. Rowe arbitrarily substituted *Rubric*, not that the titles of old ballads were ever printed in red. *Rubric* came at length simply to signify title, because, in the old MSS. it was the custom to write the titles or heads of chapters in red ink. In the Statutes of Winchester and New college, every statute is therefore called a *RUBRICA*.

⁵ But this version of Lucan is entered, as above, Sept. 28. 1593., to John Wolfe, *Ibid.* fol.

completed, but with a striking inequality, Marlowe's unfinished version, and printed it at London in quarto, in 1606¹. Tanner takes this piece to be one of Marlowe's plays. It probably suggested to Shakespeare the allusion to Hero and Leander, in the MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, under the player's blunder of Limander and Helen, where the interlude of Thisbe is presented. [Act v. Sc. ult.] It has many nervous and polished verses. His tragedies manifest traces of a just dramatic conception, but they abound with tedious and uninteresting scenes, or with such extravagancies as proceeded from a want of judgment, and those barbarous ideas of the times, over which it was the peculiar gift of Shakespeare's genius alone to triumph and to predominate². His TRAGEDY OF DIDO QUEEN OF CARTHAGE was completed and published by his friend Thomas Nashe, in 1594³.

Although Jonson mentions Marlowe's MIGHTY MUSE, yet the highest testimony Marlowe has received, is from his cotemporary Drayton; who from his own feelings was well qualified to decide on the merits of a poet. It is in Drayton's Elegy, *To my dearly loved friend Henry Reynolds of Poets and Poesie*,

Next Marlowe, bathed in the Thespian springes,
Had in him those braue translunary⁴ thinges,
That the first poets had : his raptvres were
All air, and fire, which made his verses clear :
For that fine madness still he did retaine
Which rightly should possesse a poet's braine⁵.

300. b. Nor does it always appear at the end of MUSEUS in 1600. There is an edition that year by P. Short.

¹ There is another edit. in 1616, and 1629. 4to. The edit. of 1616, with Chapman's name, and dedicated to Inigo Jones, not two inches long and scarcely one broad, is the most diminutive product of English typography. But it appears a different work from the edition of 1606. The 'Ballad of Hero and Leander' is entered to J. White, Jul. 2. 1614. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 252. a. Burton, an excellent Grecian, having occasion to quote MUSEUS, cites Marlowe's version, MELANCHOLY, pag. 372. seq. fol. edit. 1624.

² Nashe in his Elegy prefixed to Marlowe's Dido, mentions five of his plays. Mr. Malone is of opinion, from a similarity of style, that the Tragedy of LOCRINE, published in 1594, attributed to Shakespeare, was written by Marlowe. SUPPL. SHAKESP. ii. 190. He conjectures also Marlowe to be the author of the old KING JOHN. Ibid. i. 163. And of TITUS ANDRONICUS, and of the lines spoken by the players in the interlude in HAMLET. Ibid. i. 371.

³ In quarto. At London, by the widow Orwin, for Thomas Woodcocke. Played by the children of the chapel. It begins,

'Come gentle Ganimed!'

It has been frequently confounded with John Rightwise's play on the same subject performed at St. Paul's school before Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards before queen Elizabeth at Cambridge, in 1564. I have before mentioned the Latin tragedy of Dido and Eneas, performed at Oxford, in 1583, before the prince Alaseo. Hamlet says to the first Player on this favorite story. In 1584, was entered a 'ballet of a lover blamyng his fortune by Dido 'and Eneas for thayre vnruthe.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 116. a. In the TEMPEST, Gonzalo mentions the 'widow Dido.' Act iii. Sc. i. On old ballads we read the *Tune of queen Dido*. Perhaps from some ballad on the subject, Shakespeare took his idea of Dido standing with a willow in her hand on the sea-shore, and beckoning Eneas back to Carthage. MERCH. VEN. ACT. v. Sc. i. Shakespeare has also strangely falsified Dido's story, in the S. P. of K. HENRY VI. ACT iii. Sc. ii. I have before mentioned the interlude of Dido and Eneas at Chester.

⁴ Langbaine, who cites these lines without seeming to know their author, by a pleasant mistake has printed this word *sublunary*. DRAM. POETS, p. 342.

⁵ Lond. edit. 1753. iv. p. 1256. That Marlowe was a favorite with Jonson, appears from

In the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, a sort of critical play, acted at Cambridge in 1606, Marlowe's *buskined* MUSE is celebrated¹. His cotemporary Decker, Jonson's antagonist, having allotted to Chaucer and *graue* Spenser, the highest seat in the Elisian *grove of Bayes*, has thus arranged Marlowe. 'In another companie sat learned Atchlow and, (tho he had ben a player molded out of their pennes, yet because he had been their louer and register to the Muse) inimitable Bentley: these were likewise carousing out of the holy well, &c. Whilst Marlowe, Greene, and Peele, had gott under the shadow of a large vyne, laughing to see Nashe, that was but newly come to their colledge, still haunted with the same satyricall spirit that followed him here vpon earth².'

Marlowe's wit and spriteliness of conversation had often the unhappy effect of tempting him to sport with sacred subjects; more perhaps from the preposterous ambition of courting the casual applause of profligate and unprincipled companions, than from any systematic disbelief of religion. His scepticism, whatever it might be, was construed by the prejudiced and peevish puritans into absolute atheism: and they took pains to represent the unfortunate catastrophe of his untimely death, as an immediate judgment from heaven upon his execrable impiety³. He was in love, and had for his rival, to use the significant words of Wood, 'A bawdy servingman, one rather fitter to be a pimp, than an ingenious *amoretto*, as Marlowe conceived himself to be⁴.' The consequence was, that an affray ensued; in which the antagonist having by superior agility gained an opportunity of strongly grasping Marlowe's wrist, plunged his dagger with his own hand into his own bosom. Of this wound he died rather before the year 1593⁵. One of Marlowe's tragedies is, *The tragical history of the*

the Preface to one of Bosworth's poems; who says, that Johnson used to call the *mighty lines* of Marlowe's *MUSOEUS* fitter for admiration than parallel. Thomas Heywood, who published Marlowe's *JEW OF MALTA*, in 1633, wrote the Prologue, spoken at the Cockpit, in which Marlowe is highly commended both as a player and a poet. It was in this play that Allen, the founder of Dulwich college, acted the *JEW* with so much applause.

¹ Hawkins's *OLD PL.* iii. p. 215. Lond. 1607. 4to. But it is entered in 1604, Oct. 16, to J. Wright, where it is said to have been acted at St. John's. *REGISTR. STATION. C.* fol. 130. b. Other cotemporary testimonies of this author, in *OLD PLAYS.* (in 12 Vol.) Lond. 1780, 12mo. Vol. ii. 308.

² A *KNIGHT'S CONJURING*, Signat. L. 1607. 4to. To this company Henry Chettle is admitted, and is saluted in bumpers of Helicon on his arrival.

³ Beard's *THEATRE OF GOD'S JUDGMENTS*, lib. i. ch. xxiii. And 'Account of the blasphemous and damnable opinions of Christ. Marley and 3 others who came to a sudden and fearful end of this life.' MSS. HARL. 6853. 8o. fol. 320.

⁴ *ATH.* Oxon. i. 338. Meres, *WITS TR.* fol. 287.

⁵ Marston seems to allude to this catastrophe, *CERTAINE SATYRES.* Lond. for Edmond. Matts, 1598, 12mo. SAT. ii.

Tis loose-leg'd Lais, that same common drab,
For whom good Tubro tooke the mortall stab.

By the way. Marlowe in his *EDWARD II.* seems to have ridiculed the puritans under the character of the scholar Spencer, who 'says a long grace at a tables end, wears a little band, buttons like pins heads, and

— 'is curate-like in his attire,

'Though inwardly licentious enough, &c.'

*life and death of doctor John Faustus*¹. A proof of the credulous ignorance which still prevailed, and a specimen of the subjects which then were thought not improper for tragedy. A tale which at the close of the sixteenth century had the possession of the public theatres of our metropolis, now only frightens children at a puppet-show in a country town. But that the learned John Faust continued to maintain the character of a conjuror in the sixteenth century even by authority, appears from a 'Ballad of the life and death of doctor Faustus the *'great congerer,'* which in 1588 was licensed to be printed by the learned Aylmer bishop of London².

As Marlowe, being now considered as a translator, and otherwise being generally ranked only as a dramatic poet, will not occur again, I take this opportunity of remarking here, that the delicate sonnet called the PASSIONATE SHEPHERD TO HIS LOVE, falsely attributed to Shakespeare, and which occurs in the third act of THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR, followed by the nymph's Reply, was written by Marlowe³. Isaac Walton in his COMPLEAT ANGLER, a book perhaps composed about the year 1640, although not published till 1653, has inserted this sonnet, with the reply, under the character of 'that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlowe, now at least fifty years ago : and—an Answer to it which was made by sir Walter Raleigh 'in his younger days : old fashioned poetry, but choicely good.' In ENGLAND'S HELICON, a miscellany of the year 1600, it is printed with Christopher Marlowe's name, and followed by the Reply, subscribed IGNOTO, Raleigh's constant signature. [Sig. P. 4. ed. 1614.] A page or two afterwards, it is imitated by Raleigh. That Marlowe was admirably qualified for what Mr. Mason, with a happy and judicious propriety, calls PURE POETRY, will appear from the following passage of his forgotten tragedy of EDWARD II., written in the year 1590, and first printed in 1598. The highest entertainments, then in fashion, are contrived for the gratification of the infatuated Edward, by his profligate minion Piers Gaveston.

I must haue wanton poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians, that with touching of a string
May drawe the plyant king which way I please.
Music and poetry are his delight ;
Therefore I'll haue Italian masques by night,
Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shewes.
And in the day, when he shall walke abroad,
Like sylvan Nymphs my pages shall be clad,
My men like Satyrs, grazing on the lawnes,
Shall with their goat-feet dance the antick hay.

¹ Entered, I think for the first time, to T. Bushell, Jan. 7. 1600. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 67. b. Or rather 1610, Sept. 13, to J. Wright. Ibid. fol. 199. b.

² REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 241. b.

³ See Steevens's SHAKESP. vol. i. p. 297. edit. 1778

Sometimes a Louely Boy, in Dian's shape¹,
 With haire that gildes the water as it glides,
 Crownets of pearle about his naked armes,
 And in his sportfull handes an oliue-tree,
 * * * * *
 Shall bathe him in a spring: and there hard by,
 One, like Acteon, peeping through the groue,
 Shall by the angry goddess be transform'd.——
 Such thinges as these best please his maiestie.

It must be allowed that these lines are in Marlowe's best manner. His chief fault in description is an indulgence of the florid style, and an accumulation of conceits, yet resulting from a warm and brilliant fancy. As in the following description of a river.

I walkt along a streame, for purenesse rare,
 Brighter than sunshine: for it did acquaint
 The dullest sight with all the glorious pray,
 That in the pebble-paved chanell lay.
 No molten chrystall, but a richer mine;
 Euen natvre's rarest alchemie ran there,
 Diamonds resolu'd, and svbstance more diuine;
 Through whose bright-gliding current might appeare
 A thousand naked Nymphes, whose yuorie shine
 Enameling the bankes, made them more deare
 Than euer was that gloriovs pallace-gate,
 Where the day-shining Sunne in triump sate².

Vpon this brim, the eglantine, and rose,
 The tamariske, oliue, and the almond-tree,
 (As kind companions) in one vnion growes,
 Folding their twining armes: as ofte we see
 Turtle-taught louers either other close,
 Lending to dullnesse feeling sympathie:
 And as a costly vallance³ oer a bed,
 So did their garland-tops the brooke oerspred.

Their leaues that differed both in shape and showe,
 (Though all were greene, yet difference such in greene
 Like to the checkered bend of Iris' bowe)
 Prided, the running maine as it had beene, &c⁴.

Philips, Milton's nephew, in a work which I think discovers many touches of Milton's hand, calls Marlowe, 'A second Shakespeare, not only because he rose like him from an actor to be a maker of plays, though inferiour both in fame and merit, but also, because in his begun poem of Hero and Leander, he seems to have a resemblance of that CLEAR UNSOPHISTICATED wit, which is natural to that incom-

¹ That is, acting the part of Diana.

² The description of the palace of the sun was a favorite passage in Golding's Ovid.

³ Canopy. Shakespeare means a rich bed-canopy in *SEC. P. HENR. IV. ACT. II. SC. I.*

Under the canopies of costly state.

⁴ ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS, Lond. 1600. 12mo. fol. 465.

'parable poet¹.' Criticisms of this kind were not common, after the national taste had been just corrupted by the false and capricious refinements of the court of Charles II.

Ten books of Homer's *ILIAD* were translated from a metrical French version into English by A. H. or Arthur Hall esq., of Grantham, and an M.P.², Lond., Ralph Newberie, 1581³. This translation has no other merit than that of being the first appearance of a part of the *Iliad* in an English dress. I do not find that he used any known French version. He sometimes consulted the Latin interpretation, where his French copy failed. It is done in the Alexandrine of Sternhold. In the dedication to sir Thomas Cecil, he compliments the distinguished translators of his age, Phaier, Golding, Jasper Heywood, and Googe; together with the worthy workes of lord Buckhurst, 'and 'the pretie pythie Conceits of M. Geo. Gascoygne.' He adds, that he began this work about 1563, under the advice and encouragement of 'Mr. Rob. Askame⁴, a familiar acquaintance of Homer.'

But a complete and regular version of Homer was reserved for Geo. Chapman. He began with printing the Shield of Achilles, in 1596. [Lond. 4to.] This was followed by seven books of the *Iliad* the same year. [Lond. 4to.] Fifteen books were printed in 1600. [Thin folio.] At length appeared without date, an entire translation of the *ILIAD*⁵ under the following title, 'The *ILIADS* OF HOMER Prince 'of Poets. Neuer before in any language truely translated. With a 'comment uppon some of his chief places: Done according to the 'Greeke by George Chapman. At London, printed for Nathaniell 'Butter⁶. It is dedicated in English heroics to Prince Henry. This circumstance proves that the book was printed at least after the year 1603, in which James I. acceded to the throne⁷. Then follows an anagram on the name of his *gracious Meccenas* prince Henry, and a sonnet to the *sole empressse of beautie* queen Anne. In a metrical address to the reader he remarks, but with little truth, that the English language, abounding in consonant monosyllables, is eminently adapted to rhythmical poetry. The doctrine that an allegorical sense was hid under the narratives of epic poetry had not yet ceased; and he here promises a poem on the mysteries he had newly discovered in Homer.

¹ THEATR. POETAR. MOD. P. p. 24. edit. 1620.

² Process against Hall, in 1580, for writing a pamphlet printed by Binneman, related by Ames. p. 325.

³ Qto. Bl. Lett. Nov. 25, 1580, H. Binneman is licenced to print tenne bookes of the *Iliades* of Homer.' REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 175. a.

⁴ He means the learned Roger Ascham. It begins,

'I thee beseech, O goddess milde, the hatefull hate to plaine.

⁵ He says in his COMMENTARY on the first book, that he had wholly translated again his first and second books: but that he did not even correct the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth. And that he believed his version of the twelve last to be the best. Butter's edit. ut infr. fol. 14. Meres, who wrote in 1598, mentions 'Chapman's inchoate Homer.' fol. 285. p. 2.

⁶ It is an engraved title-page by William Hole, with figures of Achilles and Hector, &c. fol.

⁷ I suppose, by an entry in the register of the Stationers, in 1611, April 8. REGISTR. C. fol. 207. a.

In the Preface, he declares that the last twelve books were translated in fifteen weeks: yet with the advice of his learned and valued friends, *Master Robert Hews*¹, and *Master Harriots*. It is certain that the whole performance betrays the negligence of haste. He pays his acknowledgements to his 'most ancient, learned, and right noble friend, Master Richard Stapilton², the first most desertfull mouer in 'the frame of our Homer.' He endeavours to obviate a popular objection, perhaps not totally groundless, that he consulted the prose Latin version more than the Greek original. He says, sensibly enough, 'it 'is the part of euey knowing and iudicious interpreter, not to follow 'the number and order of words, but the materiall things themselues, 'and sentences to weigh diligently; and to clothe and adorne them 'with words, and such a stile and forme of oration, as are most apt 'for the language into which they are conuerted.' The danger lies, in too lavish an application of this sort of cloathing, that it may not disguise what it should only adorn. I do not say that this is Chapman's fault: but he has by no means represented the dignity or the simplicity of Homer. He is sometimes paraphrastic and redundant, but more frequently retrenches or impoverishes what he could not feel and express. In the meantime, he labours with the inconvenience of an aukward, inharmonious, and unheroic measure, imposed by custom, but disgusting to modern ears. Yet he is not always without strength or spirit. He has enriched our languages with many compound epithets, so much in the manner of Homer, such as the *silver-footed* Thetis, the *silver-throned* Juno, the *triple-feathered* helme, the *high-walled* Thebes, the *faire-haired* boy, the *silver-flowing* floods, the *hugely-peopled* towns, the Grecians *navy-bound*, the *strong-winged* lance, and many more which might be collected. Dryden reports, that Waller never could read Chapman's Homer without a degree of transport. Pope is of opinion, that Chapman covers his defects 'by 'a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, which is something 'like what one might imagine Homer himself to have writ before 'he arrived to years of discretion.' But his fire is too frequently darkened, by that sort of fustian which now disfigured the diction of our tragedy.

He thus translates the comparison of Diomed to the autumnal star, at the beginning of the fifth book. The lines are in his best manner.

From his bright helme and shield did burne, a most unwearied fire,
Like rich Autumnus' golden lampe, whose brightnesse men admire

¹ This Robert Hues, or Husius, was a scholar, and a good geographer and mathematician, and published a tract in Latin on the Globes, Lond. 1593. 8vo. With other pieces in that way. There was also a Robert Hughes who wrote a Dictionary of the English and Persic. Wood, ATH. OXON. i. 571. HIST. ANTIQUIT. UNIV. OXON. Lib. ii. p. 288. b.

² Already mentioned as the publisher of a poetical miscellany in 1593. 'The spiritual poems 'or hymnes of R. S.' are entered to J. Busbie, Oct. 17, 1593. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 3. b.

Past all the other host of starres, when with his chearefull face
Fresh-washt in loftie ocean waues, he doth the skie enchase. [Fol. 63.]

The sublime imagery of Neptune's procession to assist the Grecians, is thus rendered.

The woods, and all the great hils neare, trembled beneath the weight
Of his immortall mouing feet : three steps he only tooke,
Before he farr-off Æge reach'd : but, with the fourth, it shooke
With his dread entrie. In the depth of those seas, did he hold
His bright and glorious pallace, built of neuer-rusting gold :
And there arriu'd, he put in coach his brazen-footed steeds
All golden-maned, and paced with wings¹, and all in golden weeds
Himselfe he clothed. The golden scourge, most elegantly done,
He tooke, and mounted to his seate, and then the god begun
To drive his chariot through the waues. From whirlpools euery way
The whales exulted under him, and knewe their king : the sea
For ioy did open, and his horse so swift and lightly flew,
The vnder axeltree of brasse no drop of water drew. [Fol. 169. seq.]

My copy once belonged to Pope ; in which he has noted many of Chapman's absolute interpolations, extending sometimes to the length of a paragraph of twelve lines. A diligent observer will easily discern, that Pope was no careless reader of his rude predecessor. Pope complains that Chapman took advantage of an unmeasurable length of line. But in reality Pope's lines are longer than Chapman's. If Chapman affected the reputation of rendering line for line, the specious expedient of chusing a protracted measure which concatenated two lines together, undoubtedly favoured his usual propensity to periphrasis.

Chapman's commentary is only incidental, contains but a small degree of critical excursion, and is for the most part a pedantic compilation from Spondanus. He has the boldness severely to censure Scaliger's impertinence. It is remarkable that he has taken no illustrations from Eustathius, except through the citations of other commentators. But of Eustathius there was no Latin interpretation.

This volume is close with sixteen Sonnets by the author, addressed to the chief nobility.² It was now a common practice, by these unpoetical and empty panegyrics, to attempt to conciliate the attention, and secure the protection, of the great, without which it was supposed to be impossible for any poem to struggle into celebrity. Habits of submission, and the notions of subordination, now prevailed in a high degree ; and men looked up to peers, on whose smiles or frowns they believed all sublunary good and evil to depend, with a reverential

¹ Having wings on their feet.

² To the Duke of Lenox, the lord Chancellor, Lord Salisbury, lord treasurer, earl of Suffolk, earl of Northampton, earl of Arundel, earl of Pembroke, earl of Montgomery, lord Lisle, countess of Montgomery, lady Wroth, countess of Bedford, earl of Southampton, earl of Sussex, lord Walden, and sir Thos. Howard. Lady Mary Wroth, here mentioned, wife of sir Robert Wroth, was much courted by the wits of this age. She wrote a romance called *URANIA*, in imitation of sir Philip Sydney's *ARCADIA*. Jonson's *ÆMIGR.* 103. 105.

awe. Henry Lock subjoined to his metrical paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, and his *Sundry Christian Passions containd in two hundred Sonnets*, both printed together for Field, in 1527, a set of secular sonnets to the nobility, among which are lord Buckhurst and Annie the amiable countess of Warwick [In qto.] And not to multiply more instances, Spenser in compliance with a disgraceful custom, or rather in obedience to the established tyranny of patronage, prefixed to the FAIRY QUEENE fifteen of these adulatory pieces, which in every respect are to be numbered among the meanest of his compositions¹.

In the year 1614, Chapman printed his version of the ODYSSEY, which he dedicated to king James's favorite, Carr earl of Somerset. This was soon followed by the BATRACHOMUOMACHY, and the HYMNS, and EPIGRAMS. But I find long before Chapman's time, 'A Ballett betweene the myce and the frogges,' licenced to Thomas East the printer, in 1568². And there is a ballad, 'A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse,' in 1580³.

He is also supposed to have translated Hesiod. But this notion seems to have arisen from these lines of Drayton, which also contain a general and a very honourable commendation of Chapman's skill as a translator⁴.

Others againe there liued in my days,
That haue of us deserued no less prayse
For their TRANSLATIONS, than the daintiest wit
That on Parnassus thinks he high'st doth sit,
And for a chair may mongst the Muses call
As the most curious Maker of them all :
As reuerend Chapman, who hath brought to vs
Musæus, Homer, and Hesiodvs,
Out of the Greeke : and by his skill hath rear'd
Them to that height, and to our tongue endear'd,
That were those poets at this day aliue
To see their books thus with vs to suruiue,
They'd think, hauing neglected them so long,
They had been written in the English tongue.

I believe Chapman only translated about fourteen lines from the beginning of the second book of Hesiod's WORKS AND DAYS, 'as

¹ This practice is touched by a satirist of those times, in PASQUILL'S MAD CAPPE, Lond. Printed by J. V. 1600. 4to. fol. 2. Speaking of every great man.

He shall have ballads written in his praise,
Bookes dedicated vnto his patronage ;
Wittes working for his pleasure many waies ;
Petegrues sought to mend his parentage.

² REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 177. b. Mr. Steevens informs us, of an anonymous interlude, called THERSYTES *his humours and conceits*, in 1598. Shakesp. vol. ix. p. 166. Ibid. p. 331. And the versions of Homer perhaps produced a ballad, in 1586, 'The Lamentation of Hecuba and the Ladies of Troye.' Aug. 1, to E. White. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 209. a. Again to W. Matthews, Feb. 22, 1593, 'The Lamentation of Troye for the death of Hector.' Ibid. fol. 305. a.

³ Licenced to E. White, Nov. 21, 1580. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 174.

⁴ Bolton's opinion of Chapman, *supr.* p. 276.

well as I could in haste,' which are inserted in his commentary on the thirteenth Iliad for an occasional illustration. [Fol. 185. seq.] Here is a proof on what slight grounds assertions of this sort are often founded, and, for want of examination, transmitted to posterity¹.

As an original writer, Chapman belongs to the class of dramatic poets, and will therefore be considered again at the period in which he is placed by the biographers². His translations, therefore, which were begun before the year 1600, require that we should here acquaint the reader with some particulars of his life. He wrote eighteen plays, which, although now forgotten, must have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to enrich and advance the English stage. He was born in 1557, perhaps in Kent. He passed about two years at Trinity college in Oxford, with a contempt of philosophy, but in a close attention to the Greek and Roman classics³. Leaving the university about 1576, he seems to have been led to London in the character of a poet; where he soon commenced a friendship with Spenser, Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Daniel, and attracted the notice of secretary Walsingham. He probably acquired some appointment in the court of James I.; where untimely death, and unexpected disgrace, quickly deprived him of his liberal patrons Prince Henry and Carr. Jonson was commonly too proud, either to assist, or to be assisted; yet he engaged with Chapman and Marston in writing the comedy of EASTWARD HOE, which was performed by the children of the revels in 1605⁴. But this association gave Jonson an opportunity of throwing out many satirical parodies on Shakespeare with more security. All the three authors, however, were in danger of being pilloried for some reflections on the Scotch nation, which were too seriously understood by James I. When the societies of Lincoln's-inn and the Middle-temple, in 1613, had resolved to exhibit a splendid masque at Whitehall in honour of the nuptials of the Palsgrave and the princess Elizabeth, Chapman was employed for the poetry, and Inigo Jones for the machinery. It

¹ Since this was written, I have discovered that 'Hesiod's Georgics translated by George Chapman,' were licensed to Miles Patrick, May 14, 1618. But I doubt if the book was printed. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 290. b.

² But this is said not without some degree of restriction. For Chapman wrote 'OVID'S BANQUET OF SAUCE, A Coronet for his mistress Philosophy and his amorous Zodiac. Lond. 1595. 4to.' To which is added, 'THE AMOROUS CONTENTION OF PHILLIS AND FLORA,' a translation by Chapman from a Latin poem, written, as he says, by a Friar in the year 1400. There is also his PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA, dedicated in a prolix metrical Epistle to Carr earl of Somerset and Frances his countess. Lond. 1614. 4to. Chapman wrote a vindication of this piece, both in prose and verse, called, *A free and offenceless Justification of a late published and misinterpreted poem entitled ANDROMEDA LIBERATA.* Lond. 1614. 4to.

Among Chapman's pieces recited by Wood the following does not appear. 'A booke called Petrarkes seauen penitentiall psalmes in verse, paraphrastically translated, with other poems philosophicall, and a hymne to Christ upon the crosse, written by Geo. Chapman.' To Matthew Selman, Jan. 13, 1611. REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 215. a.

³ From the information of Mr. Wise, late Radcliffe's librarian, and keeper of the Archives, at Oxford.

⁴ The first of Chapman's plays, I mean with his name, which appears in the Stationers Registers, is the Tragedy of CHARLES DUKE OF BYRON. Entered to T. Thorp, Jun. 5, 1608. REGISTR. C. fol. 103. b.

is not clear, whether Dryden's resolution to burn annually one copy of Chapman's best tragedy *BUSSY D'AMBOISE*, to the memory of Jonson, was a censure or a compliment¹. He says, however, that this play pleased only in the representation, like a star which glitters only while it shoots. The manes of Jonson perhaps required some reconciliatory rites: for Jonson being delivered from Shakespeare, began unexpectedly to be disturbed at the rising reputation of a new theatric rival. Wood says, that Chapman was 'a person of most reverend aspect, religious and temperate, QUALITIES RARELY MEETING IN A POET!' [ATH. OXON. i. 592.] The truth is, he does not seem to have mingled in the dissipations and indiscretions, which then marked his profession. He died at the age of seventy-seven, in 1634, and was buried on the south side of saint Giles's church in the Fields. His friend Inigo Jones planned and erected a monument to his memory, in the style of the new architecture, which was unluckily destroyed with the old church². There was an intimate friendship between our author, and this celebrated restorer of Grecian palaces. Chapman's *MUSAEUS*, not that begun by Marlowe, but published in 1616, has a dedication to Jones: in which he is addressed as the most skilful and ingenious architect that England had yet seen.

As a poetical novel of Greece, it will not be improper to mention here, the *CLITOPHOHN AND LEUCIPPE* of Achilles Tatius, under the title of 'The most delectable and plesant Historye of Clitophon and Leucippe from the Greek of Achilles Statius, &c. by W. B. Lond. 1577.' [qto. T. Creede.] The president Montesquieu, whose refined taste was equal to his political wisdom, is of opinion, that a certain notion of tranquillity in the fields of Greece, gave rise to the description of soft and amorous sentiments in the Greek romance of the middle age. But that gallantry sprung from the tales of Gothic chivalry. 'Une certaine idee de tranquillite dans les campagnes de la Greece, fit decrir les sentimens de l'amour. On peut voir les Romans de Grecs du moyen age. L'idee des Paladins, protecteurs de la vertu et de la beaute des femmes, conduisit a celle de la galanterie.' [Esprit. des Loix, Liv. xxvii. ch. 22.] I have mentioned before a version of Heliodorus.

As Barnaby Googe's *ZODIAC* of Palingenius was a favorite performance, and is constantly classed and compared with the poetical translations of this period, by the cotemporary critics, I make no apology for giving it a place at the close of this review³. It was printed

¹ Preface to *SPANISH FRYER*.

² Wood has preserved part of the epitaph, 'Georgius Chapmannus, poeta Homericus, philosophus verus (etsi christianus poeta) plusquam celebris, &c.'

³ I know not if translation of Plautus and Terence are to be mentioned here with propriety. I observe however in the notes, that Plautus's *MENÆCHMI*, copied by Shakespeare, appeared in English by W. W. or William Warner, author of *Albion's England*. Lond. 1595. Tannor says that he translated but not printed all Plautus. MSS. Tann. Oxon. Rastall printed *TERENS IN ENGLISH*, that is, the *ANDRIA*. There is also, '*ANDRIA*, the first Comedye of

so early as the year 1565, with the following title¹. The ZODIAKE OF 'LIFE, written by the godly and learned poet Marcellus Pallingenius 'Stellatus, wherein are conteyned twelue bookes disclosing the haynous 'crymes and wicked vices of our corrupt nature : And plainlye declaring the pleasaunt and perfit pathway vnto eternall life, besides a 'number of digressions both pleasaunt and profitable. Newly translated into Englishe verse by Barnabee Googe. *Probitas laudatur et alget*. Imprinted at London by Henry Denham for Rafe Newberye 'dwelling in Fleet-streate. Anno 1565. Aprilis 18². Bishop Tanner, deceived by Wood's papers, supposes that this first edition which he had evidently never seen, and which is indeed uncommonly rare, contained only the first seven books. In the epistle dedicatory to secretary sir Will. Cecill, he mentions his 'simple trauayles lately dedicated 'vnto your honor.' These are his set of miscellaneous poems printed in 1563, or, 'Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonnetes, newly written by 'Barnabe Googe, 15 Mar. for Rauve [Raufe] Newbury dwelling in 'Flete-strete a little aboue the Conduit in the late shop of Thomas 'Berthelet³. He apologises for attempting this work, three books of which, as he had understood too late, were 'both eloquently and 'excellently Englished by Maister Smith, clark vnto the most honorable of the queenes maiesties counsell. Whose doings as in 'other matters I haue with admiration behelde, &c⁴. Googe was

'Terence,' by Maurice Kyffyn, Lond, 1588. 4to. By the way, this Kyffyn, a Welshman, published a poem called 'The Blessedness of Brytaine, or a celebration of the queenes holy-day,' Lond. 1588. 4to. For J. Wolfe. The EUNUCHUS was entered at Stationers Hall, to W. Leche, in 1597. And the ANDRIA and EUNUCHUS, in 1600. REGISTR. C. fol. 20. a. Richard Bernard published Terence in English, Cambr. 1598. 4to. A fourth edition was printed at London, 'Opera ac industria R. B. in Axholmiensi insula a Lincolnesherii Ep-wortheatis.' By John Legatt, 1614. 4to.

Three or four versions of Cato, and one of Æsop's Fables, are entered in the register of the Stationers, between 1557 and 1571. REGISTR. A.

¹ A receipt for Ralph Newbery's licence is entered for printing 'A booke called Pallingenius,' I suppose the original, 1560. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 48. a.

² In 12mo. Bl. Lett. Not paged. The last signature is Y y iij. The colophon, 'Im-printed at London by Henry Denham, &c.' On the second leaf after the title, is an armorial coat with six compartments, and at the top the initials B. G. Then follow Latin commendatory verses, by Gilbert Duke, Christopher Carlile doctor in divinity, James Itzwert, George Chatterton fellow of Christ college in Cambridge, and David Bell, with some anonymous. Doctor Christopher Carlile was of Cambridge, and a learned orientalist, about 1550. He published many tracts in divinity. He was a writer of Greek and Latin verses. He has some in both languages on the death of Bucer in 1551. BUCER'S ENGLISH WORKS, Basil. fol. 1577. f. 903. And in the Collection on the death of the two Brandons, 1541. 4to. ut supr. Others, before his Reply to Richard Smyth, a papistic divine, Lond. 1582. 4to. He prefixed four Latin copies to Drant's ECCLESIASTES above-mentioned, Lond. 1572. 4to. Two, to one of doctor John Jones's books on BATHS, Lond. 1572. 4to. A Sapphic ode to Sadler's version of Vegetius, Lond. 1572. 4to. A Latin copy to Chaloner's DE REP. ANGLORUM, Lond. 1572. 4to. A Latin hexastic to Batman's DOOM. Lond. 1581. 4to. Two of his Latin poems in PAPAM, are (MSS. Bale.) in MSS. Cotton. Tit. D. x. f. 77. He translated the Psalms into English prose, with learned notes. Finished Jun. 24, 1573. Among MSS. MORE, 206. Colomesius has published a fragment of a Latin Epistle from him to Castalio, dat. kal. Maii. 1562. GL. VIROR. EPIST. SINGUL. Lond. 1694. 12mo.

³ In 12mo. Bl. Lett. See REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 88. b.

⁴ It is doubtful whether he means sir Thomas Smith, the secretary. Nor does it appear, whether this translation was in verse or prose. Sir T. Smith, however, has left some English poetry. While a prisoner in the Tower in 1542, he translated eleven of David's Psalms into English metre, and composed three English metrical prayers, with three English copies of verses besides. These are now in the British Museum, MSS. REG. 17. A. xvii. I ought to have mentioned this before.

first a retainer to Cecill, and afterwards in 1563, a gentleman-pensioner to the queen. [Strype's PARKER, p. 144.] In his address to the *vertuous and frendley reader*, he thus, but with the zeal of a puritan, defends divine poetry. 'The diuine and notable Prophecies of Esay, 'the Lamentation of Jeremie, the Songs and Ballades of Solomon, the 'Psalter of Dauid, and the Booke of Hiob, [Job] were written by the 'first auctours in perfect and pleasaunt hexameter verses. So that the 'deuine aud canonicall volumes were garnished and set forth with 'sweete according tunes and heauenly soundes of pleasaunt metre. 'Yet wyll not the gracelesse company of our pernicious hypocrites 'allow, that the Psalmes of Dauid should be translated into Englishe 'metre. Marry, saye they, bycause they were only receiued to be 'chaunted in the church, and not to be song in euery coblers shop. O 'monstrous and malicious infidels!—do you abhorre to heare [God's] 'glory and prayse sounding in the mouth of a poore christian artificer? '&c.' He adds, that since Chaucer, 'there hath flourished in England 'so fine and filed phrases, and so good and pleasant poets, as may 'counteruayle the doings of Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Iuuenal, Martial, '&c.' There was a second edition in 1588, in which the former prefatory matters of every kind are omitted. [Bl. Lett. 4to.] This edition is dedicated to lord Buckhurst¹.

From the title of this work, ZODIACUS VITE, written in Latin hexameters by Marcello Palingeni, an Italian, about the year 1531, the reader at least expects some astronomical allusions. But it has not the most distant connection with the stars: except that the poet is once transported to the moon, not to measure her diameter, but for a moral purpose; and that he once takes occasion, in his general survey of the world, and in reference to his title, to introduce a philosophic explanation of the zodiacal system. [B. xi. AQUARIUS.] The author meaning to divide his poem into twelve books, chose to distinguish each with a name of the celestial signs: just as Herodotus, but with less affectation and inconsistency, marked the nine books or divisions of his history with the names of the nine Muses. Yet so strange and pedantic a title is not totally without a conceit, as the author was born at Stellada, or Stellata, a province of Ferrara, and from whence he calls himself Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus².

This poem is a general satire on life, yet without peevishness or malevolence; and with more of the solemnity of the censor, than the petulance of the satirist. Much of the morality is couched under allegorical personages and adventures. The Latinity is tolerably pure, but there is a mediocrity in the versification. Palingenius's transitions often discover more quickness of imagination, and fertility of re-

¹ At the end is a short copy of verses by A. Fleming.

² It should have been STELLATENSIS.

flection, than solidity of judgment. Having started a topic, he pursues it through all its possible affinities, and deviates into the most distant and unnecessary digressions. Yet there is a facility in his manner, which is not always displeasing : nor is the general conduct of the work void of art and method. He moralises with a boldness and a liberality of sentiment, which were then unusual ; and his maxims and strictures are sometimes tinged with a spirit of libertinism, which, without exposing the opinions, must have offended the gravity, of the more orthodox ecclesiastics. He fancies that a confident philosopher, who rashly presumes to scrutinise the remote mysteries of nature, is shewn in heaven like an ape, for the public diversion of the gods. A thought evidently borrowed by Pope. Although he submits his performance to the sentence of the church, he treats the authority of the popes, and the voluptuous lives of the monks, with the severest acrimony. It was the last circumstance that chiefly contributed to give this poem almost the rank of a classic in the reformed countries, and probably produced an early English translation. After his death, he was pronounced an heretic ; and his body was taken up, and committed to the flames. A measure which only contributed to spread his book, and disseminate his doctrines.

Googe seems chiefly to have excelled in rendering the descriptive and flowery passages of this moral ZODIAC. He thus describes the Spring.

The earth againe doth florishe greene,
 The trees repaire their springe ;
 With pleasaunt notes the nightingale
 Beginneth new to sing.
 With flowers fresh their heads bedeckt,
 The Fairies dance in fielde :
 And wanton songes in mossye dennes
 The Drids and Satirs yelde.
 The wynged Cupide fast doth cast
 His dartes of gold yframed, &c. [B. ii. TAURUS.
 Signat. B. iij.]

There is some poetic imagination in SACITTARIUS, or the ninth book, where a divine mystagogue opens to the poet's eyes an unknown region of infernal kings and inhabitants. But this is an imitation of Dante. As a specimen of the translation, and of the author's fancy, I will transcribe some of this imagery.

Now open wyde your springs, and playne
 Your caues abroad displaye,
 You sisters of Paruassus hyll
 Beset about with baye !
 And vnto me, for neede it is,
 A hundred tongues in verse
 Sende out, that I these ayrie kings

And people may rehearse.— — —
 Here fyrst, whereas in chariot red
 Aurora fayre doth ryse,
 And bright from out the ocean seas
 Appeares to mortal eyes,
 And chaseth hence the hellish night
 With blushing beauty fayre,
 A mighty King I might discern,
 Placde hie in lofty chayre :
 Hys haire with fyry garland deckt
 Puft vp in fiendish wise ;
 Wyth browes full broade, and threatning loke,
 And fyry-flaming eyes.
 Two monstrous hornes and large he had,
 And nostrils wide in sight ;
 Al black himself, (for bodies black
 To euery euyl spright,
 And ugly shape, hath nature dealt,)
 Yet white his teeth did shoue ;
 And white his grenning tuskes stode,
 Large winges on him did growe,
 Framde like the wings of flindermice ;
 His fete of largest sise,
 In fashion as the wilde-duck beares,
 Or goose that creaking cries :
 His tayle such one as lions haue :
 All naked sate he there,
 But bodies couered round about
 Wyth lothsome shagged haire,
 A number great about him stode, &c. [B. ix. Signat H
 H iiij.]

After viewing the wonders of heaven, his guide Timalphes, the son
 of Jupiter and Arete, shews him the moon, whose gates are half of gold
 and half of silver. They enter a city of the moon.

The loftie walles of diamonde strong
 Were rayسد high and framde ;
 The bulwarks built of carbuncle
 That all as fyre yflamde. — — —
 And wondered at the number great
 That through the city so,
 All clad in whyte, by thousands thick,
 Amyd the streates did go.
 Their heads beset with garlands fayre :
 In hand the lillies white
 They ioyfull beare. [Ibid. Signat. G G iiij.]

Then follows a mixture of classical and christian history and
 mythology. This poem has many symptons of the wildness and
 wanderings of Italian fiction.

It must be confessed, that there is a perspicuity and a freedom in Googe's versification. But this metre of Sternhold and Hopkins impoverished three parts of the poetry of queen Elizabeth's reign. A hermit is thus described, who afterwards proves to be sir EPICURE, in a part of the poem which has been copied by sir David Lyndesey.

His hoary beard with siluer heares
 His middle fully rought ; [reached]
 His skin was white, and ioyfull face :
 Of diuers colours wrought,
 A flowry garland gay he ware
 About his semely heare, &c. [Lib. iii. Ej.]

The seventh book, in which the poet looks down upon the world, with its various occupations, follies, and vices, is opened with these nervous and elegant stanzas.

My Muse aloft ! raise vp thyself,
 And vse a better flite :
 Mount vp on hie, and think it scorn
 Of base assayres to write.
 More great renoune, and glory more,
 In hautye matter lyes :
 View thou the gods, and take thy course
 About the starrye skies :
 Where spring-time lasts for euermore,
 Where peace doth neuer quayle ;
 Where Sunne doth shyne continuallye,
 Where light doth neuer fayle.
 Clowd-causer southwinde none there is,
 No boystrous Boreas blowes ;
 But mylder breathes the western breeze
 Where sweet ambrosia growes.
 Take thou this way, and yet sometimes
 Downe falling fast from hie,
 Nowe vp, nowe downe, with sundry sort
 Of gates alofte go flye.
 And as some hawty place he seekes
 That couets farre to see,
 So vp to Joue, past starres to clyme,
 Is nedefull nowe for thee.
 There shalt thou, from the towry top
 Of crystall-colour'd skie,
 The plot of all the world beholde
 With viewe of perfit eye. [Signat. N j.]

One cannot but remark, that the conduct and machinery of the old visionary poem is commonly the same. A rural scene, generally a wilderness is supposed. An imaginary being of consummate wisdom, a hermit, a goddess, or an angel, appears ; and having purged the poet's eye with a few drops of some celestial elixir, conducts him to the top

of an inaccessible mountain, which commands an unbounded plain filled with all nations. A cavern opens, and displays the torments of the damned : he next is introduced into heaven, by way of the moon, the only planet which was thought big enough for a poetical visit. Although suddenly deserted by his mystic intelligencer, he finds himself weary and desolate, on the sea-shore, in an impassable forest, or a flowery meadow.

The following is the passage which Pope has copied from *Palinigenius* : and as Pope was a great reader of the old English poets, it is most probable that he took it immediately from our translator, or found it by his direction¹.

An Ape, quoth she and iesting-stock
Is man, to god in skye,
As oft as he doth trust his wit
Too much, presuming hie.
Dares searche the thinges of nature hid,
Her secrets for to speake ;
When as in very deed his minde
Is dull, and all to weake. [B. vi. Signat. Qij.]

These are the lines of the original.

*Simia cælicolum risusque jocusque decrum est,
Tunc Homo, cum temere ingenio confidit, et audet
Abdita naturæ scrutaria, arcanaque rerum ;
Cum revera ejus crassa imbecillaque sit mens.* [B. vi. v. 186.]

Googe, supposed to have been a native of Alvingham in Lincolnshire, was a scholar, and was educated both at Christ college in Cambridge, and New-college in Oxford. He is complimented more than once in *Tuberville's SONNETS*². He published other translations in English. I have already cited his version of *Naageorgus's* hexametrical poem on *ANTICHRIST*, or the *PAPAL DOMINION*, printed at London in 1570, and dedicated to his chief patron sir William Cecil³. The dedication is dated from Staples-inn, where he was a student. At the end of the book, is his version of the same author's *SPIRITUAL AGRICULTURE*, dedicated to queen Elizabeth. [In qto.] *Thomas Naageorgus*, a German, whose real name is *Kirchmaier*, was one of the many moral or rather theological Latin poets produced by the reformation⁴. Googe

¹ Pope's lines are almost too well-known to be transcribed.

Superiour beings, when of late they saw A mortal man unfold all nature's law,
Admir'd such wisdom in an earthy shape, And shew'd a Newton as we shew an Ape.

² See fol. 8. b. 11. a. 124. a. edit. 1571.

³ I suspect there is a former edition for W. Pickering. Lond. 1566. 4to.

⁴ *Kirchmaier* signifies the same in German as his assumed Greek name *ΝΑΓΕΟΡΤΟΣ*, a labourer in the church. He wrote besides, five books of Satires and two tragedies in Latin. He died in 1578. 'Tho. Naageorgii REGNUM PAPISTICUM, cui adjecta sunt quædam alia ejusdem argumenti. Basil. 1553.' 8vo. Ibid. 1559. One of his Latin tragedies called *HAMANUS*, is printed among *Oporinus's* *DRAMATA SACRA*, or plays from the Old Testament, in 1547, many of which are Latin versions from the vernacular German. See *Oporin. DRAM. S. vol. ii. p. 107.*

also translated and enlarged Conrade Heresbach's treatise on agriculture, gardening, orchards, cattle, and domestic fowls¹. This version was printed in 1577, and dedicated from Kingston to sir Will. Fitzwilliams². Among Crynes's curious books in the Bodleian at Oxford, [Cod. CRYNES 836.] is Gooze's translation from the Spanish of Lopez de Mendoza's PROVERBS, dedicated to Cecill, which I have never seen elsewhere, printed at London by R. Watkins in 1579. [Sm. 8vo.] In this book the old Spanish paraphrast mentions Boccace's THESEID. [Fol. 71. a.]

But it was not only to these later and degenerate classics and to modern tracts, that Gooze's industry was confined. He also translated into English what he called Aristotle's TABLE OF THE TEN CATEGORIES, [MSS. Coxeter] that capital example of ingenious but useless subtilty, of method which cannot be applied to practice, and of that affectation of unnecessary deduction and frivolous investigation, which characterises the philosophy of the Greeks, and which is conspicuous not only in the demonstrations of Euclid, but in the Socratic disputations recorded by Xenophon. The solid simplicity of common sense would have been much less subject to circumlocution, embarrassment, and ambiguity. We do not want to be told by a chain of proofs, that two and two make four. This specific character of the schools of the Greeks, is perhaps to be traced backwards to the loquacity, the love of paradox, and the fondness for argumentative discourse, so peculiar to their nation. Even the good sense of Epictetus was not proof against this captious phrenzy. What patience can endure the solemn quibbles, which mark the stoical conferences of that philosopher preserved by Arrian? It is to this spirit, not solely from a principle of invidious malignity, that Tully alludes, where he calls the Greeks, '*Homines contentiosis quam veritatis cupidiores.*' [De ORATORE, Lib. i. §. xi.] And in another part of the same work he says, that it is a principal and even a national fault of this people, '*Quocunque in loco, quosunque inter homines visum est, de rebus aut DIFFICILLIMIS aut non NECESSARIIS, ARGUTISSIME DISPUTARE.*' [Ibid. Lib. ii. §. iv.] The natural liveliness of the Athenians, heightened by the free politics of a democracy, seems to have tinctured their conversation with this sort of declamatory disputation, which they frequently practised under an earnest pretence of discovering the truth, but in reality to indulge their native disposition to debate, to display their abundance of words, and their address of argument, to amuse, surprise, and perplex. Some of Plato's dialogues, professing a profundity of speculation, have much of this talkable humour.

¹ Qto., for Rich. Watkins. In the Preface to the first edition, he says, 'For my safety in the universities, I craved the aid and appeal to the defence of the famous Christ college in Cambridge whereof I was once an honorable member, and [of] the ancient mother of learned men the New-college in Oxford.'

² Feb. 1, 1577. There were other editions, 1578, 1594. Lond. 4to.

Beside these versions of the Greek and Roman poets, and of the ancient writers in prose, incidentally mentioned in this review, it will be sufficient to observe here in general, that almost all the Greek and Roman classics appeared in English before the year 1600. The effect and influence of these translations on our poetry, will be considered in a future section.

SECTION LX.

BUT the ardour of translation was not now circumscribed within the bounds of the classics, whether poets, historians, orators, or critics, of Greece and Rome.

I have before observed, that with our frequent tours through Italy, and our affectation of Italian manners, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Italian poets became fashionable, and that this circumstance, for a time at least, gave a new turn to our poetry. The Italian poets, however, were but in few hands; and a practice of a more popular and general nature, yet still resulting from our communications with Italy, now began to prevail, which produced still greater revolutions. This was the translation of Italian books, chiefly on fictitious and narrative subjects, in English.

The learned Ascham thought this novelty in our literature too important to be passed over without observation, in his reflections on the course of an ingenuous education. It will be much to our purpose to transcribe what he has said on this subject: although I think his arguments are more like the reasonings of a rigid puritan, than of a man of liberal views and true penetration; and that he endeavours to account for the origin, and to state the consequences, of these translations, more in the spirit of an early calvinistic preacher, than as a sensible critic or a polite scholar. ‘These be the inchauntments of Circe, brought out of Italie to marre mens manners in England: much, by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fonde bookes, of late translated oute of Italian into English, solde in euery shop in London, commended by honest titles, the sooner to corrupt honest manners, dedicated ouer boldly to vertuous and honorable personages, the easelyer to beguile simple and honest wittes. It is pittie, that those which haue authoritie and charge to allow and disallow works to be printed, be no more circumspect herein than they are. Ten Sermons at Paules Cross doe not so much good for moouing men to true doctrine, as one of these bookes does harme with enticing men to ill living. Yea I say farther, these bookes tend not so much to corrupt honest liuing, as they doe to subuert true religion.

' More papists be made by your merry bookes of Italy, than by your
 ' earnest bookes of Louain¹.—When the busie and open papists could
 ' not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in Englande faste inough
 ' from troth and right iudgemente in doctrine, then the suttile and
 ' secret papists at home procured bawdie bookes to be translated out
 ' of the Italian toong, whereby ouermany yong willes and witts, allured
 ' to wantonnes, doe now boldly contemne all seuerer bookes that sound
 ' to honestie and godlines. In our forefathers time, when papistrie, as
 ' a standing poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, few bookes
 ' were red in our toong, sauynge certayne Bookes of Chiuallrie, as they
 ' sayd for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in
 ' monasteries by idle monkes or wanton chanons: as one for example,
 ' MORE ARTHUR, the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two
 ' specyall poyntes, in open mans slaughter and bolde bawdrie: in which
 ' booke those be counted the noblest knights that doe kill most men
 ' without any quarrell, and commit fewest aduoulteries by suttlest
 ' shifts: as, syr Launcelote with the wife of king Arthure his maister:
 ' syr Tristram with the wife of king Mark his vncler: syr Lamerocke
 ' with the wife of king Lote that was his own aunte. This is good
 ' stuffe for wise men to laughe at, or honest men to take pleasure
 ' at. Yet I knowe when God's Bible was banished the court, and
 ' MORTE ARTHUR receaued into the princes chamber. What toyes
 ' the dayly reading of such a booke may worke in the will of a yong
 ' gentleman, or a yong maide, that liueth wethely and idly, wise men
 ' can iudge, and honest men doe pittie. And yetten MORTE ARTHURES
 ' doe not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these bookes made
 ' in Italie, and translated in England. They open, not fond and
 ' common ways to vice, but such suttile, cunning, new and diuerse
 ' shifts, to carry yong willes to vanitie and yong wittes to mischief, to
 ' teache old bawdes new schoole pointes, as the simple head of an
 ' Englishman is not hable to inuent, nor neuer was heard of in England
 ' before, yea when papistrie ouerflowed all. Suffer these bookes to be
 ' read, and they shall soon displace all bookes of godly learning. For
 ' they, carrying the will to vanitie, and marring good manners, shall
 ' easily corrupt the minde with ill opinions, and false judgment in
 ' doctrine: first to thinke ill of all true religion, and at last, to thinke
 ' nothing of God himselfe, one speciall poynt that is to be learned in
 ' Italie and Italian bookes. And that which is most to be lamented,
 ' and therefore more needfull to be looked to, there be more of these
 ' vngracious bookes set out in print within these fewe moneths, than
 ' haue been seene in England many score yeaeres before. And because
 ' our Englishmen made Italians cannot hurt but certayne persons, and

¹ Serious books in divinity, written by the papists. The study of controversial theology flourished at the university of Louvain.

'in certaine places, therefore these Italian bookes are made English, 'to bringe mischiefe inough openly and boldly to all states¹, great and 'meane, yong and old, euery where.—Our English men Italianated 'haue more in reuerence the TRIUMPHES of Petrarche², than the 'GENESIS of Moyses. They make more accompt of Tullies Offices, 'than saint Paules Epistles: of a Tale in Boccace, than the Story of 'the Bible, &c³.'

Ascham talks here exactly in the style of Prynne's HISTRIOMASTIX. It must indeed be confessed, that by these books many pernicious obscenities were circulated, and perhaps the doctrine of intrigue more accurately taught and exemplified than before. But every advantage is attended with inconveniences and abuses. That to procure translations of Italian tales was a plot of the papists, either for the purpose of facilitating the propagation of their opinions, of polluting the minds of our youth, or of diffusing a spirit of scepticism, I am by no means convinced. But I have nothing to do with the moral effects of these versions. I mean only to shew their influence on our literature, more particularly on our poetry, although I reserve the discussion of this point for a future section. At present, my design is to give the reader a full and uniform view of the chief of these translations from the Italian, which appeared in England before the year 1600.

I will begin with Boccace. The reader recollects Boccace's THESEID and TROILUS, many of his Tales, and large passages from Petrarch and Dante, translated by Chaucer. But the golden mine of Italian fiction opened by Chaucer, was soon closed and forgotten. I must however premise, that the Italian language now began to grow so fashionable, that it was explained in lexicons and grammars, written in English, and with a view to the illustration of the three principal Italian poets. So early as 1550, were published, 'Principal rules of the Italian 'grammar, with a dictionarie for the better vnderstanding of Boccace, 'Petrarche, and Dante, gathered into this tonge by William Thomas².' It is dedicated to sir Tho. Chaloner, an accomplished scholar. The third edition of this book is dated in 1567. Scipio Lentulo's Italian grammar was translated into English in 1578, by Henr. Grantham. [T. Vautrollier, 8vo.] Soon afterwards appeared, in 1583, 'CAMPO DI 'FIOR, or The Flourie Field of four Languages of M. Claudius De- 'sainliens, for the furtherance of the learners of the Latine, French, 'and English, but chieflie of the Italian tongue.' [Vautrollier. 12mo.]

¹ Conditions of life.

² In such universal vogue were the TRIUMPHS of Petrarch, or his TRIONFI D' AMOUR, that they were made into a public pageant at the entrance, I think, of Charles V. into Madrid.

³ Ascham's SCHOOLEMASTER, edit. 1589. fol. 25. a. seq. This book was begun soon after the year 1563. PREFACE, p. i.

⁴ Qto., for T. Berthelett. Again, 4to, 1561. For T. Powell. Again, 4to, 1567. For H. Wykes. It was written at Padua in 1548. Thomas, a bachelor in civil law at Oxford, and a clergyman, is said to have been rewarded by Edward VI. with several preferments. Strype's GRINDAL, p. 5.

In 1591, Thomas Woodcock printed, 'Florio's second frutes to be gathered of twelve trees of divers but delightfull tastes to the tongues of Italian and Englishmen. To which is annexed a gardine of recreation yielding 6000 Italian prouerbs¹.' Florio is Shakespeare's Holophernes in *Love's Labour Lost*. [ACT iv. Sc. ii.] And not to extend this catalogue, which I fear is not hitherto complete, any further. The ITALIAN SCHOOLEMASTER was published in 1591. [Thomas Purfoot. 12mo.] But to proceed.

Before the year 1570, William Paynter, clerk of the Office of Arms within the Tower of London, and who seems to have been master of the school of Sevenoaks in Kent, printed a very considerable part of Boccaccio's novels. His first collection is entitled, 'The PALACE OF PLEASURE, the first volume, containing sixty novels out of Boccacio, London, 1566.' It is dedicated to lord Warwick². A second volume soon appeared, 'The PALLACE OF PLEASURE, the second volume containing thirty-four novels, London, 1567³. This is dedicated to sir Geo. Howard; and dated from his house near the Tower, as is the former volume. It would be superfluous to point out here the uses which Shakespeare made of these volumes, after the full investigation which his ancient allusions and his plots have so lately received. One William Painter, undoubtedly the same, translated William Fulk's ANTIPROGNOSTICON, a treatise written to expose the astrologers of those times⁴. He also prefixed a Latin tetrastic to Fulk's original, printed in 1570⁵.

With Painter's PALACE OF PLEASURE, we must not confound 'A petite Pallace of Pettie his plesure,' although properly claiming a place here, a book of stories from Italian and other writers, translated and collected by William Pettie, a student of Christ Church in Oxford about the year 1576⁶. It is said to contain, 'manie prettie histories by him set forth in comely colors and most delightfully discoursed,' The first edition I have seen was printed in 1598, the year before our author's death, by James Roberts. The first tale is SINORIX AND

¹ But his *First Frute*, or, Dialogues in Italian and English, with instruction for the Italian, appeared in 1578. His Italian dictionary, in 1595.

² A second edition was printed for H. Binneman, Lond. 1575. 4to.

³ A second edition was printed by Thomas Marsh, in octavo. Both volumes appeared in 1575. 4to.

⁴ Lond. 1579. 12mo. At the end is an English tract against the astrologers, very probably written by Painter. Edward Dering, a fellow of Christ's college Cambridge, in a copy of commendatory verses prefixed to the second edition of Gooze's Palingenius, attacks PAINTER, Lucas, and others, the abettors of Fulk's ANTIPROGNOSTICON, and the censurers of astrology. In the ancient registers of the Stationers company, an Almanac is usually joined with a PROGNOSTICATION. See REGISTR. A. fol. 59. b. 61. a.

⁵ In 1563, is a receipt for a licence to William Joiner for printing 'The Citye of Cyvelite, translated into Engleshe by William Paynter.' REGISTR. A. ut supr. fol. 86. b. In 1566, there is a receipt for licence to W. James to print 'Serten histories collected oute of dyvers ryghte good and profitable authors by William Paynter.' Ibid. fol. 134. b. The second part of the '*Palice of Pleasure*,' is entered with Nicholas Englond, in 1565. Ibid. fol. 156. a.

⁶ Entered that year, Aug. 5, to Watkins. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 134. a.

CAMMA, two lovers of Sienna in Italy, the last ALEXIUS¹. Among Antony Wood's books in the Ashmolean Museum, is a second edition dated 1608². But Wood, who purchased and carefully preserved this performance, solely because it was written by his great-uncle, is of opinion, that 'it is now so far from being excellent or fine, that it is 'more fit to be read by a school-boy, or rusticall amoretto, than by a 'gentleman of mode and language³. Most of the stories are classical, perhaps supplied by the English Ovid, yet with a variety of innovations, and a mixture of modern manners.

Painter at the end of his second volume, has left us this curious notice. 'Bicause sodaynly, contrary to expectation, this Volume is 'risen to greater heape of leaues, I doe omit for this present time 'SUNDRY NOUELS of mery devise, reseruing the same to be joyned 'with the rest of an other part, wherein shall succede the remnant of 'Bandello, specially sutch, suffrable, as the learned French man 'Francois de Belleforrest hath selected, and the choysiest done in the 'Italian. Some also out of Erizzo, Ser Giouanni Florentino, Parabosco, Cynthio, Straparole, Sansouino, and the best liked out of 'the Queene of Nauarre, and other Authors. Take these in good part, 'with those that haue and shall come forth.' But there is the greatest reason to believe, that no third volume ever appeared. And it is probable, that Painter by the interest of his booksellers, in compliance with the prevailing mode of publication, and for the accommodation of universal readers, was afterwards persuaded to print his *sundry novels* in the perishable form of separate pamphlets, which cannot now be recovered.

Boccace's FIAMETTA was translated by an Italian, who seems to have borne some office about the court, in 1587, with this title, 'AMOROUS FIAMETTA, wherein is sette downe a catalogve of all and 'singvlar passions of loue and iecalousie incident to an enamored yong 'gentlewoman, with a notable caueat for all women to eschew deceitfull and wicked loue, by an apparent example of a Neapolitan lady, 'her approued and long miseries, and wyth many fond dehortations 'from the same. Fyrst written in Italian by master John Boccace, 'the learned Florentine, and poet lavreat. And now done into 'English by B. Giouanno del M. Temp.' [Thomas Gubbins.] The same year was also printed, 'Thirteene most pleasaunt and delectable questions entituled A DISPORT of diuers noble personages from 'Boccace. Imprinted at London by A.W. for Thomas Woodcock, 1587⁴.

¹ There is an Epistle to the Reader by R. W. In 1569, there is an entry with Richard James for printing 'A ballet intituled Sinorix Canna and Sinnatus.' REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 191. b. In Pettie's tale, Camma is wife to Sinnatus.

² There was a third in 1613. B. G. Eld. Lond. 4to. Bl. Lett.

³ ARH. OXON. i. 240. Pattie in conjunction with Bartholomew Young, translated the *Civile Conversation* of Stephen Guazzo, 1586. 4to.

⁴ Qto. There is entered with Richard Smyth, in 1566, 'A booke entituled the xiiij 'questions composed in the Italian by John Boccace.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 153. a.

Several tales of Boccace's DECAMERON were now translated into English rhymes. The celebrated story of the friendship of TITUS AND GESIPPUS was rendered by Edward Lewicke, a name not known in the catalogue of English poets, in 1562. The title is forgotten with the translator. 'The most wonderful and pleasaunt history of Titus and Gisippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect frendshyp drawn into English metre by Edwarde Lewicke. Anno 1562. For Thomas Hacket¹.'

It is not suspected, that those affecting stories, the CYMON AND IPHIGENIA, and the THEODORE AND HONORIA, of Boccace, so beautifully paraphrased by Dryden, appeared in English verse, early in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

THEODORE AND HONORIA was translated, in 1569, by doctor Christopher Tye, the musician, already mentioned as a voluminous versifier of scripture in the reign of Edward VI. The names of the lovers are disguised, in the following title, 'A notable historye of Nastagio and Trauersari, no less piticfull than pleasaunt, translated out of Italian into English verse by C. T. Imprinted at London in Poules churchyarde, by Thomas Purefoote dwelling at the signe of the Lucrece. Anno. 1569².' Tye has unluckily applied to this tale, the same stanza which he used in translating the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. The knight of hell pursuing the lady, is thus described.

He sawe approche with swifte foote
The place where he did staye,
A dame, with scattered heares vntrussde,
Bereft of her arraye.——

Besides all this, two mastiffes great
Both fierce and full he sawe,
That fiercely pinchde her by the flanke
With greedie rauening mawe.

And eke a Knight, of colour swarthe,
He sawe behinde her backe,
Came pricking after, flinging forthe
Vpon a courser blacke:

With gastlye thretning countenaunce,
With armyng sworde in hande;
His looke wold make one feare, his eyes
Were like a fiery brande, &c. [SIGNAT. A. v.]

About the same time appeared the tale of CYMON AND IPHIGENIA, 'A pleasaunt and delightfull History of Galesus, Cymon, and Iphigenia, describing the ficklenesse of fortune in love. Translated out of Italian into Englishe verse by T. C. gentleman. Printed by

¹ In 12mo. Ad calc. 'FINIS quod Edward Lewick.' There is entered, in 1570, with H. Binneman. 'The petifull history of ij loyng Italians.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 204. b.

² In 12mo. Bl. Lett. In that year Purfoot has licence to print 'the History of Nostagio.' The same book. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 183.

'Nicholas Wyer in saint Martin's parish besides Charing Cross. [In 12mo. Bl. Lett.] It is in stanzas. I know not with what poem of that time the initials T. C. can correspond, except with Thomas Churchyard, or Thomas Campion. The latter is among the poets in ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS printed in 1600, is named by Camden with Spenser, Sidney, and Drayton; and among other pieces, published 'Songs 'bemoaning the untimely death of Prince Henry, set forth to bee sung to 'the lute or viol by John Coprario, in 1613'. But he seems rather too late to have been our translator. Nicholas Wyer the printer of this piece, not mentioned by Ames, perhaps the brother of Robert, was in vogue before or about the year 1570.

It is not at all improbable, that these old translations now entirely forgotten and obsolete, suggested these stories to Dryden's notice. To Dryden they were not more ancient, than pieces are to us, written soon after the restoration of Charles II. and they were then of sufficient antiquity not to be too commonly known, and of such mediocrity, as not to preclude a new translation. I think we may trace Dryden in some of the rhymes and expressions?

It must not be forgot, that Sacchetti published tales before Boccace. But the publication of Boccace's DECAMERON gave a stability to this mode of composition, which had existed in a rude state before the revival of letters in Italy. Boccace collected the common tales of his country, and procured others of Grecian origin from his friends and preceptors the Constantinopolitan exiles, which he decorated with new circumstances, and delivered in the purest style. Some few perhaps are of his own invention. He was soon imitated, yet often unsuccessfully, by many of his countrymen, Poggio, Baudello, the anonymous author of LE CIENTO NOVELLE ANTICHE, Cinthio, Firenzuola, Male-spini, and others. Even Machiavel, who united the liveliest wit with the profoundest reflection, and who composed two comedies while he was compiling a political history of his country, condescended to adorn this fashionable species of writing with his NOVELLA DI BELFEGOR, or the tale of Belphegor.

In Burton's MELANCHOLY, there is a curious account of the diver-

¹ More, before noticed. Under his name at length are 'Observations on the Art of English Poesie, Lond. by R. Field, 1602.' 12mo. Dedicated to lord Buckhurst, whom he calls 'the mildest judge of poesie, &c.' This piece is to prove that English is capable of all the Roman measures. He gives a specimen of *Lincentiate Lantides* in English, our present blank verse, p. 12. More of this hereafter. T. C. in our singing-psalms, is affixed to psalm 138. As before noticed. I believe he is the author of a Masque presented on Saint Stephen's Night, 1604.

² In 1570, Thomas Colwell has licence to print 'A ballet of two faythfull frynds, beyng 'bothe in love with one lady.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 193. a. This seems to be PALAMON AND ARCTE. I know not whether I should mention here, Robert Wilmet's tragedy of TANCRED AND GISMUND, acted before queen Elizabeth at the Inner-temple, in 1568, and printed in 1592, as the story, originally from Boccace, is in Paynter's Collection, and in an old English poem. There is also an old French poem called GUICHARD ET SIGESMONDE, translated from Boccace into Latin by Leo Aretine, and thence into French verse by Jean Fleury. Paris. Bl. Lett. 4to. See DECAMERON, Giorn. iv. Nov. i.

sions in which our ancestors passed their winter evenings. They were not totally inelegant or irrational. One of them was to read Boccace's novels aloud. 'The ordinary recreations which we haue in winter, are 'cardes, tables and dice, shouel-board, chesse-play, the philosopher's 'game, small trunks, billiardes, musicke, maskes, singing, dancing, 'vle-games¹, catches, purposes, questions: merry tales of errant-knights, kings, queenes, louers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfes, thieves, 'fayries, BOCCACE'S NOUELLES, and the rest².'

The late ingenious and industrious editors of Shakespeare have revived an ancient metrical paraphrase, by Arthur Brooke, of Bandello's history of Romeo and Juliet. 'THE TRAGICALL HYSTORY OF 'ROMEUS AND JULIET: Contayning in it a rare example of true Con-'stancie, with the subtill Counsels and practises of an old fryer and 'ther ill event. Imprinted at London in Fleete streete within Temple 'Barre at the signe of the hand and starre by Richard Tottill the xix 'day of November. Ann. Dom. 1562³.' It is evident from a coincidence of absurdities and an identity of phraseology, that this was Shakespeare's original, and not the meagre outline which appears in Painter. Among the copies delivered by Tottel the printer to the stationers of London, in 1582, is a *booke* called ROMEO AND JULETTA. [REGISTR. B. fol. 193. a.] But I believe there were two different translations in verse. It must be remembered here, that the original writer of this story was Luigi da Porto, a gentleman of Verona, who died in 1529. His narrative appeared at Venice in 1535, under the title of LA GIULIETTA, and was soon afterwards adopted by Bandello. Shakespeare, misled by the English poem, missed the opportunity of introducing a most affecting scene by the natural and obvious conclusion of the story. In Luigi's novel, Juliet awakes from her trance in the tomb before the death of Romeo. From Turberville's poems printed in 1567, we learn, that Arthur Brooke was drowned in his passage to Newhaven, and that he was the author of this translation, which was the distinguished proof of his excellent poetical abilities.

Apollo lent him lute for solace sake,
To sound his verse by touch of stately string;
And of the neuer fading baye did make
A laurell crowne, about his browes to clinge,
In prooffe that he for myter did excell,
As may be iudge by *Iulyet and her Mate*;
For ther he shewde his cunning passing well
When he the tale to English did translate.—

¹ Christmas games. See what is said above of ULE, in our preceding pages.

² P. ii. § 2. pag. 290, edit. fol. 1664.

³ Under which year is entered in the register of the Stationers, 'Recevyd of Mr. Tottel for his license for pryntinge of the Tragical history of the ROMEOUS AND JULIETT with Sonnettes.' REGISTR. A. fol. 36 a. It is again entered in these Registers to be printed, viz. Feb. 18. 1582, for Tottel. And Aug. 5. 1596, as a *newe ballet*, for Edward White. REGISTR. C. fol. 12. b.

Aye mee that time, thou crooked dolphin, where
 Wast thou, Aryon's help and onely stay,
 That safely him from sea to shore didst beare,
 When Brooke was drownd why was thou then away? &c¹.

The enthusiasts to Shakespeare must wish to see more of Arthur Brooke's poetry, and will be gratified with the dullest anecdotes of an author to whom perhaps we owe the existence of a tragedy at which we have all wept. I can discover nothing more of Arthur Brooke, than that he translated from French into English, *The Agreement of sundrie places of Scripture seeming to iarre*, which was printed at London in 1563. At the end is a copy of verses written by the editor Thomas Brooke the younger, I suppose his brother; by which it appears, that the author Arthur Brooke was shipwrecked before the year 1563². Juliet soon furnished a female name to a new novel. For in 1577, Hugh Jackson printed 'The renowned Historie of Cleomenes and Juliet.' [Oct. 14. REG. STA. B. fol. 142. b.] Unless this be Brooke's story disguised and altered.

Bishop Tanner, I think, in his correspondence with the learned and accurate Thomas Baker of Cambridge, mentions a prose English version of the NOVELLE of Bandello, who endeavoured to avoid the obscenities of Boccace and the improbabilities of Cinthio, in 1580, by W. W. Had I seen this performance, for which I have searched Tanner's library in vain, I would have informed the inquisitive reader, how far it accommodated Shakespeare in the conduct of the Tragedy of ROMEO AND JULIET. As to the translator, I make no doubt that the initials W. W. imply William Warner the author of ALBION'S ENGLAND³, who was esteemed by his cotemporaries as one of the refiners of our language, and is said in Meres's WIT'S TREASURY, to be one of those by whom 'the English tongue is mightily enriched, 'and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments.' [Fol. 280. edit. 1598.] Warner was also a translator of Plautus; and wrote a novel, or rather a suite of stories, much in the style of the adventures of Heliodorus's Ethiopic romance, dedicated to lord Hunsdon, entitled, 'SYRINX, or a seauenfold Historie, handled 'with varietie of pleasant and profitable, both commicall and tragicall, 'argument. Newly perused and amended by the first author W. Warner. At London, printed by Thomas Purfoot, &c. 1597⁴.

¹ Fol. 143. b. 144. a. *Epitaph on the Death of Maister Arthur Brooke*, edit. 2. 12mo. 1570.

² PRINC. 'Some men heretofore haue attempted.'

³ But W. W. may mean William Webbe, author of the DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRY, 1586. I remember an old book with these initials: and which is entered to Richard Jones, in 1586, 'A history entituled a strange and petifull nouell, dyscoursynge of a noble lorde and his lady, 'with their tragicall ende of them and thayre ij children executed by a blacke morryon. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 187. b. There is a fine old pathetic ballad, rather too bloody, on this story, I think in Wood's collection of ballads in the Ashmolean Museum.

⁴ Qto. Bl. Lett. This is the second edition. The first being full of faults. To the Reader, he says, 'One in penning pregnant, and a schollar better than myself on whose 'grauē the grasse now groweth green, whom otherwise, though otherwise to me guiltie, I

Warner in his *ALBION'S ENGLAND*, commonly supposed to be first printed in 1522¹, says, 'Written haue I already in Prose, allowed of some, and now offer I Verse, attending indifferent censvres.'

In 1598 was published, as it seems, 'A fyne Tuscan hystorye called *'ARNALT AND LUCINDA.'* It is annexed to *The ITALIAN SCHOOLE-MAISTER*, conteyninge rules for pronouncynge the Italian tongue².'

Among George Gascoigne's *WEEDES*, printed in 1576, is the Tale of Ferdinando Jeronimi, or 'The pleasant fable of Ferdinando Ieronimi and Leonora de Valasco, translated out of the Italian riding tales of Bartello.' Much poetry is interwoven in the narrative. Nor, on the mention of Gascoigne, will it be foreign to the present purpose to add here, that in the year 1566, he translated one of Ariosto's comedies called *SUPPOSITI*, which was acted the same year at Gray's-inn. The title is, 'SYPPPOSES. A comedie written in the Italian tongue by Ariosto, Englished by George Gascoigne of Graies inne esquire, and there presented, 1566.' [Gascoigne's *HEARBES*, fol. l.] This comedy was first written in prose by Ariosti, and afterwards reduced into rhyme. Gascoigne's translation is in prose. The dialogue is supported with much spirit and ease, and has often the air of a modern conversation. As Gascoigne was the first who exhibited on our stage a story from Euripides, so in this play he is the first that produced an English comedy in prose. By the way, the quaint name of Petruchio, and the incident of the master and servant changing habits and characters, and persuading the Scenese to personate the father, by frightening him with the hazard of his travelling from Sienna to Ferrara against the commands of government, was transferred into the *TAMING OF THE SHREW*. I doubt not, however, that there was an Italian novel on the subject. From this play also the ridiculous name and character of Doctor Dodipoll seems to have got into our old drama³. But to return.

In Shakespeare's *MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING*, Beatrice suspects she shall be told she had 'her good wit out of the *HUNDRED MERRY TALES.*' [Act ii. Sc. i.] A translation of *LES CENT NOUVELLES NOUVELLES*, printed at Paris before the year 1500, and said to have been written by some of the royal family of France, but a compilation from the Italians, was licenced to be printed by John Waly, in 1557,

'name not, hath borrowed out of euerie *CALAMUS* [of the Syrinx,] of the Storie herein handled, argument and inuention to seuerall bookes by him published. Another of late, hauing (sayning the same a Translation) set fourth an historie of a Duke of Lancaster neuer before authored, hath vouchsafed to insert therein whole pages verbatim as they are herein extant, &c.' The first edition is entered to Purfoot, Sept. 22. 1584. *REGISTR. STATION. B.* fol. 201. a.

¹ Lond. by T. Orwin. 4to. Bl. Lett. But it is entered to Thomas Tadman, Nov. 7. 1586. *REGISTR. B.* fol. 212. b. As printed.

² Entered to the two Purfoots, Aug. 19. *REGISTR. STATION. C.* fol. 40. b.

³ Fol. 4. &c. Nashe's Preface to G. Harvey's *Hunt is up*: printed in 1596. 'The wisdom of doctor Dodepole played by the children of Paules,' is entered to R. Olyffe, Oct. 7. 1600. *REGISTR. STATION. C.* fol. 65. b.

under the title of 'A Hundreth mery tayles,' together with *The freere and the boye, stans puer ad mensam, and youthe, charite, and humylite*¹. It was frequently reprinted, is mentioned as popular in Fletcher's *NICE VALOUR*; and in the *LONDON CHAUNTICLERES*, so late as 1659, is cried for sale by a ballad-vendor, with the *SEVEN WISE MEN OF GOTHAM*², and Scogan's *JESTS*³.

In 1587, George Turberville the poet, already mentioned as the translator of Ovid's *EPISTLES*, published a set of tragical tales in prose, selected from various Italian novelists. He was a skilful master of the modern languages, and went into Russia in the quality of secretary to Thomas Randolph, esq., envoy to the emperor of Russia⁴. This collection, which is dedicated to his brother Nicholas, is entitled, 'TRAGICAL TALES, translated by Turberville in time of his troubles, 'out of sundrie Italians, with the argument and lenvoy to each tale⁵.'

Among Mr. Oldys's books, was the 'Life of Sir Meliado a British knight⁶,' translated from the Italian, in 1572. By the way, we are not here to suppose that *BRITISH* means English. A *BRITISH* knight means a knight of Bretagne or Brittany, in France. This is a common mistake, arising from an equivocation which has converted many a French knight into an Englishman. The learned Nicholas Antonio, in his *SPANISH LIBRARY*, affords a remarkable example of this confusion, and a proof of its frequency, where he is speaking of the Spanish translation of the romance of *TIRANTE THE WHITE*, in 1480. 'Ad fabularum artificem stylum convertimus, Joannem Martorell Valentiaë regni civem, cujus est liber hujus commatis, *TIRANT LE BLANCH* inscriptus, atque anno 1480, ut aiunt, Valentiaë in folio editus. *MORE HIC ALIORUM TALIAM OTIOSORUM CONSUETO*, fingit se hunc librum ex *ANGLICA* in Lusitanam, deinde Lusitana in Valentinam linguam, anno, 1460, transtulisse, &c⁷.' That is, 'I now turn to a writer of fabulous adventures, John Martorell of the kingdom of Valencia, who wrote a book of this cast, entitled *TIRANTE THE WHITE*, printed in folio at Valencia in 1480. This writer, according to a practice common to such idle historians, pretends he translated this book from English into Portuguese, and from thence into the Valencian

¹ REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 22. a. See also B. sub. ann. 1531. fol. 186. a.

² There is an entry to R. Jones, Jan. 1595, 'A Comedie entitled A KNACK TO KNOWE A KNAVE newlye sett fourth, as it hath sundrye tymes ben plaid by Ned Allen and his companie, with KEMP'S MERYMENTES OF THE MEN OF GOTHEHAM.' REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 304. a.

³ Under a licence to T. Colwell, in 1565, 'The geystes of Skoggon gathered together in this volume.' REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 134. a.

⁴ It may be doubted whether the treatise on Hunting reprinted with his Falconrie, in 1611, and called a translation, with verses by Gascoigne, is to be ascribed to him. One or both came out first in 1575. The Dedication and Epilogue to the Falconrie, are signed by Turberville.

⁵ Lond. for Abel Jeffes, 1587. 12mo.

⁶ Meliadus del Espinoe, and Meliadus le noir Oeil, are the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth knights of the *ROUND TABLE*, in R. Robinson's *AVNCIENT ORDER*, &c. Lond. 1583. 4to. Bl. Lett. Chiefly a French translation.

⁷ BIBL. HISPAN. L. x. c. ix. p. 193. num. 490.

'language.' The hero is a gentleman of Bretagne, and the book was first written in the language of that country. I take this opportunity of observing, that these mistakes of England for Brittany, tend to confirm my hypothesis, that Bretagne, or Armorica, was anciently a copious source of romance: an hypothesis, which I have the happiness to find was the opinion of the most learned and ingenious M. La Croze, as I am but just now informed from an entertaining little work, *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Monsieur La Croze*, printed by M. Jordan at Amsterdam, in 1741¹. La Croze's words, which he dictated to a friend, are these. 'Tous les ROMANS DE CHEVALERIE doivent leur 'origin a la BRETAGNE, et au pays de Galles [Wales] dont notre Bretagne est sortie. Le Roman d'AMADIS DE GAULE commence par un 'Garinter roi de la PETITE BRETAGNE, de la *Poquenna Bretonne*, et 'ce roi fut ayeul maternel d'Amadis. Je ne dis rien ici de LANCELOT 'DU LAC, et de plusieurs autres qui sont tous BRETONS. Je n'en excepte point le Roman de PERCEFOREST, dont j'ai vu un tres-beau 'manuscrit en velin dans la bibliotheque du roi de France.—Il y a un 'fort belle Preface sur l'origine de notre BRETAGNE ARMORIQUE.—Si 'ma sante le comportoit, je m'etendrois davantage et je pourrois fournir 'un Supplement assez amusant au Traite du docte M. Huet sur L'ORIGINE DES ROMANS².'

I know not from what Italian fabler the little romance called the BANISHMENT OF CUPID, was taken. It is said to have been translated out of Italian into English by Thomas Hedly, in 1587³. I conceive also, 'The fearfull fantasies of the Florentyne Cowper,' to be a translation from the Italian⁴.

Nor do I know with what propriety the romance of AURELIO AND ISABELLA, the scene of which is laid in Scotland, may be mentioned here. But it was printed in 1586, in one volume, in Italian, French, and English⁵. And again, in Italian, Spanish, French, and English, in 1588⁶. I was informed by the late Mr. Collins of Chichester, that Shakespeare's TEMPEST, for which no origin is yet assigned, was formed on this favorite romance. But although this information has not proved true on examination, an useful conclusion may be drawn from

¹ Chez Francois Changuion, 12mo.

² Pag. 219. seq. See Gossuimben. HIST. POES. VULGAR. L. v. ch. 2. 2. 4. 'The Historye 'of twoe Brittain louers,' that is of Brittany, is entered to Charlewood, Jan: 1580. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 176. b. Again, 'Philocasander and Elamira the fayre ladye of Brytayne,' to Purfoot, Aug. 19. 1598. REGISTR. C. fol. 40. b. Our king Arthur was sometimes called Arthur of Little Brittain, and there is a romance with that title, reprinted in 1609.

³ Lond. For Thomas Marshe, 12mo. It is among Sampson Audeley's copies, as a former grant, 1589. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 186. a.

⁴ Licenced in 1567. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 164. b. There is an edition in 1599. Bl. Lett. 8vo. Purfoot.

⁵ Licenced to E. White, Aug. 8. 1586. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 209. b. I have 'L'HISTOIRE D'AURELIA ET ISABELLA en Italien et Francoise,' printed at Lyons by G. Rouille, in 1555. 16mo. Annexed is LA DELPHINE, by the author of the romance, as I apprehend, Leon-Baptista Alberti, in Italian and French.

⁶ Licenced to Aggas, Nov. 20. 1588. REGISTR. B. fol. 237. a.

it, that Shakespeare's story is somewhere to be found in an Italian novel, at least that the story preceded Shakespeare. Mr. Collins had searched this subject with no less fidelity, than judgment and industry: but his memory failing in his last calamitous indisposition, he probably gave me the name of one novel for another. I remember he added a circumstance, which may lead to a discovery, that the principal character of the romance, answering to Shakespeare's Prospero, was a chemical necromancer, who had bound a spirit like Ariel to obey his call and perform his services. It was a common pretence of the dealers in the occult sciences to have a demon at command. At least Aurelio, or Orelia, was probably one of the names of this romance, the production and multiplication of gold being the grand object of alchemy. Taken at large, the magical part of the TEMPEST is founded in that sort of philosophy which was practised by John Dee and his associates, and has been called the Rosicrucian. The name Ariel came from the Talmudistic mysteries with which the learned Jews had so infected this science.

To this head must also be referred, the Collections which appeared before 1600, of tales drawn indiscriminately from French and Spanish, as well as Italian authors, all perhaps originally of Italian growth, and recommended by the general love of fable and fiction which now prevailed. I will mention a few.

In point of selection and size, perhaps the most capital miscellany of this kind is Fenton's book of tragical novels. The title is, 'Certaine TRAGICALL DISCOURSES written oute of French and Latin by Gefraie Fenton, no less profitable than pleasaunt, and of like necessitye to al degrees that take pleasure in antiquities or forraine reportes. *Mon heur viendra.* Imprinted at London in Fleete-strete nere to 'saint Dunstons Church by Thomas Marshe. Anno Domini, 1561.' This edition never was seen by Ames, nor was the book known to Tanner. The dedication is dated from his chamber at Paris, in 1567, [Jun. 22] to the Lady Mary Sydney, and contains many sensible reflections on this of reading. He says, 'Neyther do I thynke that oure Englishe recordes are hable to yelde at this daye a ROMANT more delicat and chaste, treatynge of the veraye theame and effectes of loue, than theis HYSTORIES, of no lesse credit than sufficient authoritie, by reason the moste of theym were within the compasse of memorye, &c².' Among the recommendatory poems prefixed,³ there is one by Geo. Turberville,

¹ In 4to. Bl. Lett. Cont. 612 pages. See licence from the archbishop of Canterbury, 1566. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 156. a. ibid. fol. 162. b. Ames mentions another edition by Thomas Marshe, 1579. 4to.

² He commends his illustrious patroness, for 'your worthie participation with the excellent gifts of temperance and wonderful modestie in the ii. moste famous erles of Leicester and Warwike your bretherne, and most virtuous and renowned ladye the countesse of Hunting-ton your syster, &c.'

³ Sir John Conway, M. H. who writes in Latin, and Peter Beverley. The latter wrote in verse 'The tragedall and pleasaunte history of Ariodanto and Jeneura daughter vnto the

who lavishes much praise on Fenton's *curious fyle*, which could *frame this passing-pleasant booke*. He adds,

The learned stories erste, and sugred tales that laye
Remoude from simple common sence, this writer doth displaye :
Nowe men of meanest skill, what BANDEL wrought may vew,
And tell the tale in Englishe well, that erst they neuer knewe :
Discourse of sundrye strange, and tragicall affaires,
Of louynge ladyes haples haps, theyr deathes, and deadly cares, &c.

Most of the stories are on Italian subjects, and many from Bandello, who was soon translated into French. The last tale, the Penance of Don Diego on the Pyrenan mountains for the love of Genivera la blonde, containing some metrical inscriptions, is in Don Quixote, and was versified in the octave stanza apparently from Fenton's publication, by R. L. in 1596, at the end of a set of sonnets called *DIELLA*¹.

Fenton was a translator of other books from the modern languages. He translated into English the twenty books of Guicciardin's History of Italy, which he dedicated to queen Elizabeth from his apartment near the Tower, Jan. 1578². The predominating love of narrative, more especially when the exploits of a favorite nation were the subject, rendered this book very popular; and it came recommended to the public by a title page which promised almost the entertainment of a romance, 'The Historie of Guiccardin, containing the warres of Italie, 'and other partes, continued for many yeares under sundry kings 'and princes, together with the variations of the same, Diuided into 'twenty bookes, &c. Reduced into English by Geffrey Fenton. *Mon 'heur viendra*.' It is probably to this book that Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's Hobbinol, alludes, where he says, 'Even Guiccardin's siluer 'Historie, and Ariosto's golden Cantos, growe out of request, and the 'countess of Pembroke's Arcadia is not greene enough for queasie 'stomaches but they must haue Greene's Arcadia, &c³.' Among his versions are also, the *GOLDEN EPISTLES* of Antonio de Guevara, the secretary of Charles V., and now a favorite author, addressed to Anne countess of Oxford, from his chamber at the Dominican or black friars, Feb. 4, 1575⁴. I apprehend him to be the same sir Jeffrey Fenton,

'kyng of Scots,' licenced to H. Weekes, 1565. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 140. b. There is an edition dedicated from Staples-inn, for R. Watkins, 1600. 12mo.

¹ *DIELLA*, Certaine Sonnets adioyning to the amorous poeme of Dom Diego and Gineura. By R. L. Gentleman. *Ben balla a chi fortuna suona*. At London, Printed for Henry Olney, &c. 1596. 16mo. The sonnets are 28 in number.

² I observe here, that there is a receipt from T. Marshe for printing the 'Storye of Italie,' Jun. 24, 1560. REGISTR. STATION. A. fol. 62. b.

³ For Norton, with his rebus, Lond. 1579, fol. There were other editions, in 1599, 1618. Fol.

⁴ *Fourre Letters*, &c. Lond. 1592. 4to. LETT. 3. p. 29.

⁵ Lond. 1577. 4to. His *FAMILIAR EPISTLES* were translated by Edward Heliowes *groome of the Leashe*, 1574. 4to. Fenton also translated into English, a Latin *DISPUTATION* held at the Sorbonne. Lond. 1571. 4to. And, an *Epistle* about obedience to the pastors of the Flemish church at Antwerp, from Antonio de Carro, Lond. 1570. 8vo. His discourses on the civil wars in France under Charles IX. in 1569, are entered with Harrison and Bishop. REGISTR.

who is called 'a privie counsellor in Ireland to the queen,' in the *BLAZON OF JEALOUSIE* written in 1615, [Lond. 1615. 4to.] by R. T. the translator of Ariosto's *Satires*, in 1608. [For R. Jackson.] He died in 1608¹.

With Fenton's DISCOURSES may be mentioned also, 'Foure straunge, 'lamentable tragicall histories translated out of Frenche into Englishe' by Robert Smythe, and published, as I apprehend, in 1577².

A work of a similar nature appeared in 1571, by Thoms Fortescue. It is divided into four books, and called 'The FOREST or collection of 'Historyes no lesse profitable, than pleasant and necessary, doone out 'of Frenche into English by Thomas Fortescue³.' It is dedicated to John Fortescue esq., keeper of the wardrobe. The genius of these tales may be discerned from their history. The book is said to have been written in Spanish by Petro de Messia, then translated into Italian, thence into French by Claude Cruget a citizen of Paris, and lastly from French into English by Fortescue. But many of the stories seem to have originally migrated from Italy into Spain⁴.

STATION. A. fol. 191. a. There was an Edward Fenton, who translated from various authors 'Certaine secretes and wonders of nature, &c.' Dedicated to lord Lumley, 1569, 4to. For H. Binneran. Fuller, WORTH. ii. 315. MSS. Ashmol. 616.

¹ Ware, 137. There is an old Art of English Poetry by one Fenton.

² Licenced to Hugh Jackson, Jul. 30. REGISTER. STATION. B. fol. 142. a. I have never seen a work by Tarleton the playeur, licenced to J. Charlewoud. Feb. 5, 1577. 'Tarleton's 'TRAGICALL TRICKES conteyninge sundrie discourses and pretie conceipts both in prose 'and verse.' Ibid. 145. a.

³ Lond. 4to. Bl. Lett. A second edition was printed in 1576. For John Day, 4to. It is licenced with W. James in 1570, and with the authority of the bishop of London. REGISTER. STATION. A. fol. 200. b. Again with Dauter, Nov. 3, 1576. REGISTER. C. fol. 15. a. Similar to this is the 'PARADISE of pleasant Historyes, or the this NEST was new cracked, containing a discourse of a noble kynge and his three sunnes,' with Pensonby, Jan. 20, 1595. Ibid. fol. 7. a.

⁴ Among many others that might be mentioned I think is the romance or novel entitled, 'A MARGARITE OF AMERICA. By T. Lodge. Printed for John Busbie, &c. 1596,' 4to. Bl. Lett. This piece has never yet been recited among Lodge's works. In the Dedication to Lady Russell, and Preface to the *gentlemen readers*, he says, that being at sea four years before with M. Cavendish, he found this history in the Spanish tongue in the library of the Jesuits of Sanctum: and that he translated it in the ship, in passing through the Straits of Magellan. Many sonnets and metrical inscriptions are intermixed. One of the sonnets is said to be in imitation of Dolce the Italian. SIGNAT. C. Again, SIGNAT. K 3. About the walls of the chamber of prince Protomachus, 'in curious imagerie were the Seven Sages of 'Greece, set forth with their severall vertues eloquently discovered in Arabicke verses.' The arch of the bed is of ebony sett with pretious sones, and depicted with the stages of man's life from infancy to old age. SIGNAT. B. 3. The chamber of Margarite, in the same castle, is much more sumptuous. Over the portico were carved in the whitest marble, Diana blushing at the sudden intrusion of Acteon, and her 'naked Nymphes, who with one hand 'covering their owne secret pleasures, with blushes, with the other cast a beautifull vaile 'ouer their mistresse daintie nakedness. The two pillars of the doore were beautified with 'the two Cupides of Amareon, which well-shaped Modestie often seemed to whip, lest they 'should growe over-wanton.' Within, 'All the chaste Ladies of the world inched out of 'silver, looking through faire mirrors of chrisolites, carbuncles, sapphires, and greene 'emerauts, fixed their eyes on the picture of Eternitie, &c.' In the tapestry, was the story of Orpheus, &c. SIGN. B. 3. A sonnet of 'that excellent poet of Italic Lodovico Pascale,' is introduced, SIGNAT. L. Another, 'in imitation of Martelli, having the right nature of an 'Italian melancholie,' SIGNAT. L. He mentions, 'the sweet conceits of Philip du Portes, 'whose poetically wrightings being already for the most part Englished, and ordinarily in 'euerie man's hands,' are not here translated. SIGNAT. L. 2.

I think I have also seen in Italian 'The straunge and wonderfull adventures of Simonides 'a gentilman Spaniarde. Conteyning uerie pleasaunte discourse. Gathered as well for the 'recreation of our noble yong gentlemen as our honourable courtly ladies. By Barnabe 'Riche gentilman. London, for Robert Walley, 1581.' Bl. Lett. 4to. Much poetry is in-

The learned doctor Farmer has restored to the public notice a compilation of this class, unmentioned by any typographic annalist, and entitled, 'The ORATOR, handling a hundred severall Discourses in form of Declamations: some of the Arguments being drawne from Titus Liuius, and other ancient writers, the rest of the authors own Invention. Part of which are of matters happened in our age. Written in French by Alexander Silvayn, and Englished by L. P. [or Lazarus Pilot.] London, printed by Adam Islip, 1596¹. The subject of the ninety-fifth DECLAMATION is, *Of a Jew who would for his debt haue a pound of the flesh of a Christian*. [See fol. 401.] We have here the incident of the BOND, in Shakespeare's MERCHANT OF VENICE, which yet may be traced to a much higher source. This Alexander Sylvain compiled in French *Epitomes de cent Histoires Tragiques partie extraictes des Actes des Romains et autres*, a work licenced to Islip to be translated into English in 1596. [Jul. 15. REGISTR. C. fol. 12. a.] Perhaps the following passage in Burton's MELANCHOLY, may throw light on these DECLAMATIONS. 'In the Low Countries, before these warres, they had many solemne feastes, playes, challenges, artillery [archery] gardens, colledges of rimers, rhetoricians, poets, and to this day, such places are curiously maintained in Amsterdam. In Italy, they have solemne Declamations of certaine select yonge gentlemen in Florence, like these reciters in old Rome, &c.' [P. ii. § 2. 229. edit. 1624.]

In 1582, a suite of tales was published by George Whetstone, a sonnet-writer of some rank, and one of the most *passionate among us to bewaile the perplexities of love*², under the title of HEPTAMERON, and containing some novels from Cinthio³. Shakespeare, in MEASURE FOR MEASURE, has fallen into great improprieties by founding his plot on a history in the HEPTAMERON, imperfectly copied or translated

termixed. A recommendatory poem in the octave stanza is prefixed by Lodge, who says he corrected the work, and has now laid his name aside. There is another in the same stanza by R. W. But it would be endless to pursue publications of this sort. I only add, that Barnabe Riche abovementioned wrote in prose THE HONESTIE OF THE AGE, &c. Lond. 1615. 4to. A curious picture of the times. Also 'the PATHWAY TO MILITARY PRACTICE, with a kalender for the ymbattallinge of men, newly written by Barnabe Riche,' entered to R. Walley, 22 March, 1590. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 216. b. Riche in the title-page to his IRISH HEPTERON (Lond. 1617. 4to.) calls that book his twenty-sixth. I have seen most of them.

¹ I know not exactly what connection this piece may have with an entry, under the year 1590, to Aggas and Wolfe, 'Certen tragicall cases conteyninge Lv Hystories with their generall declamations both accusative and defensive, written in frenshe by Alexander Vandembrygt alias Silvan, translated into Englishe by R. A.' REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 263. b. Perhaps R. A. is Robert Allot, the publisher of ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS in 1600. And adds, that he has some Latin hexameters prefixed to Christopher Middleton's LEGEND OF DUKE HUMPHREY. Lond. 1600. 4to.

² W. Webbe, a cotemporary, calls him 'A man singularly well skilled in this faculty of poetry.'

³ This title adopted from the queen of Navarre was popular. There is entered to Jones, Jan. 11, 1581, 'AN HEPTAMERON of civill discourses vnto the Christmas exercises of sundry well courted gentlemen and gentlewomen.' REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 188. b. I suppose a book of tales. There is also, August 8, 1596, to E. White, 'MORANDO the TRITAMERON OF LOVE. Ibid. fol. 209. b.

from Cinthio's original¹. Many faults in the conduct of incidents for which Shakespeare's judgement is arraigned, often flowed from the casual book of the day, whose mistakes he implicitly followed without looking for a better model, and from a too hasty acquiescence in the present accommodation. But without a book of this sort, Shakespeare would often have been at a loss for a subject. Yet at the same time, we look with wonder at the structures which he forms, and even without labour or deliberation, of the basest materials².

Ames recites a large collection of novels in two volumes, dedicated to sir George Howard master of the armory, and printed for Nicholas England in 1567. [Pag. 328.] I have never seen them, but presume they are translations from Boccace, Cinthio, and Bandello. [Cont. 856 leaves, 8vo.] In 1589, was printed the CHAOS OF HISTORIES³. And in 1563, 'A boke called Certaine noble storyes contaynyng rare and 'worthy matter⁴.' These pieces are perhaps to be catalogued in the same class.

In the year 1590, sir James Harrington, who will occur again in his

¹ See Whetstone's RIGHT EXCELLENT AND FAMOUS HISTORIE OF PROMOS AND CASSANDRA. Divided into Commical Discourses, printed in 1578. Entered to R. Jones, 31 Jul. 1578. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 150. b.

² In the Prologue to a comedy called 'CUPID'S WHIRLIGIG As it hath been sundrie times acted by the Children of his Majesties Revels written by E. S. and printed in quarto by T. Creede in 1616, perhaps before, an oblique stroke seems intended at some of Shakespeare's plots.

Our author's pen loues not to swimme in blood,
He dips no inke from oute blacke Achéron:
Nor crosses seas to get a forraigne plot.—
Nor doth he touch the falls of mighty kings,
No ancient hystorie, no shepherd's love,
No statesman's life, &c.

He blames some other dramatic writers for their plots of heathen gods. So another, but who surely had forgot Shakespeare, in PASQUILL'S MADCAPPE'S MESSAGE, p. 11. Lond. 1600. Printed by V. S. 4to.

Go, bid the poets studdie better matter, Than Mars and Venus in a tragedie.

³ REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 246. a. Jul. 28, to Abell Jeffes.

⁴ To Berys. REGISTR. A. fol. 89. b. I have here thrown together many pieces of the same sort, before 1585, from the registers of the Stationers, Mar. 10, 1594, to T. Creede, 'MOTHER 'REDD-CAPPE her last will and testament, conteynyng sundrye conceipted and pleasant tales 'furnished with muche varyetie to move delight.' REGISTR. B. fol. 130. a.—Nov. 3, 1576, to H. Bynnenman, 'MERY TALES, wittye questions, and quicke answers.' Ibid. fol. 135. b.—April 2, 1577, to R. Jones, 'A FLORISHE UPON FANCIE, as gallant a glose of suche a triflinge 'a texte as ouer was written, compiled by N. B. gent. To which are annexed manie pretie 'pamphlets for pleasaunte heades to pass away idell time withall compiled by the same 'author.' Ibid. fol. 138. b. And by the same author, perhaps Nicholas Breton, Jun. 1, 1577, to Watkins, afterwards T. Dawson, 'The woorkes of a yong witte truste up, with a FARDELL 'of pretie fantasies profitable to yong poets, compiled by N. B. gent.' Ibid. fol. 139. b.—Jun. 5, 1577, to R. Jones, 'A HANDFUL OF HIDDEN SECRETS, conteynyng therein certayne Sonnettes 'and other pleasaunte devises, pickt out of the closet of sundrie worthie writers, and collected 'by R. Williams.' [N. B. This is otherwise entitled, THE GALLERY OF GALLANT INUETIONS.] Ibid. fol. 140. a.—Jun. 23, 1584, to T. Hacket, two books. 'A DIAL for daintie darlings,' and 'the BANQUET of daintie conceits.' Ibid. fol. 200. b.—'The parlour of pleasaunte de- 'lyghtes,' to Yarret James, Jan. 13, 1580. Ibid. fol. 177. b.—'A ballad of the traiterous and 'vnbrideled crueltie of one Lucio a knyght executed ouer Eriphile daughter to Hortensia 'Castilion of Genoway in Italy,' to H. Carre, Sept. 3, 1580. Ibid. fol. 171. b.—'The deceipts 'in loue discoursed in a Comedie of ij Italyan gentlemen and translated into Engliisshe,' to S. Waterson, Nov. 10, 1584. Ibid. fol. 202. a. Most of these pieces I have seen: and although perhaps they do not all exactly coincide with the class of books pointed out in the text, they illustrate the general subject of this section.

place as an original writer, exhibited an English version of Ariosto's ORLANDO FURIOSO¹: which, although executed without spirit or accuracy, unanimated and incorrect, enriched our poetry by a communication of new stores of fiction and imagination, both of the romantic and comic species, of Gothic machinery and familiar manners.

Fairfax is commonly supposed to be the first translator of Tasso. But in 1593, was licenced 'A booke called Godfrey of Bolloign an 'heroycall poem of S. Torquato Tasso, Englished by R. E. esquire².' In consequence of this version, appeared the next year 'An enterlude 'entituled Godfrey of Bolloigne with the Conquest of Jerusalem³.' Hall in his Satires published in 1597, enumerates among the favorite stories of his time, such as St. George, Brutus, king Arthur, and Charlemagne.

What were his knights did SALEM'S SIEGE maintayne,
To which he immediately adds Ariosto's Orlando. [B. vi. Sat. i.

By means of the same vehicle, translation from Italian books, a precise and systematical knowledge of the ancient heathen theology seems to have been more effectually circulated among the people in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Among others, in 1599 was published, 'THE FOUNTAINE OF ANCIENT FICTION, wherein is depicted the 'images and statues of the gods of the ancients with their proper and 'particular expositions. Done into Englishe by Richard Linche gentleman. *Tempe e figliuola di verita*. London, imprinted by Valentine 'Sims, 1599⁴.' This book, or one of the same sort, is censured in a puritanical pamphlet, written the same year, by one H. G. a *painfull minister of God's word* [in Kent, as the *Sparrow of Italian Gallimaufry*, as tending to corrupt the pure and *unidolatrours* worship of the one God, and as one of the *deadly snares* of popish deception⁵. In the history of the puritans, their apprehensions that the reformed

¹ At least in that year, Feb. 26, was entered to Richard Field, under the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, 'A booke entituled John Harrington's Orlando Furioso, &c.' REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 271. b. But there is entered to Cutlibert Burbye, to be printed by Danter, May 28, 1594, 'The Historie of Orlando Furioso.' Ibid. fol. 306. b. And Ariosto's story of Rogero and Rhodomont, translated from the French of Philip de Portes, by G. M. [Gervis Markham] is entered to N. Linge, Sept. 15, 1598. Ibid. C. fol. 41. b.

² To Christopher Hunt, Jan. 25. REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 304. b. The same version of Tasso is again entered Nov. 22, 1599. REGISTR. C. fol. 54. a. Among Rawlinson's MSS. are two fair copies in large folio of a translation of Tasso in oct. stanzas, by sir G. T. An inserted note says this is Geo. Turberville, the poet of queen Elizabeth's reign, and that he was knighted by the queen while ambassador.

³ To John Danter, Jun. 19. Ibid. fol. 309. b.

⁴ Qrto. From some other book of the kind, says John Marston in his SATYRES, Lond. for E. Matts. 1593. 12mo. SAT. ii.

Reach me some poets Index that will shew
Natalis Comes, thou, I know, recites,

IMAGINES DEORUM. Booke of Epithites,
And mak'st anatomie of poesie.

With this might have been bound up 'A tresorie and storehouse of similis,' for T. Creede, 1600.

⁵ In 1599 was published by G. Potter, 'A commendacion of true poetry and a discommendacion of all budy, pybald, and paganizde [paganised] poets, &c.' REGISTR. STATION. C. fol. 55. b.

faith was yet in danger from paganism, are not sufficiently noted. And it should be remembered, that a PANTHEON had before appeared : rather indeed with a view of exposing the heathen superstitions, and of shewing their conformity to the papistic, than of illustrating the religious fable of antiquity. But the scope and design of the writer will appear from his title, which from its archness alone deserves to be inserted. 'The GOLDEN BOOKE OF THE LEADEN GODDES, 'wherein is described the vayne imaginations of the heathen pagans, 'and counterfeit christians. With a description of their severall tables, what each of their pictures signified¹.' The writer, however, doctor Stephen Batman, had been domestic chaplain to archbishop Parker, and is better known by his general chronicle of prodigies called Batman's DOOM. [Lond. 1581. 4to.] He was also the last translator of the Gothic Pliny, BARTHOLOMEUS DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM, and collected more than a thousand MSS. for archbishop Parker's library.

This enquiry might be much farther enlarged and extended. But let it be sufficient to observe here in general, that the best stories of the early and original Italian novelists, either by immediate translation, or through the mediation of Spanish, French, or Latin versions, by paraphrase, abridgement, imitation, and often under the disguise of licentious innovations of names, incidents, and characters, appeared in an English dress, before the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and for the most part, even before the publication of the first volume of Belleforrest's grand repository of tragical narratives, a compilation from the Italian writers, in 1583. But the CENT HISTOIRES TRAGIQUES of Belleforrest himself, appear to have been translated soon afterwards. [REGISTR. STATION. C. 1596.] In the meantime, it must be remembered, that many translations of Tales from the modern languages were licenced to be printed, but afterwards suppressed by the interest of the puritans. It appears from the register of the Stationers, that among others, in the year 1619, 'The DECAMERON of Mr. John Boccace Florentine,' was revoked by a sudden inhibition of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury. [REGISTR. C. fol. 311. a.] But not only the clamours of the Calvinists, but caprice and ignorance, perhaps partiality, seem to have had some share in this business of licencing books. The rigid arbiters of the press who condemned Boccace in the gross, could not with propriety spare all the licentious cantos of Ariosto. That writer's libertine friar, metamorphosis of Richardetto, Alcina and Rogero, Anselmo, and host's tale of Astolfo, are shocking to common decency. When the four or five first books of AMADIS DE GAUL in French were deliuered to Wolfe to be translated into English

¹ In qto., for Thomas Marshc, 1577. It contains only 72 pages. Licenced Aug. 26, 1577. REG. STAT. B. fol. 142. b.

and to be printed, in the year 1592, the signature of bishop Aylmer was affixed to every book of the original¹. The romance of PALMERIN OF ENGLAND was licenced to be printed in 1580, on condition, that if any thing reprehensible was found in the book after publication, all the copies should be committed to the flames. [To John Charlewood, Feb. 13. Ibid. fol. 177. b.] Notwithstanding, it is remarkable, that in 1587, a new edition of Boccace's DECAMERON in Italian² by Wolfe, should have been permitted by archbishop Whitgift³: and the English AMOROUS FIAMETTA of Boccace, abovementioned, in the same year by the bishop of London. [Ibid. Sept. 18.]

But in the year 1599, the Hall of the Stationers underwent as great a purgation as was carried on in Don Quixote's library. Marston's Pygmalion, Marlowe's Ovid, the Satires of Hall and Marston, the Epigrams of Davies and others, and the CALTHA POETARUM, were ordered for immediate conflagration, by the prelates Whitgift and Bancroft⁴. By the same authority, all the books of Nash and Gabriel Harvey were anathematised; and, like thieves and outlaws, were ordered *to be taken wheresoever they maye be found*. It was decreed, that no Satires or Epigrams should be printed for the future. No plays were to be printed without the inspection and permission of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, nor any *English Historyes*, I suppose novels and romances, without the sanction of the Privy Council. Any pieces of this nature, unlicenced, or now at large and wandering abroad, were to be diligently sought, recalled, and delivered over to the ecclesiastical arm at London-house. [REGR. STAT. C. fol. 316. a. b.]

If any apology should be thought necessary for so prolix and intricate an examination of these compositions, I shelter this section under the authority of a polite and judicious Roman writer, 'Sit apud te honos ANTIQUITATI sit ingentibus factis, sit FANULIS quoque.' [Plin. EPIST. viii. 24.]

SECTION LXI.

ENOUGH has been opened of the reign of queen Elizabeth, to afford us an opportunity of forming some general reflections, tending to establish

¹ REGISTR. STATION. B. fol. 226. a. Hence Dekker's familiarity of allusion, in THE VINTRUSSING OF THE HUMOROUS POET, 'Farewell my sweete Amadis de Gaule!' Lond. 1602. 4to. Signat. D. 2.

² Two or three other Italian books, a proof of the popularity of the language, were allowed to be printed in 1588. Ibid. fol. 233. b. Fol. 234. b.

³ Sept. 13. Together with the *Historie of Chaucer*, both in Italian and English.

⁴ There are also recited, 'The Shadows of Trache in Epigrams and Satires. Snarling Satyres. The booke against women. The xv ioyes of marriage.'

a full estimate of the genius of the poetry of that reign ; and which, by drawing conclusions from what has been said, and directing the reader to what he is to expect, will at once be recapitulatory and preparatory. Such a survey perhaps might have stood with more propriety as an introduction to this reign. But it was first necessary to clear the way, by many circumstantial details, and the regular narration of those particulars, which lay the foundation of principles, and suggest matter for discursive observation. My sentiments on this subject shall therefore compose the concluding section of the present work.

The age of queen Elizabeth is commonly called the golden age of English poetry. It certainly may not improperly be styled the most POETICAL age of these annals.

Among the great features which strike us in the poetry of this period, are the predominancy of fable, of fiction, and fancy, and a predilection for interesting adventures and pathetic events. I will endeavour to assign and explain the cause of this characteristic distinction, which may chiefly be referred to the following principles, sometimes blended, and sometimes operating singly : the revival and vernacular versions of the classics, the importation and translation of Italian novels, the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy, a degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance, and the frequency and improvements of allegoric exhibition in the popular spectacles.

When the corruptions and impostures of popery were abolished, the fashion of cultivating the Greek and Roman learning became universal : and the literary character was no longer appropriated to scholars by profession, but assumed by the nobility and gentry. The ecclesiastics had found it their interest to keep the languages of antiquity to themselves, and men were eager to know what had been so long injuriously concealed. Truth propagates truth, and the mantle of mystery was removed not only from religion but from literature. The laity, who had now been taught to assert their natural privileges, became impatient of the old monopoly of knowledge, and demanded admittance to the usurpations of the clergy. The general curiosity for new discoveries, heightened either by just or imaginary ideas of the treasures contained in the Greek and Roman writers, excited all persons of leisure and fortune to study the classics. The pedantry of the present age was the politeness of the last. An accurate comprehension of the phraseology and peculiarities of the ancient poets, historians, and orators, which yet seldom went farther than a kind of technical erudition, was an indispensable and almost the principal object in the circle of a gentleman's education. Every young lady of fashion was carefully instituted in classical letters : and the daughter of a duchess was taught, not only to distil strong waters, but to construe Greek. Among

the learned females of high distinction, queen Elizabeth herself was the most conspicuous. Roger Ascham, her preceptor, speaks with rapture of her astonishing progress in the Greek nouns; and declares with no small degree of triumph, that during a long residence at Windsor-castle, she was accustomed to read more Greek in a day, than 'some prebendary of that church did Latin, in one week.' [SCHOOLEMASTER, p. 19. b. edit. 1589. 4to.] And although perhaps a princess looking out words in a lexicon, and writing down hard phrases from Plutarch's Lives, may be thought at present a more incompatible and extraordinary character, than a canon of Windsor understanding no Greek and but little Latin, yet Elizabeth's passion for these acquisitions was then natural, and resulted from the genius and habitudes of her age.

The books of antiquity being thus familiarised to the great, every thing was tinctured with ancient history and mythology. The heathen gods, although discountenanced by the Calvinists on a suspicion of their tending to cherish and revive a spirit of idolatry, came into general vogue. When the queen paraded through a country-town, almost every pageant was a pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, at entering the hall she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury. Even the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists. At dinner, select transformations of Ovid's metamorphoses were exhibited in confectionary: and the splendid icing of an immense historic plumb-cake, was embossed with a delicious basso-relievo of the destruction of Troy. In the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with Tritons and Nereids: the pages of the family were converted into Wood-nymphs who peeped from every bower: and the footmen gamboled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs. I speak it without designing to insinuate any unfavourable suspicions, but it seems difficult to say, why Elizabeth's virginity should have been made the theme of perpetual and excessive panegyric: nor does it immediately appear, that there is less merit or glory in a married than a maiden queen. Yet, the next morning, after sleeping in a room hung with the tapestry of the voyage of Eneas, when her majesty hunted in the Park, she was met by Diana, who pronouncing our royal prude to be the brightest paragon of unspotted chastity, invited her to groves free from the intrusions of Acteon. The truth is, she was so profusely flattered for this virtue, because it was esteemed the characteristical ornament of the heroines, as fantastic honour was the chief pride of the champions, of the old barbarous romance. It was in conformity to the sentiments of chivalry, which still continued in vogue, that she was celebrated for chastity: the compliment, however, was paid in a classical allusion.

Queens must be ridiculous when they would appear as women. The

softer attractions of sex vanish on the throne. Elizabeth sought all occasions of being extolled for her beauty, of which indeed in the prime of her youth she possessed but a small share, whatever might have been her pretensions to absolute virginity. Notwithstanding her exaggerated habits of dignity and ceremony, and a certain affectation of imperial severity, she did not perceive this ambition of being complimented for beauty, to be an idle and unpardonable levity, totally inconsistent with her high station and character. As she conquered all nations with her arms, it matters not what were the triumphs of her eyes. Of what consequence was the complexion of the mistress of the world? Not less vain of her person than her politics, this stately coquet, the guardian of the protestant faith, the terror of the sea, the mediatrix of the factions of France, and the scourge of Spain, was infinitely mortified, if an ambassador, at the first audience, did not tell her she was the finest woman in Europe. No negociation succeeded unless she was addressed as a goddess. Encomiastic harangues drawn from this topic, even on the supposition of youth and beauty, were surely superfluous, unsuitable, and unworthy; and were offered and received with an equal impropriety. Yet when she rode through the streets of the city of Norwich, Cupid, at the command of the mayor and aldermen, advancing from a groupe of gods who had left Olympus to grace the procession, gave her a golden arrow, the most effective weapon of his well-furnished quiver, which under the influence of such irresistible charms was sure to wound the most obdurate heart. 'A gift, says honest Hollinshed, which her majesty, now 'verging to her fiftieth year, received very thankfullie.' [CHRON. iii. f. 1297.] In one of the fulsome interludes at court, where she was present, the singing-boys of her chapel presented the story of the three rival goddesses on mount Ida, to which her majesty was ingeniously added as a fourth: and Paris was arraigned in form for adjudging the golden apple to Venus, which was due to the queen alone.

This inundation of classical pedantry soon infected our poetry. Our writers, already trained in the school of fancy, were suddenly dazzled with these novel imaginations, and the divinities and heroes of pagan antiquity decorated every composition. The perpetual allusions to ancient fable were often introduced without the least regard to propriety. Shakespeare's Mrs. Page, who is not intended in any degree to be a learned or an affected lady, laughing at the cumbersome courtship of her corpulent lover Falstaffe, says, 'I had rather be a giantess 'and lie under mount Pelion.' [MERRY W. Act ii. Sc. i.] This familiarity with the pagan story was not, however, so much owing to the prevailing study of the original authors, as to the numerous English versions of them, which were consequently made. The translations of the classics, which now employed every pen, gave a currency and a celebrity to these fancies, and had the effect of diffusing them among

the people. No sooner were they delivered from the pale of the scholastic languages, than they acquired a general notoriety. Ovid's *metamorphoses* just translated by Golding, to instance no farther, disclosed a new world of fiction, even to the illiterate. As we had now all the ancient fables in English, learned allusions, whether in a poem or a pageant, were no longer obscure and unintelligible to common readers and common spectators. And here we are led to observe, that at this restoration of the classics, we were first struck only with their fabulous inventions. We did not attend to their regularity of design and justness of sentiment. A rude age, beginning to read these writers, imitated their extravagancies, not their natural beauties. And these, like other novelties, were pursued to a blameable excess.

I have before given a sketch of the introduction of classical stories, in the splendid show exhibited at the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn. But that is a rare and a premature instance: and the pagan fictions are there complicated with the barbarisms of the catholic worship, and the doctrines of scholastic theology. Classical learning was not then so widely spread, either by study or translation, as to bring these learned spectacles into fashion, to frame them with sufficient skill, and to present them with propriety.

Another capital source of the poetry peculiar to this period, consisted in the numerous translations of Italian tales into English. These narratives, not dealing altogether in romantic inventions, but in real life and manners, and in artful arrangements of fictitious yet probable events, afforded a new gratification to a people which yet retained their ancient relish for tale-telling, and became the fashionable amusement of all who professed to read for pleasure. They gave rise to innumerable plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed; and turned the thoughts of our writers to new inventions of the same kind. Before these books became common, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe, were almost unknown. Distress, especially that arising from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been shewn in its most interesting forms. It was hence our poets, particularly the dramatic, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts necessary to constitute a story either of the comic or tragic species. In proportion as knowledge increased, genius had wanted subjects and materials. These pieces usurped the place of legends and chronicles. And although the old historical songs of the minstrels contained much bold adventure, heroic enterprise, and strong touches of rude delineation, yet they failed in that multiplication and disposition of circumstances, and in that description of characters and events approaching nearer to truth and reality, which were demanded by a more discerning and curious age. Even the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were softened by this sort of reading: and the Italian pastoral, yet with some mixture of the kind of incidents

described in Heliodorus's Ethiopic history now newly translated, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sydney's ARCADIA.

But the reformation had not yet destroyed every delusion, nor disenchanted all the strong holds of superstition. A few dim characters were yet legible in the mouldering creed of tradition. Every goblin of ignorance did not vanish at the first glimmerings of the morning of science. Reason suffered a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of poetry. Men believed, or were willing to believe, that spirits were yet hovering around, who brought with them *airs from heaven, or blasts from hell*, that the ghost was duely released from his prison of torment at the sound of the curfew, and that fairies imprinted mysterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Much of this credulity was even consecrated by the name of science and profound speculation. Prospero had not yet *broken and buried his staff*, nor *drowned his book deeper than did ever plummet sound*. It was now that the alchemist, and the judicial astrologer, conducted his occult operations by the potent intercourse of some preternatural being, who came obsequious to his call, and was bound to accomplish his severest services, under certain conditions, and for a limited duration of time. It was actually one of the pretended feats of these fantastic philosophers, to evoke the queen of the Fairies in the solitude of a gloomy grove, who, preceded by a sudden rustling of the leaves, appeared in robes of transcendent lustre. [Lilly's LIFE, p. 151.] The Shakespeare of a more instructed and polished age, would not have given us a magician darkening the sun at noon, the sabbath of the witches, and the cauldron of incantation.

Undoubtedly most of these notions were credited and entertained in a much higher degree, in the preceding periods. But the arts of composition had not then made a sufficient progress, nor would the poets of those periods have managed them with so much address and judgment. We were now arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chastened by reason, had produced a sort of civilized superstition, and left a set of traditions, fanciful enough for poetic decoration, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common sense. Hobbes, although no friend to this doctrine, observes happily, 'In a good poem both judgement and fancy are required ; but the fancy must be more eminent, because they please for the EXTRAVAGANCY, but ought not to displease by INDISCRETION. [LEVIATH. Part. i. ch. viii.]

In the meantime the Gothic romance, although somewhat shook by the classical fictions, and by the tales of Boccace and Bandello, still maintained its ground : and the daring machineries of giants, dragons, and enchanted castles, borrowed from the magic storehouse of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, began to be employed by the epic muse. These ornaments have been censured by the bigotry of precise and servile critics, as abounding in whimsical absurdities, and as unwarrantable

deviations from the practice of Homer and Virgil. The author of *AN ENQUIRY INTO THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HOMER* is willing to allow a fertility of genius, and a felicity of expression, to Tasso and Ariosto ; but at the same time complains, that, 'quitting life, they betook themselves to aerial beings and Utopian characters, and filled their works with Charms and Visions, the modern Supplements of the Marvellous and Sublime. The best poets copy nature, and give it such as they find it. When once they lose sight of this, they write false, be their talents ever so great.' But what shall we say of those Utopians, the Cyclopes and the Lestrigons in the *Odyssey*? The hippogrif of Ariosto may be opposed to the harpies of Virgil. If leaves are turned into ships in the *Orlando*, nymphs are transformed into ships in the *Eneid*. Cacus is a more unnatural savage than Caliban. Nor am I convinced, that the imagery of Ismeno's necromantic forest in the *Gierusalemme Liberata*, guarded by walls and battlements of fire, is less marvellous and sublime, than the leap of Juno's horses in the *Iliad*, celebrated by Longinus for its singular magnificence and dignity. [*ILIAD*, V. 770. Longin. § ix.] On the principles of this critic, Voltaire's *Henriad* may be placed at the head of the modern epic. But I forbear to anticipate my opinion of a system, which will more properly be considered, when I come to speak of Spenser. I must, however, observe here, that the Gothic and pagan fictions were now frequently blended and incorporated. The Lady of the Lake floated in the suite of Neptune before queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth ; Ariel assumes the semblance of a sea-nymph, and Hecate, by an easy association, conducts the rites of the weird sisters in *Macbeth*.

Allegory had been derived from the religious dramas into our civil spectacles. The masques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth were not only furnished by the heathen divinities, but often by the virtues and vices impersonated, significantly decorated, accurately distinguished by their proper types, and represented by living actors. The ancient symbolical shows of this sort began now to lose their old barbarism and a mixture of religion, and to assume a degree of poetical elegance and precision. Nor was it only in the conformation of particular figures that much fancy was shewn, but in the contexture of some of the fables or devices presented by groups of ideal personages. These exhibitions quickened creative invention, and reflected back on poetry what poetry had given. From their familiarity and public nature, they formed a national taste for allegory ; and the allegorical poets were now writing to the people. Even romance was turned into this channel. In the *Fairy Queen*, allegory is wrought upon chivalry, and the feats and figments of Arthur's round table are moralised. The virtues of magnificence and chastity are here personified : but they are imaged with the forms, and under the agency, of romantic knights and damsels. What was an afterthought in Tasso, appears

to have been Spenser's premeditated and primary design. In the mean time, we must not confound these moral combatants of the Fairy Queen with some of its other embodied abstractions, which are purely and professedly allegorical.

It may here be added, that only a few critical treatises, and but one ART OF POETRY, were now written. Sentiments and images were not absolutely determined by the canons of composition : nor was genius awed by the consciousness of a future and final arraignment at the tribunal of taste. A certain dignity of inattention to niceties is now visible in our writers. Without too closely consulting a criterion of correctness, every man indulged his own capriciousness of invention. The poet's appeal was chiefly to his own voluntary feelings, his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception. And this freedom of thought was often expressed in an undisguised frankness of diction. A circumstance, by the way, that greatly contributed to give the flowing modulation which now marked the measures of our poets, and which soon degenerated into the opposite extreme of dissonance and asperity. Selection and discrimination were often overlooked. Shakespeare wandered in pursuit of universal nature. The glancings of his eye are from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. We behold him breaking the barriers of imaginary method. In the same scene he descends from his meridian of the noblest tragic sublimity, to puns and quibbles, to the meanest merriments of a plebeian farce. In the midst of his dignity, he resembles his own Richard II., the *skipping king*, who sometimes discarding the state of a monarch,

Mingled his royalty with carping fools. [FIRST P. HENRY iv. Act. iii. Sc. ii.]

He seems not to have seen any impropriety, in the most abrupt transitions, from dukes to buffoons, from senators to sailors, from counsellors to constables, and from kings to clowns. Like Virgil's majestic oak,

—— Quantum vertice ad auras

Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit. [GEORG. ii. 291.]

No Satires, properly so called, were written till towards the latter end of the queen's reign, and then but a few. Pictures drawn at large of the vices of the times, did not suit readers who loved to wander in the regions of artificial manners. The Muse, like the people, was too solemn and reserved, too ceremonious and pedantic, to stoop to common life. Satire is the poetry of a nation highly polished.

The importance of the female character was not yet acknowledged, nor were women admitted into the general commerce of society. The effect of that intercourse had not imparted a comic air to poetry, nor softened the severer tone of our versification with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment, sometimes perhaps operating

on serious subjects, and imperceptibly spreading themselves in the general habits of style and thought. I do not mean to insinuate, that our poetry has suffered from the great change of manners, which this assumption of the gentler sex, or rather the improved state of female education, has produced, by giving elegance and variety to life, by enlarging the sphere of conversation, and by multiplying the topics and enriching the stores of wit and humour. But I am marking the peculiarities of composition : and my meaning was to suggest, that the absence of so important a circumstance from the modes and constitution of ancient life, must have influenced the cotemporary poetry. Of the state of manners among our ancestors respecting this point, many traces remain. Their style of courtship may be collected from the love-dialogues of Hamlet, young Percy, Henry V., and Master Fenton. Their tragic heroines, their Desdemonas and Ophelias, although of so much consequence in the piece, are degraded to the back-ground. In comedy, their ladies are nothing more than MERRY WIVES, plain and cheerful matrons, who stand upon the *chariness of their honesty*. In the smaller poems, if a lover praises his mistress, she is complimented in strains neither polite nor pathetic, without elegance and without affection : she is described, not in the address of intelligible yet artful panegyric, not in the real colours, and with the genuine accomplishments, of nature, but as an eccentric ideal being of another system, and as inspiring sentiments equally unmeaning, hyperbolic, and unnatural.

All or most of these circumstances, contributed to give a descriptive, a picturesque, and a figurative cast to the poetical language. This effect appears even in the prose compositions of the reign of Elizabeth. In the subsequent age, prose became the language of poetry.

In the mean time, general knowledge was increasing with a wide diffusion and a hasty rapidity. Books began to be multiplied, and a variety of the most useful and rational topics had been discussed in our own language. But science had not made too great advances. On the whole, we were now arrived at that period, propitious to the operations of original and true poetry, when the coyness of fancy was not always proof against the approaches of reason, when genius was rather directed than governed by judgment, and when taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or controul, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied.

[What follows was supplementary to preceding matter, and found after death of the Author.]

SECTION LXII.

MORE poetry was written in the single reign of Elizabeth, than in the two preceding centuries. The same causes, among others already enumerated and explained, which called forth genius and imagination, such as the new sources of fiction opened by a study of the classics, a familiarity with the French Italian and Spanish writers, the growing elegancies of the English language, the diffusion of polished manners, the felicities of long peace and public prosperity, and a certain freedom and activity of mind which immediately followed the national emancipation from superstition, contributed also to produce innumerable compositions in poetry. In prosecuting my further examination of the poetical annals of this reign, it therefore becomes necessary to reduce such a latitude of materials to some sort of methodical arrangement. On which account, I shall class and consider the poets of this reign, under the general heads, or divisions, of SATIRE, SONNET, PASTORAL, and MISCELLANEOUS poetry. Spenser will stand alone, without a class, and without a rival.

Satire, specifically so called, did not commence in England till the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth. We have seen, indeed, that eclogues, and allegories were made the vehicles of satire, and that many poems of a satirical tendency had been published, long ago. And here, the censure was rather confined to the corruptions of the clergy, than extended to popular follies and vices. But the first professed English satirist, to speak technically, is bishop Joseph Hall, successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich, born at Bristow-park within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, in the year 1574, and the age of 15, in the year 1588, admitted into Emanuel-college at Cambridge, where he remained about eight years. He soon became eminent in the theology of those times, preached against predestination before prince Henry with unrivalled applause, and discussed the doctrines of Arminianism in voluminous dissertations. But so variable are our studies, and so fickle is opinion, that the poet is better known to posterity than the prelate or the polemic. His satires have outlived his sermon at court, and his laborious confutations of the Brownists. One of his later controversial tracts is, however, remembered on account of the celebrity of its antagonist. When Milton descended from his dignity to plead the cause of fanaticism and ideal liberty, bishop Hall was the defender of our hierarchical establishment. Bayle, who knew Hall only as a theologian, seems to have written his life merely because he was one of the English divines at the Synod of Dort, in 1618. From his inflexible and

conscientious attachment to the royal and episcopal cause under Charles I., he suffered in his old age the severities of imprisonment and sequestration; and lived to see his cathedral converted into a barrack, and his palace into an ale-house. His uncommon learning was meliorated with great penetration and knowledge of the world, and his mildness of manners and his humility were characteristical. He died, and was obscurely buried without a memorial on his grave, in 1656, aged 82, at Heigham a small village near Norwich, where he had sought shelter from the storms of usurpation, and the intolerance of presbyterianism.

I have had the good fortune to see bishop Hall's funeral-sermon, preached some days after his interment, on Sep. 30, 1656, at St. Peter's Church in Norwich, by one John Whitefoote, M.A., and rector of Heigham. The preacher, no contemptible orator, before he proceeds to draw a parallel between our prelate and the patriarch Israel, thus illustrates that part of his character with which we are chiefly concerned, and which I am now hastening to consider. 'Two yeares together he was chosen rhetorick professor in the universitie of Cambridge, and performed the office with extraordinary applause. He was noted for a singular wit from his youth: a most acute rhetorician, and an elegant poet. He understood many tongues; and in the rhetorick of his own, he was second to none that lived in his time.' [Fol. 3.] It is much to our present purpose to observe, that the style of his prose is strongly tinged with the manner of Seneca. The writer of the satires is perceptible in some of his gravest polemical or scriptural treatises; which are perpetually interspersed with excursive illustrations, familiar allusions, and observations on life. Many of them were early translated into French; and their character is well drawn by himself, in a dedication to James I., who perhaps would have much better relished a more sedate and profound theology. 'Seldome any man hath offered to your royall hands a greater bundle of his owne thoughts, nor perhaps more varietie of discourse. For here shall your maiestie find Morallitie, like a good handmaid, waiting on Divinitie: and Divinity, like some great lady, euery day in seuerall dresses. Speculation interchanged with experience, Positiue theology with polemical, textuall with discursorie, popular with scholastical.' [WORKS, Lond. 1628. fol. vol. i. p. 3.]

At the age of 23, while a student at Emanuel-college, and in the year 1597, he published at London three Books of anonymous Satires, which he called *Toothless SATYRS, poetical, academical, moral*¹. They were printed by Thomas Creede for Robt. Dexter, and are not recited in the registers of the Stationers of London. The following year, and

¹ In small duodecimo, Wh. Let. Catalogue to Capell's SHAKESPERIANA, given to Trinity college Cambridge, NUM. 347. 'Virgideciarum, libri 6. Satires, Hall. 1597. 80.'

licenced by the stationers, three more books appeared, entitled, 'VIRIDEMIARUM, The three last Bookes of *Byting* Satyres.' These are without his name, and were printed by Rich. Bradock for Robt. Dexter, in the size and letter of the last¹. All the six Books were printed together in 1599, in the same form, with this title, 'VIRIDEMIARUM, The three last Bookes of *byting* Satyres corrected and amended with some additions by J. H. [John Hall.] LONDON, for R. Dexter, &c. 1599.' A most incomprehensive and inaccurate title: for this edition, the last and the best, contains the three first as well as the three last Books². It begins with the first three books: then at the end of the third book, follow the three last, but preceded by a new title, 'VIRIDEMIARUM. The three last Bookes, of byting Satyres. Corrected and amended with some additions by J. H.' For R. Dexter, as before, 1599. But the seventh of the fourth Book is here made a second satire to the sixth or last Book. Annexed are, 'Certaine worthy manuscript poems of great antiquitie reserued long since in the studie of a Northfolke gentleman, And now first published by J. S. I. *The stately tragedy of Guistard and Sismond.* II. *The Northerne mother's blessing.* III. *The waye to Thrifte.* Imprinted at London for R. D. 1597.' Dedicated, 'to the worthiest poet Maister Ed. Spenser.' To this identical impression of Hall's Satires, and the Norfolk gentleman's MSS. poems annexed, a false title appeared in 1602, 'VIRIDEMIARUM. Sixe Bookes. First three bookes, Of toothlesse Satyrs. 1. POETICALL. 2. ACADEMICALL. 3. MORAL. London, Printed by John Harison, for Robert Dexter, 1602.' All that follows is exactly what is in the edition of 1599. By VIRIDEMIA, an uncouth and uncommon word, we are to understand a Gathering or Harvest of rods, in reference to the nature of the subject.

These satires are marked with a classical precision, to which English poetry had yet rarely attained. They are replete with animation of style and sentiment. The indignation of the satirist is always the result of good sense. Nor are the thorns of severe invective unmixed with the flowers of pure poetry. The characters are delineated in strong and lively colouring, and their discriminations are touched with the masterly traces of genuine humour. The versification is equally energetic and elegant, and the fabric of the couplets approaches to the modern standard. It is no inconsiderable proof of a genius predominating over the general taste of an age when every preacher was a punster,

¹In pages 106. With Vignettes. Entered, Mar. 30. 1598, to R. Dexter. REGISTR. STATION. C. f. 33, a. Ames recites an edit. of all the SIX BOOKS, in 68 pages, in 1598. HIST. PRINT. p. 434. I suspect this to be a mistake.

²A modern edition, however, a thin duodecimo, was printed at Oxford, for R. Clements, 1753, under the direction of Mr. Thomson, late fellow of Queen's college Oxford. The editors followed an edition bought from lord Oxford's library, which they destroyed, when the new one was finished.

to have written verses, where laughter was to be raised, and the reader to be entertained with sallies of pleasantry, without quibbles and conceits. His chief fault is obscurity, arising from a remote phraseology, constrained combinations, unfamiliar allusions, elleiptical apostrophes, and abruptness of expression. Perhaps some will think, that his manner betrays too much of the laborious exactness and pedantic anxiety of the scholar and the student. Ariosto in Italian, and Regnier in French, were now almost the only writers of satire : and I believe there had been an English translation of Ariosto's satires. But Hall's acknowledged patterns are Juvenal and Persius, not without some touches of the urbanity of Horace. His parodies of these poets, or rather his adaptations of ancient to modern manners, a mode of imitation not unhappily practised by Oldham, Rochester, and Pope, discover great facility and dexterity of invention. The moral gravity and the censorial declamation of Juvenal, he frequently enlivens with a train of more refined reflection, or adorns with a novelty and variety of images.

In the opening of his general PROLOGUE, he expresses a decent consciousness of the difficulty and danger of his new undertaking. The laurel which he sought had been unworn, and it was not to be worn without hazard.

I FIRST ADVENTURE, with fool-hardy might,
To tread the steps of perilous despight :
I FIRST ADVENTURE, follow me who list,
And be the SECOND ENGLISH SATIRIST.

His first book, containing nine satires, is aimed at the numerous impotent yet fashionable scribblers with which his age was infested. It must be esteemed a curious and valuable picture, drawn from real life, of the abuses of poetical composition which then prevailed ; and which our author has exposed with the wit of a spirited satirist, and the good taste of a judicious critic. Of Spenser, who could not have been his cotemporary at Cambridge, as some have thought, but perhaps was his friend, he constantly speaks with respect and applause.

I avail myself of a more minute analysis of this book, not only as displaying the critical talents of our satirist, but as historical of the poetry of the present period, and illustrative of my general subject. And if in general, I should be thought too copious and prolix in my examination of these satires, my apology must be, my wish to revive a neglected writer of real genius, and my opinion, that the first legitimate author in our language of a species of poetry of the most important and popular utility, which our countrymen have so successfully cultivated, and from which Pope derives his chief celebrity, deserved to be distinguished by a particular degree of attention.

From the first satire, which I shall exhibit at length, we learn what kinds of pieces were then most in fashion, and in what manner they

were written. They seem to have been tales of love and chivalry, amatorial sonnets, tragedies, comedies, and pastorals.

Nor ladie's wanton loue, nor wandering knight,
 Legend I out in rimes all richly dight :
 Nor fright the reader, with the pagan vaunt
 Of mightie Mahound, and great Termagaunt¹.
 Nor list I sonnet of my mistress' face,
 To paint some Blowesse² with a borrow'd grace.
 Nor can I bide to pen some hungrie [*? angrie*] scene
 For thick-skin ears, and undiscerning eene :
 Nor euer could my scornfull Muse abide
 With tragicke shoes her anckles for to hide.
 Nor can I crouch, and withe my fawning tayle,
 To some great patron, for my best auayle.
 Such hunger-starven trencher poetrie³,
 Or let it neuer liue, or timely die !
 Nor vnder euerie bank, and euerie tree,
 Speake rimes vnto mine oaten minstrelsie :
 Nor carol out so pleasing liuely laies
 As might the Graces moue my mirth to praise⁴.
 Trumpet, and reeds, and socks, and buskins fine,
 I them bequeathe⁵, whose statutes th' wandring twine
 Of iuie, mix'd with bayes, circles around,
 Their liuing temples likewise lawrel-bound.
 Rather had I, albe in careless rimes,
 Check the disorder'd world, and lawless times.
 Nor need I craue the Muse's midwifry,
 To bring to birth so worthless poetry.
 Or, if we list⁶, what baser Muse can bide
 To sit and sing by Granta's naked side ?
 They haunt the tided Thames and salt Medway,
 Eer since the fame of their late bridal day.
 Nought have we here but willow-shaded shore,
 To tell our Grant his bankes are left forlore. [B. i. i. f. i.
 edit. 1599.]

The compliment in the close to Spenser, is introduced and turned with singular address and elegance. The allusion is to Spenser's beautiful episode of the marriage of Thames and Medway, recently published, in 1595, in the fourth book of the second part of the FAIRY QUEEN. [B. iv. C. xi.] But had I, says the poet, been inclined to invoke the assistance of a Muse, what Muse, even of a lower order, is there now to be found, who would condescend to sit and sing on the

¹ Saracen divinities.

² In modern ballads, Blousilinda, or Blousibella. Dr. Johnson interprets BLOWZE, a ruddy fat-faced wench. DICT. in V.

³ Poetry written by hirelings for bread.

⁴ Perhaps this couplet means Comedy.

⁵ Heroic poetry, pastorals, comedy, and tragedy, I leave to the celebrated established masters in those different kinds of composition, such as Spenser and Shakespeare. Unless the classic poets are intended. The imitation from Persius's PROLOGUE is obvious.

⁶ Or, even if I was willing to invoke a muse, &c.

desolated margin of the Cam? The Muses frequent other rivers, ever since Spenser celebrated the nuptials of Thames and Medway. Cam has now nothing on his banks but willows, the types of desertion.

I observe here in general, that Thos. Hudson and Hen. Lock, were the Bavius and Mevius of this age. In the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, 1606, they are thus consigned to oblivion by Judicio. 'Lock and Hudson, sleep you quiet shavers among the shavings of 'the press, and let your books lie in some old nook amongst old boots 'and shoes, so you may avoid my censure.' [A. i. S. ii.] Hudson translated into English Du Bartas's poem of JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES, in which is this couplet.

And at her eare a pearle of greater vauw
There hung, than that th' Egyptian queene did swallow.

Yet he is commended by Harrington for making this translation in a 'verie good and sweet English verse¹,' and is largely cited in ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS, 1600. Lock applied the Sonnet to a spiritual purpose, and substituting christian love in the place of amorous passion, made it the vehicle of humiliation, holy comfort, and thanksgiving. This book he dedicated, under the title of the PASSIONATE PRESENT to queen Elizabeth, who perhaps from the title expected to be entertained with a subject of very different nature².

In the second satire, our author poetically laments that the nine Muses are no longer vestal virgins.

Whilom the Muses nine were vestal maides,
And held their temple in the secret shades
Of faire Parnassvs, that two-headed hill
Whose avncient fame the southern world did fill:
And in the stead of their eternal fame
Was the cool stream, that took his endless name
From out the fertile hoof of winged steed:
There did they sit, and do their holy deed
That pleas'd both heaven and earth. — ———

He complains, that the *rubble of rymesters new* have engrafted the myrtle on the bay; and that poetry, departing from its ancient moral tendency, has been unnaturally perverted to the purposes of corruption and impurity. The Muses have changed, in defiance of chastity,

Their modest stole to garish looser weed,
Deckt with loue-fauours, their late whoredom's meed.

While the pellucid spring of Pyrene is converted into a poisonous and muddy puddle.

¹ Transl. ORL. FUR. Notes, D. xxxv. p. 296. 1633. Hence, or from an old Play, the name HOLOFERNES got into Shakespeare.

² I have before cited this Collection, which appeared in 1597. That was the second edition. To his ECCLESIASTES there is a recommendatory poem by Lilly. Some of David's Psalms in verse appear with his name the same year.

— — — — Whose infectious staine
Corrupteth all the lowly fruitfull plaine. [B. i. 2. f. 4.]

Marlow's OVID'S ELEGIES, and some of the dissolute sallies of Green and Nash, seem to be here pointed out. I know not of any edition of Marston's PYGMALION'S IMAGE before the year 1598, and the CALTHA POETARUM, or BUMBLE-BEE, one of the most exceptionable books of this kind, written by T. Cutwode, appeared in 1599¹. Shakespeare's VENUS AND ADONIS, published in 1593, had given great offence to the grave readers of English verse².

In the subsequent satire, our author more particularly censures the intemperance of his brethren; and illustrates their absolute inability to write, till their imaginations were animated by wine, in the following apt and witty comparison, which is worthy of Young.

As frozen dunghills in a winter's morn,
That void of vapours seemed all beforne,
Soon as the sun sends out his piercing beams,
Exhale forth filthy smoak, and stinking steams;
So doth the base and the fore-barren brain,
Soon as the raging wine begins to raigin.

In the succeeding lines, he confines his attack to Marlow, eminent for his drunken frolics, who was both a player and a poet, and whose tragedy of TAMERLANE the GREAT, represented before the year 1588, published in 1590, and confessedly one of the worst of his plays, abounds in bombast. Its false splendour was also burlesqued by Beaumont and Fletcher in the COXCOMB; and it has these two lines, which are ridiculed by Pistol, in Shakespeare's HENRY IV., [A. ii. S. iv.] addressed to the captive princes who drew Tamerlane's chariot.

Holla, you pamper'd jades of Asia,
What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day?

We should, in the meantime, remember, that by many of the most skilful of our dramatic writers, tragedy was now thought almost essentially and solely to consist, in the pomp of declamation, in sounding expressions, and unnatural amplifications of style. But to proceed.

¹ To R. Olave, April 17. 1599. REGISTR. STATION. C. f. 50. b.

² This we learn from a poem entitled, 'A Scourge for Paper-persecutors, by J. D. 'with an Inquisition against Paper-persecutors by A. H. Lond. for H. H. 1625. 4to. Signat. A. 3.

Making lewd Venus with eternall lines To tye Adonis to her loues designs:

Fine wit is shewn therein, but finer 'twere

If not attired in such bawdy geere:

But be it as it will, the coyest dames

In priuate reade it for their closet-games.

See also Freeman's Epigrams, the Second Part, entitled, RUN AND A GREAT CAST, Lond. 1614. 4to. EPIGR. 92. Signat. K. 3.

TO MASTER WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Shakespeare, that nimble Mercury thy braine, &c.
Who list reade lust, there's VENUS AND ADONIS,
True model of a most lasciuious lecher.

One, higher pitch'd, doth set his soaring thought
 On crowned kings that fortune low hath brought ;
 Or some vpreared high aspiring swaine,
 As it might be the Turkish Tamberlaine¹ :
 Then weeneth he his base drink-drowned spright
 Rapt to the threefold loft of heauen's hight :
 When he conceius upon his faigned stage
 The stalking steps of his great personage
 Graced with huff-cap termes, and thundering threats,
 That his poor hearers hair quite vpriht sets,
 So soon as some braue-minded hungrie youth
 Sees fitly frame to his wide-strained mouth,
 He vaunts his voice vpon a hired stage,
 With high-set steps, and princelie carriage.—
 There if he can with termes Italianate,
 Big-sounding sentences, and words of state,
 Faire patch me vp his pure iambicke verse,
 He rauishes the gazing scaffolders².

But, adds the critical satirist, that the minds of the astonished audience may not be too powerfully impressed with the terrors of tragic solemnity, a VICE, or buffoon, is suddenly and most seasonably introduced.

Now let such frightful shews of fortvne's fall,
 And bloody tyrant's rage, should chance appall
 The dead-struck audience, mid the silent rout
 Comes leaping in a self-misformed lout,
 And laughs, and grins, and frames his mimic face,
 And josties straight into the prince's place.—
 A goodlie hotch-potch, when vile russetings
 Are match'd with monarchs, and with mighty kings :
 A goodly grace to sober tragick muse,
 When each base clowne his clumsy fist doth bruise³!

To complete these genuine and humorous anecdotes of the state of our stage in the reign of Elizabeth, I make no apology for adding the paragraph immediately following, which records the infancy of theatric criticism.

Meanwhile our poets, in high parliament,
 Sit watching euerie word and gesturement,

¹ There is a piece entered to R. Jones, Aug. 14. 1590, entitled, 'Comicall discourses of Tamberlaine the Cithian [Seythian] shepherd,' REGISTR. STATION. B. f. 262. b. Probably the story of Tamerlane was introduced into our early drama from the following publication, 'The historie of the great emperor Tamerlane, drawn from the ancient monuments of the Arabians. By messire Jean du Bec, abbot of Mortimer. Translated into English by H. M. London, for W. Ponsonbie, 1597.' 4to. I cite from a second edition.

² Those who sate on the scaffold, a part of the play-house which answered to our upper-gallery
 So again, B. iv. 2. f. 13.

When a craz'd scaffold, and a rotten stage,
 Was all rich Nenius his heritage.

See the conformation of our old English theatre accurately investigated in the SUPPLEMENT TO SHAKESPEARE, l. 9. seq.

³ In striking the benches to express applause.

Like curious censors of some doutie gear,
 Whispering their verdict in their fellows ear.
 Woe to the word, whose margin in their scrole. [Copy.]
 Is noted with a black condemning coal !
 But if each period might the synod please,
 Ho ! bring the ivie boughs, and bands of bayes. [B. i. 3. f. 8.]

In the beginning of the next satire, he resumes this topic. He seems to have conceived a contempt for blank verse ; observing that the English iambic is written with little trouble, and seems rather a spontaneous effusion, than an artificial construction.

Too popular is tragick poesie,
 Straining his tiptoes for a farthing fee :
 And doth, beside, on rimeless numbers tread :
 Unbid iambicks flow from careless head.

He next inveighs against the poet, who
 ——— in high heroic rimes
 Compileth worm-eat stories of old times.

To these antique tales he condemns the application of the extravagant enchantments of Ariosto's ORLANDO FURIOSO, particularly of such licentious fictions as the removal of Merlin's tomb from Wales into France, or Tuscany, by the magic operations of the sorceress Melissa. [See ORL. FUR. iii. 10. xxvi. 39.] The ORLANDO had been just now translated by Harrington.

And maketh up his hard-betaken tale
 With strange enchantments, fetch'd from darksome vale
 Of some Mellissa, who by magick doom
 To Tuscans soile transporteth Merlin's tomb.

But he suddenly checks his career, and retracts his thoughtless temerity in presuming to blame such themes as had been immortalised by the fairy muse of Spenser.

But let no rebel satyr dare traduce
 Th' eternal legends of thy faerie muse,
 Renowned Spenser ! Whom no earthly wight
 Dares once to emulate, much less dares despite.
 Salust [Du Bartas] of France, and Tuscan Ariost,
 Yield vp the lawrell garland ye haue lost¹ !

In the fifth, he ridicules the whining ghosts of the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES, which the ungenerous and unpitying poet sends back to hell, without a penny to pay Charon for their return over the river Styx. [B. i. 5. f. 12.]

In the sixth, he laughs at the hexametrical versification of the

¹ B. i. 4. f. 11. In the Stanzas called a DEFIANCE to ENVY, prefixed to the Satires, he declares his reluctance and inability to write pastorals after Spenser.

At Colin's feet I throw my yielding reede.

But in some of those stanzas in which he means to ridicule the pastoral, he proves himself admirably qualified for this species of poetry.

Roman prosody, so contrary to the genius of our language, lately introduced into English poetry by Stanihurst the translator of Virgil, and patronised by Gabriel Harvey and sir Philip Sidney.

Another scorns the homespun thread of rimes,
Match'd with the lofty feet of elder times.
Giue me the numbred verse that Virgil sung,
And Virgil's selfe shall speake the English tounge.—
The nimble dactyl striving to outgo
The drawling spondees, pacing it below :
The lingering spondees labouring to delay
The breathless dactyls with a sudden stay. [B. i. 6. f. 13, 14.]

His own lines on the subject are a proof that English verse wanted to borrow no graces from the Roman.

The false and foolish compliments of the sonnet-writer, are the object of the seventh satire.

Be she all sooty black, or berry brown,
She's white as morrow's milk, or flakes new-blown.

He judges it absurd, that the world should be troubled with the history of the smiles or frowns of a lady ; as if all mankind were deeply interested in the privacies of a lover's heart, and the momentary revolutions of his hope and despair. [B. i. 7. f. 15.]

In the eighth, our author insinuates his disapprobation of sacred poetry, and the metrical versions of scripture, which were encouraged and circulated by the puritans. He glances at Robert Southwell's *ST. PETER'S COMPLAINT*¹, in which the saint *weeps pure Helicon*. published this year, and the same writer's *FUNERALL TEARES* of the two Maries. He then, but without mentioning his name, ridicules Markham's *SION'S MUSE*, a translation of Solomon's Song. Here, says our satirical critic, Solomon assumes the character of a modern sonnetteer ; and celebrates the sacred spouse of Christ with the levities and in the language of a lover singing the praises of his mistress. [B. i. 8. f. 17.]

The hero of the next satire I suspect to be Robert Greene, who practiced the vices which he so freely displayed in his poems. Greene, however, died three or four years before the publication of these satires². Nor is it very likely that he should have been, as Oldys has suggested in some MSS. papers, Hall's cotemporary at Cambridge, for he was incorporated into the University of Oxford, as a M.A. from Cambridge, in July, 1588. But why should we be solicitous to recover a name, which indecency, most probably joined with dulness, has long ago deservedly delivered to oblivion ? Whoever he was, he is surely unworthy of these elegant lines.

¹ Wood says that this poem was written by Davies of Hereford. *ATH. OXON.* i. 445. But he had given it to Southwell, p. 334.

² In 1593, Feb. 1, a piece is entered to Danter called Greene's Funerall. *REGISTR. STATION.* B. f. 304. b.

Envy, ye Muses, at your thriving mate !
 Cupid hath crowned a new laureate.
 I saw his statue gayly tir'd in green,
 As if he had some second Phebus been :
 His statue trimm'd with the Venerean tree,
 And shrined fair within your sanctuary.
 What he, that erst to gain the rhyming goal, &c.

He then proceeds, with a liberal disdain, and with an eye on the stately buildings of his university, to reprobate the Muses for this unworthy profanation of their dignity.

Take this, ye Muses, this so high despoight,
 And let all hatefull, luckless birds of night,
 Let screeching owles nest in your razed roofs ;
 And let your floor with horned satyr's hoofs
 Be dinted and defiled euerie morn,
 And let your walls be an eternal scorn !

His execration of the infamy of adding to the mischiefs of obscenity, by making it the subject of a book, is strongly expressed.

What if some Shoreditch¹ fury should incite
 Some lust-stung lecher, must he needs *indite*
 The beastly rites of hired venery,
 The whole world's uniuersal bawd to be ?
 Did neuer yet no damned libertine,
 Nor older heathen, nor new Florentine, [Peter Arcine] &c.

Our poets, too frequently the children of idleness, too naturally the lovers of pleasure, began now to be men of the world, and affected to mingle in the dissipations and debaucheries of the metropolis. To support a popularity of character, not so easily attainable in the obscurities of retirement and study, they frequented taverns, became libertines and buffoons, and exhilarated the circles of the polite and the profligate. Their way of life gave the colour to their writings : and what had been the favorite topic of conversation, was sure to please, when recommended by the graces of poetry. Add to this, that poets now began to write for hire, and a rapid sale was to be obtained at the expense of the purity of the reader's mind². The author of the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, acted in 1606, says of Drayton a true genius, 'However, he wants one true note of a poet of our times, and that is this : he cannot swagger it well in 'a tavern'³.'

¹ A part of the town notorious for brothels.

² Harrington has an Epigram on this subject. EPIGR. B. i. 40.

Poets hereaft for pensions need not care,
 Who call you beggars, you may call them lyars ;
 Verses are grown svch merchantable ware,
 That now for Sonnets, sellers are and buyers.

And again, he says a poet was paid 'two crownes a sonnet.' EPIGR. B. i. 39.

³ A. i. S. ii.

The first satire of the second Book properly belongs to the last. In it, our author continues his just and pointed animadversions on immodest poetry, and hints at some pernicious version from the *FACETIÆ* of Poggius Florentinus, and from Rabelais. The last couplet of the passage I am going to transcribe is most elegantly expressive.

But who conjur'd this bawdie Poggie's ghost
From out the stewes of his lewde home-bred coast ;
Or wicked Rablais, drunken reuellings¹,
To grace the misrule of our tauernings ?
Or who put bayes into blind Cupids fist,
That he should crowne what laureates him list? [B. ii. 1. f. 25.]

By *tauernings*, he means the increasing fashion of frequenting taverns which seem to have multiplied with the play-houses. As new modes of entertainment sprung up, and new places of public resort became common, the people were more often called together, and the scale of convivial life in London was enlarged. From the play-house they went to the tavern. In one of Decker's pamphlets, printed in 1609, there is a curious chapter, 'How a yong Gallant should behave himself in an Ordinarie'.² One of the most expensive and elegant meetings of this kind in London is here described. It appears that the company dined so very late, as at half an hour after eleven in the morning; and that it was the fashion to ride to this polite symposium on a Spanish jennet, a servant running before with his master's cloak. The same author in his *BELMAN'S NIGHT WALKES*³, a lively description of London, almost two centuries ago, gives the following instructions. 'Haunt tavernes, there shalt thou find prodigalls: pay thy two pence to a player in his gallerie, there shalt thou sit by an harlot. At ORDINARIES thou maist dine with silken fooles⁴.

In the second satire, he celebrates the wisdom and liberality of our ancestors, in erecting magnificent mansions for the accommodation of scholars, which yet at present have little more use than that of

¹ Harvey, in his *Four Letters*, 1572, mentions 'the fantastical mould of Arcetine or Rabelais,' p. 48. Arcetine is mentioned in the last satire.

² Decker's *GULLS HORNE BOOK*, p. 22. There is an old qto. 'The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie, or the Walkes of Powles,' 1604. Jonson says of lieutenant Shift. *EPICUR.* xii.

He steales to Ordinaries, there he plays

At dice his borrowed money.—

And in *CYNTHIA'S REVILLS*, 1600. 'You must frequent Ordinaries a month more, to initiate yourself.' A. iii. S. i.

³ The title page is 'O per se O, or A newe Cryer of Lanthorne and candle light, &c. Lond. 1612. 4to. Bl. Lett. For J. Busbie. There is a later edition 1620. 4to.

⁴ Ch. ii. Again, in the same writer's *BELMAN OF LONDON* Bringing to light the most 'notorious villanies that are now practised in the kingdom,' Signat. E. 3. At the best ORDINARIES where your only Gallants spend afternoons, &c.' Edit. 1608. 4to. Bl. Lett. Printed at London for N. Butter. This is called a second edition. There was another, 1616, 4to. This piece is called by a cotemporary writer, the most witty, elegant, and eloquent display of the vices of London then extant. W. Fenner's *COMPTON'S COMMON-WEALTH*. 1617. 4to. p. 16.

reproaching the rich with their comparative neglect of learning. The verses have much dignity, and are equal to the subject.

To what end did our lavish auncestours
Erect of old those statelie piles of ours?
For thread-bare clerks, and for the rugged muse,
Whom better fit some cotes of sad secluse?
Blush, niggard Age, be asham'd to see
Those monuments of wiser auncestrie!
And ye, faire heapes, the Muses sacred shrines,
In spight of time, and enuious repines,
Stand still, and flourish till the world's last day,
Vpraiding it with former loue's [of learning] decay.
What needes me care for anie bookish skill,
To blot white paper with my restlesse quill:
To pore on painted leaues, or beate my braine
With far-fetch'd thought: or to consvme in uaine
In latter even, or midst of winter nights,
Ill-smelling oyles, or some still-watching lights, &c.

He concludes his complaint of the general disregard of the literary profession, with a spirited paraphrase of that passage of Persius, in which the philosophy of the profound Arcesilaus and of the *arumosi Solones*, is proved to be of so little use and estimation¹.

In the third, he laments the lucrative injustice of the law, while ingenuous science is without emolument or reward. The exordium is a fine improvement of his original.

Who doubts, the Laws fell downe from heauen's hight,
Like to some gliding starre in winters night?
Themis, the scribe of god, did long agoe
Engrave them deepe in during marble stone:
And cast them downe on this unruly clay,
That men might know to rule and to obey.

The interview between the anxious client and the rapacious lawyer, is drawn with much humour: and shews the authoritative superiority and the mean subordination subsisting between the two characters, at that time.

The crouching client, with low-bended knce,
And manie worships, and faire flatterie,
Tells on his tale as smoothly as him list:
But still the lawyer's eye squints on his fist:
If that seemed lined with a larger fee,
'Doubt not the suite, the law is plaine for thee.'

¹ B. ii. 2. f. 28. In the last line of this satire he says,

Let swinish Grill delight in dunghill clay.

Gryllus is one of Ulysses's companions transformed into a hog by Circe, who refuses to be restored to his human shape. But perhaps the allusion is immediately to Spenser, *FAIR*, Qu. ii. 12. 81.

Tho must he buy his vainer hope with price,
Disclout his crownes¹, and thanke him for advice.²

The fourth displays the difficulties and discouragement of the physician. Here we learn, that the *sick lady* and the *gouty peer* were then topics of the ridicule of the satirist.

The sickly ladie, and the gowtie peere,
Still would I haunt, that loue their life so deere :
Where life is deere, who cares for coyned drosse ?
That spent is counted gaine, and spared losse.

He thus laughs at the quintessence of a sublimated mineral elixir.

Each powdred graine ransometh captive kings,
Purchaseth realmes, and life prolonged brings. [B. ii. 4. f. 35.]

Imperial oils, golden cordials, and universal panaceas, are of high antiquity : and perhaps the puffs of quackery were formerly more ostentatious than even at present, before the profession of medicine was freed from the operations of a spurious and superstitious alchemy, and when there were mystics in philosophy as well in religion. Paracelsus was the father of empiricism.

From the fifth we learn, that advertisements of a LIVING WANTED were affixed on one of the doors of St. Paul's cathedral.

Sawst thou ere SQUIS³ patch'd on Paul's church dore,
To gaine some vacant vicarage before ?

The sixth, one of the most perspicuous and easy, perhaps the most humorous, in the whole collection, and which I shall therefore give at length, exhibits the servile condition of a domestic preceptor in the family of an esquire. Several of the satires of this second BOOK, are intended to shew the depressed state of modest and true genius, and the inattention of men of fortune to literary merit.

A gentle squire would gladly entertaine
Into his house some trencher-chapelaine⁴ ;

¹ Pull them out of his purse.

² B. ii. 3. f. 31. I cite a couplet from this satire to explain it.

Genus and Species long since barfoote went
Upon their tentoes in wilde wonderment, etc,

This is an allusion to an old distich, made and often quoted in the age of scholastic science.

Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,
Sed Genus et Species cogitur ire pedes.

That is, the study of medicine produces riches, and jurisprudence leads to station and offices of honour : while the professor of logic is poor, and obliged to walk on foot.

³ SQUIS was the first word of advertisements, often published on the doors of St. Paul's. Decker says, 'The first time that you enter into Paules, pass through the body of the church like a porter : yet presvme not to fetch so much as one whole turne in the middle ile, nor to cast an eye vpon SQUIS doore, pasted and plaistered vp with seruimgmens supplications, &c.' THE GULS HORNE BOOKE, 1609. p. 21. And in Wroth's EPIGRAMS, 1620. EPIGR. 93.

A mery Greeke set vp a SQUIS late,
To signifie a stranger come to towne
Who could great noses, &c.

⁴ Or, a table-chaplain. In the same sense we have *trencher-knight*, in LOVES LABOUR LOST.

First, that he lie vpon the truckle-bed,
 While his young maister lieth oer his head¹ :
 Second, that he do, upon no default,
 Neuer presume to sit aboue the salt² :
 Third, that he neuer change his trencher twice ;
 Fourth, that he use all common courtesies :
 Sit bare at meales, and one half rise and wait :
 Last, that he never his yong maister beat :
 But he must aske his mother to define
 How manie jerks she would his breech should line.
 All these observ'd, he could contented be,
 To give five markes, and winter liverie³,

From those who despised learning, he makes a transition to those who abused or degraded it by false pretences. Judicial astrology is the subject of the seventh satire. He supposes that astrology was the daughter of one of the Egyptian midwives, and that having been nursed by Superstition, she assumed the garb of Science.

That now, who pares his nailes, or libs his swine ?
 But he must first take covnsel of the signe.

Again, of the believer in the stars, he says,

His feare or hope, for plentie or for lack,
 Hangs all vpon his new-year's *Almanack*.
 If chance once in the spring his head should ake,
 It was fortold : ' thus says mine *Almanack*,'

The numerous astrological tracts, particularly pieces called PROG-NOSTICATIONS, published in the reign of queen Elizabeth, are a proof

¹ This indulgence allowed to the pupil, is the reverse of a rule anciently practised in our universities. In the Statutes of Corpus Christi college at Oxford, given in 1516, the Scholars are ordered to sleep respectively under the beds of the Fellows, in a truckle-bed, or small bed shifted about upon wheels. 'Sit unum [cubile] altius, et aliud humile et rotale, et in altiori 'cubet Socius, in altero semper Discipulus.' Cap. xxxvii. Much the same injunction is ordered in the statutes of Magdalen college Oxford, given 1459. 'Sint duo lecti principales, 'et duo lecti rotales, *Brookyll beddys* vulgariter nuncupati, &c.' Cap. xlv. And in those of Trinity college Oxford, given 1536, where *broockle bed*, the old spelling of the word *truckle bed*, ascertains the etymology from *brockle*, a wheel. Cap. xxvi. In an old Comedy THE RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, acted at Cambridge in 1606, Amoretto says, 'When I was in Cambridge, and lay in a trundle-bed under my tutor, etc.' A. ii. Sc. vi.

² Towards the head of the table was placed a large and lofty piece of plate, the top of which, in a broad cavity, held the salt for the whole company. One of these stately salt-sellers is still preserved, and in use, at Winchester college. With this idea, we must understand the following passage, of a table meanly decked. B. vi. i. f. 83.

Now shalt thou never see the Salt beset

With a big-bellied gallon flagonet.

In Jonson's CYNTHIA'S REVELLS, acted in 1600, it is said of an affected coxcomb, 'His fashion is, not to take knowledge of him that is beneath him in clothes. He never drinks *'below the salt.'* A. i. S. ii.

So Dekker, GULS HORNE BOOKE, p. 26. 'At your twelue penny Ordinarie you may giue any iustice of the peace, or young knight, if he sit but one degree towards the Equinoctiall of the Salt-sellar, leaue to pay for the wine, etc.' See more illustrations, in Reed's OLD PLAYS, edit. 1780. vol. iii. 285. In Parrot's SPRINGS FOR WOODCOCKES, 1613, a guest complains of the indignity of being degraded below the salt. Lib. ii. EPIGR. 188.

And swears that he below the Salt was sett.

³ D. ii. 6, f. 38.

how strongly the people were infatuated with this sort of divination. One of the most remarkable, was a treatise written in the year 1582, by Richard Harvey, brother to Gabriel Harvey, a learned astrologer of Cambridge, predicting the portentous conjunction of the primary planets, Saturn and Jupiter, which was to happen the next year. It had the immediate effect of throwing the whole kingdom into the most violent consternation. When the fears of the people were over, Nash published a droll account of their opinions and apprehensions while this formidable phenomenon was impending; and Elderton a ballad-maker, and Tarleton the comedian, joined in the laugh. This was the best way of confuting the impertinencies of the science of the stars. True knowledge must have been beginning to dawn, when these profound fooleries became the objects of wit and ridicule¹.

SECTION LXIII.

THE opening of the first satire of the third Book, which is a contrast of ancient parsimony with modern luxury, is so witty, so elegant, and so poetical an enlargement of a shining passage in Juvenal, that the reader will pardon another long quotation.

Time was, and that was term'd the time of gold,
 When world and time were young, that now are old:
 When quiet Saturne sway'd the mace of lead,
 And pride was yet unborne, and yet unbred.
 Time was, that whiles the autumn-fall did last,
 Our hungrie sires gap'd for the falling mast.
 Could no unhusked akorne leaue the tree,
 But there was challenge made whose it might be.
 And if some nice and liquorous appetite
 Desir'd more daintie dish of rare delite,
 They scal'd the stored crab with clasped knee,
 Till they had sated their delicious ee.
 Or search'd the hopefull thicks of hedgy-rows,
 For brierie berries, hawes, or sowrer sloes:
 Or when they meant to fare the fin'st of all,
 They lick'd oake-leaues besprint with hony-fall.
 As for the thrise three-angled beech-nut shell,
 Or chesnut's armed huske, and hid kernell,
 Nor squire durst touch, the lawe would not afford,
 Kept for the court, and for the king's owne board.
 Their royall plate was clay, or wood, or stone,
 The vulgar, saue his hand, else he had none.

¹ See Nash's APOLOGY OF PEERS PENNILESS, etc. Lond. 1593. 4to. f. 11.

Their onlie cellar was the neighbour brooke,
 None did for better care, for better looke.
 Was then no 'plaining of the brewer's scape¹,
 Nor greedie vintner mix'd the strained grape.
 The king's pavilion was the grassie green,
 Vnder safe shelter of the shadie treen. —
 But when, by Ceres' huswifrie and paine,
 Men learn'd to burie the reuiuing graine
 And father Janus taught the new-found vine
 Rise on the elme, with manie a friendly twine:
 And base desire bade men to deluen lowe
 For needlesse metalls, then gan mischief growe:
 Then farewell, fayrest age ! &c. —————

He then, in the prosecution of a sort of poetical philosophy, which prefers civilized to savage life, wishes for the nakedness or the furs of our simple ancestors, in comparison of the fantastic fopperies of the exotic apparel of his own age.

They, naked went, or clad in ruder hide,
 Or homespun russet void of foraine pride.
 But thou canst maske in garish gawderie,
 To suite a Fool's far-fetched liuerie.
 A Frenche head joyn'd to necke Italian,
 Thy thighs from Germanie, and breast from Spain:
 An Englishman in none, a foole in all,
 Many in one, and one in seuerall².

One of the vanities of the age of Elizabeth was the erection of monuments, equally costly and cumbersome, charged with a waste of capricious decorations, and loaded with superfluous and disproportionate sculpture. They succeeded to the rich solemnity of the gothic shrine, which yet, amid a profusion of embellishments, preserved uniform principles of architecture.

In the second satire, our author moralises on these empty memorials, which were alike allotted to illustrious or infamous characters.

Some stately tombe he builds, Egyptian-wise,
 REX REGUM written on the pyramis:
 Whereas great Arthur lies in ruder oke,
 That neuer felt aught but the feller's stroke³,
 Small honour can be got with gaudie graue,
 A rotten name from death it cannot saue.
 The fairer tombe, the fowler is thy name,
 The greater pompe procuring greater shame.
 Thy monument make thou thy living deeds,
 No other tomb than that true virtue needs!
 What, had he nought whereby he might be knowne,
 But costly pilements of some curious stone?

¹ Cheats.

² B. iii. i. f. 45.

³ He alludes to the discovery of king Arthur's body in Glastonbury abbey. Lately, in digging up a barrow, or tumulus, on the downs near Dorchester, the body of a Danish chief, as it seemed, was found in the hollow trunk of a huge oak for a coffin.

The matter nature's, and the workman's frame
 His purse's cost:—where then is Osmond's name?
 Deserv'dst thou ill? Well were thy name and thee,
 Wert thou inditched in great secrecie;
 Whereas no passengers might curse thy dust, &c¹.

The third is the description of a citizen's feast, to which he was invited,

With hollow words, and ouerly² request.

But the great profusion of the entertainment was not the effect of liberality, but a hint that no second invitation must be expected. The effort was too great to be repeated. The guest who dined at this table often, had only a single dish³.

The fourth is an arraignment of ostentatious piety, and of those who strove to push themselves into notice and esteem by petty pretensions. The illustrations are highly humorous.

Who euer giues a paire of velvet shoes
 To th' holy rood⁴, or liberally allowes
 But a new rope to ring the curfew bell?
 But he desires that his great deed may dwell,
 Or grauen in the chancell-window glasse,
 Or in the lasting tombe of plated brasse.

The same affectation appeared in dress.

Nor can good Myron weare on his left hond,
 A signet ring of Bristol-diamond;
 But he must cut his gloue to shew his pride,
 That his trim jewel might be better spied:
 And, that men might some burgesse⁵ him repute,
 With sattin sleeves hath⁶ grac'd his sacke-cloth suit⁷.

The fifth is a droll portrait of the distress of a *lustie courtier*, or fine gentleman, whose periwinkle, or peruke, was suddenly blown off by a boisterous puff of wind while he was making his bows⁸.

He lights, and runs and quicklie hath him sped
 To ouertake his ouer-running head, &c.

¹ B. iii. 2. f. 50.

² Slight. Shallow.

³ B. iii. 3. f. 52.

⁴ In a gallery over the screen, at entering the choir, was a large crucifix, or rood, with the images of the holy Virgin and saint John. The velvet shoes were for the feet of Christ on the cross, or of one of the attendant figures. A rich lady sometimes bequeathed her wedding gown, with necklace and ear-rings, to dress up the Virgin Mary. This place was called the Rood-loft.

⁵ Some rich citizen.

⁶ That is, *he* hath, etc.

⁷ B. iii. 4. f. 55.

⁸ In a set of articles of enquiry sent to a college in Oxford, about the year 1676, by the visitor bishop Morley, the commissary is ordered diligently to remark, and report, whether any of the senior fellows wore *periwigs*. I will not suppose that bobwigs are here intended. But after such a proscription, who could imagine, that the bushy grizzle-wig should ever have been adopted as a badge of gravity? So arbitrary are ideas of dignity or levity in dress! There is an Epigram in Harrington, written perhaps about 1600, 'Of Gallia's goodly periwigge.' B. i. 66. This was undoubtedly false hair. In Hayman's *QUODLIBETS* or Epigrams, printed 1628, there is one 'to a Periwiggian.' B. i. 65. p. 10. Again, 'to a certaine Periwiggian.' B. ii. 9. p. 21. Our author mentions a periwig again, B. v. 2. f. 63.

A golden periwig on a blackmoor's brow.

These are our satirist's reflections on this disgraceful accident.

Fie on all courtesie, and unruly windes,
Two only foes that faire disguisement findes !
Strange curse, but fit for such a fickle age,
When scalpes are subject to such vassalage !—
Is't not sweet pride, when men their crownes must shade
With that which jerkes the hams of everie jade¹ !

In the next, is the figure of a famished Gallant, or beau, which is much better drawn than in any of the comedies of those times. His hand is perpetually on the hilt of his rapier. He picks his teeth, but has dined with duke Humphry². He professes to keep a plentiful and open house for every *stragglng cavaliere*, where the dinners are long and enlivened with music, and where many a gay youth, with a high-plumed hat, chuses to dine, much rather than to pay his shilling. He is so emaciated for want of eating, that his sword-belt hangs loose over his hip, the effect of *hunger and heavy iron*. Yet he is dressed in the height of the fashion,

All trapped in the new-found brauerie.

He pretends to have been at the conquest of Cales, where the nuns worked his bonnet. His hair stands upright in the French style, with one long lock hanging low on his shoulders, which, the satirist adds, puts us in mind of a *native cord*, the truly English rope which he probably will one day wear.

His linen collar labyrinthian set,
Whose thovsand double turnings neuer met :
His sleeves half-hid with elbow-pinionings,
As if he meant to fly with linen wings³.
But when I looke, and cast mine eyes below,
What monster meets mine eyes in human show ?
So slender waiste, with such an abbot's loyne,
Did neuer sober nature sure conjoine !
Lik'st a strawe scare-crow in the new-sowne field,
Rear'd on some sticke the tender corne to shield⁴.

¹ B. iii. 5. f. 57.

² That is, he has walked all day in saint Paul's church without a dinner. In the body of old saint Paul's, was a huge and conspicuous monument of sir John Beauchamp, buried in 1358, son of Guy and brother of Thomas, earls of Warwick. This, by a vulgar mistake, was at length called the tomb of Humphry duke of Gloucester, who was really buried at Saint Alban's, where his magnificent shrine now remains. The middle ile of Saint Paul's is called the *Dukes gallery*, in a chapter of the GULS HORNE BOOKE, 'How a gallant "should behaue "himself in Powles Walkes.' CH. iii. p. 17. Of the humours of this famous ambulatory, the general rendezvous of lawyers and their clients, pickpockets, cheats, bucks, pimps, whores, poets, players, and many others who either for idleness or business found it convenient to frequent the most fashionable crowd in London, a more particular description may be seen, in Dekker's 'DEAD TERME, or Westminster's Complaint for long Vacations and short Termes, "under the chapter, *Powles Steeples complaint*.' SIGNAT. D. 3. Lond. for John Hodgetts, 1608. 4to. Bl. Lett.

³ Barnaby Rich in his IRISH HUBBUB, printed 1617, thus describes four GALLANTS coming from an Ordinary. 'The third was in a yellow-starched band, that made him looke as if he "had been troubled with the yellow iaundis.—They were all four in white bootes and gylt "spurres, etc.' Lond. 1617. 4to. p. 36.

⁴ B. iii. 7. f. 62.

In the Prologue to this book, our author strives to obviate the objections of certain critics who falsely and foolishly thought his satires too perspicuous. Nothing could be more absurd, than the notion, that because Persius is obscure, therefore obscurity must be necessarily one of the qualities of satire. If Persius, under the severities of a proscriptive and sanguinary government, was often obliged to conceal his meaning, this was not the case of Hall. But the darkness and difficulties of Persius arise in great measure from his own affectation and false taste. He would have been enigmatical under the mildest government. To be unintelligible can never naturally or properly belong to any species of writing. Hall of himself is certainly obscure : yet he owes some of his obscurity to an imitation of this ideal excellence of the Roman satirists.

The fourth Book breathes a stronger spirit of indignation, and abounds with applications of Juvenal to modern manners, yet with the appearance of original and unborrowed satire.

The first is miscellaneous and excursive, but the subjects often lead to an unbecoming licentiousness of language and images. In the following nervous lines, he has caught and finely heightened the force and manner of his master.

Who list, excuse, when chaster dames can hire
Some snout-fair stripling to their apple squire¹,
Whom staked vp, like to some stallion steed,
They keep with eggs and oysters for the breed.
O Lucine ! barren Caia hath an heir,
After her husband's dozen years despair :
And now the bribed midwife swears apace,
The bastard babe doth beare his father's face.

He thus enhances the value of certain novelties, by declaring them to be,

Worth little less than landing of a whale,
Or Gades spoils,² or a churl's funerales.

The allusion is to Spencer's Talus in the following couplet,

Gird but the cynicke's helmet on his head,
Cares he for Talus, or his flayle of leade?

He adds, that the guilty person, when marked, destroys all distinction, like the cuttle-fish concealed in his own blackness.

¹ Some fair-faced stripling to be their page. Marston has this epithet, Sc. VILLAN. B. i. 3.

Had I some snout-faire brats, they should indure
The newly-found Castilion calenture,
Before some pedant, &c.

In Satires and Epigrams, called THE LETTING OF HUMORS BLOOD IN THE HEAD-WAYNE, 1600, we have 'Some pippin-squire.' EMIGR. 33.

² Cadiz was newly taken.

Long as the craftie cuttle lieth sure,
 In the blacke cloud of his thicke vomiture;
 Who list, complaine of wronged faith or fame,
 When he may shift it to another's name.

He thus describes the effect of his satire, and the enjoyment of his own success in this species of poetry.

Now see I fire-flakes sparkle from his eyes,
 Like to a comet's tayle in th' angrie skies:
 His powting cheeks puft vp aboue his brow,
 Like a swolne toad touch'd with the spider's blow:
 His mouth shrinks side-ways like a scornful playse¹,
 To take his tired ear's ingrateful place. —
 Nowe laugh I loud, and breake my splene to see,
 This pleasing pastime of my poesie:
 Much better than a Paris-garden beare²,
 Or prating poppet on a theater,
 Or Mimo's whistling to his tabouret³,
 Selling a laughter for a cold meal's meat.

It is in Juvenal's style to make illustrations satirical. They are here very artfully and ingeniously introduced⁴.

The second is the character of an old country squire, who starves himself, to breed his son a lawyer and a gentleman. It appears, that the vanity or luxury of purchasing dainties at an exorbitant price began early.

Let sweet-mouth'd Mercia bid what crowns she please,
 For half-red cherries, or greene garden pease,
 Or the first artich oak of all the yeare,
 To make so lavish cost for little cheare.
 When Lollio feasteth in his revelling fit,
 Some starved pullen scoures the rusted spit:
 For els how should his son maintained be
 At inns of court or of the chancery, &c.
 The tenants wonder at their landlord's son,
 And blesse them⁵ at so sudden coming on!
 More than who gives his pence to view some tricke
 Of strange Morocco's dumbe arithmeticke⁶,
 Or the young elephant, or two-tayl'd steere,

¹ A fish. Jonson says in the SILENT WOMAN, 'Of a fool, that would stand thus, with a 'playse-mouth, &c.' A. i. S. ii. See more instances in OLD PLAYS, vol. iii. p. 395. edit. 1780.

² 'Then led they cosin [the gull] to the gase of an enterlude, or the beare-bayting of Paris Garden, or some other place of thieving.' A MANIFEST DETECTION of the most vyle and detestable vse of DICE PLAY, &c. No date, Bl. Lett. Signat. D. iiiii. Abraham Vele, the printer of this piece, lived before the year 1548. Again, *ibid.* 'Some ii or iii [pickpockets] hath Pauls church on charge, other hath Westminster hawle in terme time, diuerse Chere-syde with the flesh and fishe shambles, some the Borough and Beare-bayting, some the court, &c.' Paris-garden was in the borough.

³ Piping or fising to a tabour. I believe Kempe is here ridiculed.

⁴ B. vi. l. 1. f. 7.

⁵ Themselves.

⁶ Bankes's horse called Morocco. See Steevens's Note, SHAKESP. ii. 292.

Or the ridg'd camel, or the fiddling freere¹.—
 Fools they may feede on words, and liue on ayre²,
 That climbe to honour by the pulpit's stayre;
 Sit seuen yeares pining in an anchor's cheyre³,
 To win some patched shreds of minivere⁴!

He predicts, with no small sagacity, that Lollio's son's distant posterity will rack their rents to a treble proportion,

And hedge in all their neighbours common lands.

Enclosures of waste lands were among the great and national grievances of our author's age⁵. It may be presumed that the practice was then carried on with the most arbitrary spirit of oppression and monopoly.

The third is on the pride of pedigree: The introduction is from Juvenal's eighth satire; and the substitution of the memorials of English ancestry, such as were then fashionable, in the place of Juvenal's parade of family statues without arms or ears, is remarkably happy. But the humour is half lost, unless by recollecting the Roman original, the reader perceives the unexpected parallel,

Or call some old church-windowe to record
 The age of thy fair armes. —
 Or find some figures half obliterate,
 In rain-beat marble neare to the church-gate,
 Upon a crosse-legg'd tombe. What boots it thee,
 To shewe the rusted buckle that did tie

¹ Shewes of those times. He says in this satire,

—— 'Gin not thy gait
 Untill the evening owl, or bloody bat;
 Neuer until the lamps of Paul's been light:
 And niggard lanterns shade the moonshine night.

The lamps about Saint Paul's, were at this time the only regular night-illuminations of London. But in an old Collection of JESTS, some Bucks coming drunk from a tavern, and reeling through the city, amused themselves in pulling down the lanterns which hung before the doors of the houses. A grave citizen unexpectedly came out and seized one of them, who said in defence, 'I am only snuffing your candle.' 'JESTS TO MAKE YOU MERIE. Written by T. D. and George Wilkins. Lond. 1607.' 4to. p. 6. JEST. 17.

² The law is the only way to riches. Fools only will seek preferment in the church, etc.

³ In the chair of an anchoret.

⁴ The hood of a Master of Arts in the universities. B. iv. 2. f. 19.

He adds,

And seuen more, plod at a patron's tayle
 To get some gilded Chapel's cheaper sayle.

I believe the true reading is *gilded* chapel. A benefice robbed of its tythes, etc. Sayle is Sale. So in the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, A. iii. S. 1. 'He hath a proper *gilded* parsonage.'

⁵ Without attending to this circumstance, we miss the meaning and humour of the following lines, B. v. 1.

Pardon, ye glowing eares! Needes will it out,
 Though brazen walls compass'd my tongue about,
 As thick as wealthy Scrobio's quickset rowes
 In the wide common that he did enclose.

Great part of the third satire of the same book turns on this idea.

The garter of thy greatest grandsire's knee?
 What, to reserve their relicks many yeares,
 Their siluer spurs, or spils of broken speares?
 Or cite old Ocland's verse, how they did wield
 The wars in Turwin or in Turney field?

Afterwards, some adventurers for raising a fortune are introduced. One trades to Guiana for gold. This is a glance at sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to that country. Another, with more success, seeks it in the philosopher's stone.

When half his lands are spent in golden smoke,
 And now his second hopefull glasse is broke.
 But yet, if haply his third furnace hold,
 Devoteth all his pots and pans to gold.

Some well-known classical passages are thus happily mixed, modernised, and accommodated to his general purpose,

Was neuer foxe but wily cubs begets;
 The bear his fierceness to his brood besets:
 Nor fearfull hare falls from the lyon's seed,
 Nor eagle wont the tender doue to breed.
 Crete euer wont the cypresse sad to bear,
 Acheron's banks the palish popelar:
 The palm doth rifely rise in Jury field²,
 And Alpheus' waters nought but oliue yield:
 Asopus breeds big bullrushes alone,
 Meander heath; peaches by Nilus growne:
 An English wolfe, an Irish toad to see,
 Were as a chaste man nurs'd in Italy³.

In the fourth, these diversions of a delicate youth of fashion and refined manners are mentioned, as opposed to the rougher employments of a military life.

Gallio may pull me roses ere they fall,
 Or in his net entrap the tennis-ball;
 Or tend his spar-hawke mantling in her mewe,
 Or yelping beagles busy heeles pursue:
 Or watch a sinking corke vpon the shore⁴,
 Or halter finches through a privy doore⁵;
 Or list he spend the time in sportful game, &c.

He adds,

Seest thou the rose-leaues fall ungathered?
 Then hye thee, wanton Gallio, to wed. —
 Hye thee, and giue the world yet one dwarfe more,
 Svch as it got, when thou thyself was bore.

¹ In Judea.

³ Angle for fish.

² B. iv. p. f. 25.

⁴ A pit-fall. A trap-cage.

In the contrast between the martial and effeminate life, which includes a general ridicule of the foolish passion which now prevailed, of making it a part of the education of our youth to bear arms in the wars of the Netherlands, are some of Hall's most spirited and nervous verses.

If Martius in boisterous buffe be drest,
 Branded with iron plates upon the breast,
 And pointed on the shoulders for the nonce¹,
 As new come from the Belgian-garrisons ;
 What should thou need to envy aught at that,
 When as thou smellest like a ciuet-cat ?
 When as thine oyled locks smooth-platted fall,
 Shining like varnish'd pictures on a wall ?
 When a plum'd fanne² may shade thy chalked³ face,
 And lawny strips thy naked bosom grace ?
 If brabbling Makefray, at each fair and 'size⁴,
 Pick quarrels for to shew his valiantize,
 Straight pressed for an hungry Switzer's pay
 To thrust his fist to each part of the pray ;
 And piping hot, puffs towards the pointed⁵ plaine,
 With a broad scot⁶, or proking spit of Spaine :
 Or hoyseth sayle up to a forraine shore,
 That he may liue a lawlesse conqueror⁷,
 If some such desperate huckster should devise
 To rowze thine hare's-heart from her cowardice,
 As idle children⁸, striving to excell
 In blowing bladders from an empty shell.
 Oh Hercules, how like⁹ to prove a man,
 That all so rath¹⁰ his warlike life began !
 Thy mother could for thee thy cradle set
 Her husband's rusty iron corselet ;
 Whose jargling sound might rock her babe to rest,
 That neuer plain'd of his vncasy nest :
 There did he dreame of dreary wars at hand,
 And woke, and fought, and won, ere he could stand¹¹.
 But who hath seene the lambs of Tarentine,
 Must guess what Gallio his manners beene ;
 All soft, as is the falling thistle-downe,
 Soft as the fummy ball¹², or morrion's crowne¹³.
 Now Gallio gins thy youthly heat to raigne,
 In every vigorous limb, and swelling vaine :
 Time bids thee raise thine headstrong thoughts on high

¹ With tags, or shoulder-knots.

² Fans of feathers were now common. See Hunting: us's Emick. i. 70. And Stevens's Shakespeare, i. p. 273.

³ Painted.

⁴ A Scotch broad sword.

⁷ Turn pirate.

⁴ A dance.

⁸ Full of pikes.

⁹ Likely.

¹⁰ Early.

¹¹ O Hercules, a boy so delicately reared must certainly prove a hero! You, Hercules, was nursed in your father's shield for a cradle, &c. Not the tender Gallio, &c.

¹² A ball of perfume.

¹³ Morrion is the fool in a play.

To valour, and adventurous chivalry.

Pawne thou no gloue¹ for challenge of the decde, &c².

The fifth, the most obscure of any, exhibits the extremes of prodigality and avarice, and affords the first instance I remember to have seen, of nominal initials with dashes. Yet in his POSTSCRIPT, he professes to have avoided all personal applications³.

In the sixth, from Juvenal's position that every man is naturally discontented, and wishes to change his proper condition and character, he ingeniously takes occasion to expose some of the new fashions and affectations.

Out from the Gades to the eastern morne,
Not one but holds his native state forlorne.
When comely striplings wish it were their chance,
For Cenis' distaffe to exchange their lance ;
And weare curl'd periwigs, and chalk their face,
And still are poring on their pocket-glasse ;
Tyr'd⁴ with pinn'd ruffs, and fans, and parlet strips,
And bulkes and verdingales about their hips :
And tread on corked stilts a prisoner's pace.

Beside what is here said, we have before seen, that perukes were now among the novelties in dress. From what follows it appears that coaches were in common use⁵.

¹ He says with a sneer, *Do not play with the character of a soldier. Be not contented only to shew your courage in tilting. But enter into real service, &c.*

² B. iv. 4. In a couplet of this satire, he alludes to the SCHOLA SALURNITANA, an old medical system in rhyming verse, which chiefly describes the qualities of diet.

Tho neuer haue I Salerne rimes profest, To be some lady's trencher-critick guest.

There is much humour in *trencher-critick*. Collingborn, mentioned in the beginning of this satire, is the same whose Legend is in the *MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES*, and who was hanged for a distich on Catesby, Ratcliff, Lord Lovel, and king Richard III., about the year 1484. See *MIRR. MAG.* p. 455. edit. 1610. 4to. Our author says,

Or lucklesse Collingbourne feeding of the crows.

That is, he was food for the crows when on the gallows. At the end, is the first use I have seen, of a witty apothegmatical comparison, of a libidinous old man.

The maidens mocke, and call him withered leeke,
That with a greene tayle has an hoary head.

³ B. iv. 6. Collybist, here used, means a rent or tax gatherer. *Κολυβιστης*, nummularius.

⁴ Attir'd. Dressed, adorned.

⁵ Of the rapid increase of the number of coaches, but more particularly of Hackney-coaches, we have a curious proof in *A pleasant dispute between Coach and Sedan*, Lond. 1636. 4to. 'The most eminent places for stoppage are Pawles-gate into Cheapside. Ludgate and Ludgate-hill, especially when the Play is done at the Friers: then Holborne Conduit, and Holborne-Bridge, is villainously pestered with them, Hosier-Lane, Smithfield, and Crow-Lane, sending all about their new or old mended coaches. Then about the Stockes, and Poultrie, Temple-Barre, Fetter-lane, and Shoe-Lane next to Fleetstreete. But to see their multitude, either when there is a Masque at Whitehall, or a lord Mayor's Feast, or a New Play at some of the playhouses, you would admire to see them how close they stand together like mutton-pies in a cook's oven, &c.' Signat. F. Marston, in 1598, speaks of the *joulting Coach* of a Messalina. SC. VILLAN. B. i. 3. And in Marston's Postscript to *PIGMALION*, 1598, we are to understand a coach, where he says,

— — — Run as sweet
As doth a tumbrell through the paved street,

In *CYNTHIA'S REVELS*, 1600, a spendthrift is introduced, who among other polite extravagancies, is 'able to maintaine a ladie in her two carroches a day.' A. iv. S. ii. However, in the

It's not a shame, to see each homely groome
Sit perched in an idle chariot-roome ?

The rustic wishing to turn soldier, is pictured in these lively and poetical colours.

The sturdy ploughman doth the soldier see
All scarfed with pied colours to the knee,
Whom Indian pillage hath made fortunate ;
And now he gins to loathe his former state :
Nowe doth he inly scorne his Kendal-green¹,
And his patch'd cockers nowe despised beene :
Nor list he nowe go whistling to the carre,
But sells his teeme, and settleth to the warre.
O warre, to them that neuer try'd thee sweete !
When his dead mate falls groveling at his feet :
And angry bullets whistlen at his eare,
And his dim eyes see nought but death and dreare !

Another, fired with the flattering idea of seeing his name in print, abandons his occupation, and turns poet.

Some drunken rimer thinks his time well spent,
If he can lue to see his name in print ;
Who when he once is fleshed to the presse,
And sees his handsell have such faire successe,
Sung to the wheele, and sung vnto the payle²,
He sends forth thraves³ of ballads to the sale⁴.

old comedy of *RAM-ALLEY*, or *MERRY THICKS*, first printed in 1611, a *coach* and a *carroole* seem different vehicles, A. iv. S. ii.

In horslitters, [in] coaches or carriages.

Unless the poets means a synonyme for *coach*.

In some old account I have seen of queen Elizabeth's progress to Cambridge, in 1564, it is said, that lord Leicester went in a coach, because he had *hurt his leg*. In a comedy, so late as the reign of Charles I., among many studied wonders of fictitious and hyperbolical luxury, a lover promises his lady that she shall ride in a coach to the next door. Cartwright's *LOVES CONVERT*. A. ii. S. vi. Lond. 1651. WORKS, p. 125.

— — Thou shalt

Take coach to the next door, and as it were
An Expedition not a Visit, be
Bound for an house not ten strides off, still carry'd
Aloof in indignation of the earth.

Stowe says, 'In the yeare 1564, Guylliam Boonen, a dutchman, became the Queene's coachmanne, and was the first that brought the vse of coaches into England. And after a while, diuers great ladies, with as great iealousie of the queene's displeasure, made them coaches, and rid in them vp and downe the countries to the great admiration of all the beholders, but then by little and little they grew vsuall among the nobilitie, and others of sort, and within twenty yeares became a great trade of coachmaking. And about that time began long wagons to come in vse, such as now come to London, from Caunterbury, Norwich, Ipswich, Gloucester, &c., with passengers, and commodities. Lastly, euen at this time, 1605, began the ordinary vse of carriages.' Edit. fol. 1615. p. 867. col. 2.

From a comparison of the former and latter part of the context, it will perhaps appear that *Coaches* and *Carriages* were the same.

¹ This sort of stuff is mentioned in a statute of Richard II. an. 12. A.D. 1389.

² By the knife-grinder and the milkmaid.

³ A thrave of straw is a bundle of straw, of a certain quantity, in the midland counties.

⁴ These lines seem to be levelled at William Elderton, a celebrated drunken ballad-writer. Stowe says, that he was an attorney of the Sheriff's court in the city of London about the year 1570, and quotes some verses which he wrote about that time, on the erection of the new portico with images, at Guildhall. SURV. LOND. edit. 1590. p. 217. 490. He has two epitaphs

Having traced various scenes of dissatisfaction, and the desultory pursuits of the world, he comes home to himself, and concludes, that real happiness is only to be found in the academic life. This was a natural conclusion from one who had experienced no other situation¹.

Mongst all these stirs of discontented strife,
Oh, let me lead an academick life!
To know much, and to think we nothing knowe,
Nothing to haue, yet think we haue enowe:
In skill to want, and wanting seeke for more;
In weale nor want, nor wish for greater store².

The last of this Book, is a satire on the pageantries of the papal chair, and the superstitious practices of popery, with which it is easy to make sport. But our author has done this, by an uncommon quickness of allusion, poignancy of ridicule, and fertility of burlesque invention. Were Juvenal to appear at Rome, he says,

How his enraged ghost would stamp and stare,
That Cesar's throne is turn'd to Peter's chaire:
To see an old shorne lozel perched high,
Crouching beneath a golden canopie!—
And, for the lordly Fasces borne of old.
To see two quiet crossed keyes of gold!—
But that he most would gaze, and wonder at,
Is, th' horned mitre, and the bloody hat³;
The crooked staffe⁴, the coule's strange form and store⁵,
Saue that he saw the same in hell before.

The following ludicrous ideas are annexed to the exclusive appropriation of the eucharistic wine to the priest in the mass.

The whiles the liquorous priest spits every trice,
With longing for his morning sacrifice:

in Camden's REMAINS, edit. 1674. p. 533. seq. Hervey in his FOUR LETTERS, printed in 1592, mentions him with Greene. 'If [Spenser's] MOTHER HUBBARD, in the vaine of Chawcer, happen to tell one Canicular tale, Father Elderton and his son Greene, in the vaine of Skelton or Skoggin, will counterfeit an hundred dogged fables, libels, &c.' p. 7. Nash, in his APOLOGY OF PIERS PENNILESSE, says, 'that Tarleton at the theater made jests of him [Hervey,] and W. Elderton consumed his ale-crammed nose to nothing, in bear-baiting him with whole bundles of ballads.' Signat. E. edit. 1593. 4to. And Harvey, ubi supra. I have seen 'Elderton's Solace in time of his sickness containing sundrie sonnets upon many pithie 'parables,' entered to R. Jones, Sept. 25. 1578. REGISTR. STATION. B. f. 152. a. Also 'A 'ballad against marriage, by William Elderton ballad-maker.' For T. Colwell, 1575. 12mo. A ballad on the Earthquake by Elderton, beginning *Quake, Quake, Quake*, is entered to R. Jones, Apr. 25. 1579. REGISTR. STATION. B. f. 168. a. In 1561, are entered to H. Syngleton, 'Elderton's Jestes with his mery toyes.' REGISTR. STATION. A. f. 74. a. Again, in 1562, 'Elderton's Parrat answered.' Ibid. f. 84. a. Again, a poem as I suppose, in 1570, 'Elderton's ill fortune.' ibid. f. 204. a. Harvey says, that Elderton and Greene were 'the 'ringleaders of the riming and scribbling crew.' LETT. ubi supra. Many more of his pieces might be recited.

¹ In this Satire, among the lying narratives of travellers, our author, with Mandeville and others, mentions the SPANISH DECADES. It is an old black-letter quarto, a translation from the Spanish into English, about 1590. In the old anonymous play of LINGUA, 1607, Mendacio says, 'Sir John Mandeviles traueils, and great part of the DECADES, were of my doing, A. ii. S. i.

² B. iv. 6.

⁴ Bishop's crosier.

³ Cardinal's scarlet hat.

⁵ And multitude of them.

Which he reares vp quite perpendiculare,
That the mid church doth spight the chancel's fare¹.

But this sort of ridicule is improper and dangerous. It has a tendency, even without an entire parity of circumstances, to burlesque the celebration of this awful solemnity in the reformed church. In laughing at false religion, we may sometimes hurt the true. Though the rites of the papistic eucharist are erroneous and absurd, yet great part of the ceremony, and above all the radical idea, belong also to the protestant communion.

SECTION. LXIV.

THE argument of the first satire of the fifth Book, is the oppressive exaction of landlords, the consequence of the growing decrease of the value of money. One of these had perhaps a poor grandsire, who grew rich by availing himself of the general rapine at the dissolution of the monasteries. There is great pleasantry in one of the lines, that he

Begg'd a cast abbey in the church's wayne.

In the mean time, the old patrimonial mansion is desolated; and even the parish-church unroofed and dilapidated, through the poverty of the inhabitants, and neglect or avarice of the patron.

Would it not vex thee, where thy sires did keep²,
To see the dinged folds of dag-tayl'd sheep?
And ruin'd house where holy things were said,
Whose free-stone walls the thatched rooffe vpbraid;
Whose shrill saints-bell hangs on his lovery.
While the rest are damned to the plumbery³:
Yet pure devotion lets the steeple stand,
And idle battlements on either hand, &c⁴.

By an enumeration of real circumstances, he gives us the following lively draught of the miserable tenement, yet ample services, of a poor copyholder.

Of one bay's breadth, god wot, a silly cote,
Whose thatched spars are furr'd with sluttish soote
A whole inch thick, shining like black-moor's brows,
Through smoke that downe the headlesse barrel blows.
At his bed's feete feeden his stalled teame,
His swine beneath, his pullen oer the beame.
A starued tenement, such as I guesse

¹ B. iv. 7.

² Live, inhabit.

³ The bells were all sold, and melted down; except that for necessary use the *Saints-bell*, or *sanctus-bell*, was only suffered to remain within its *lovery*, that is louver, or turret, usually placed between the chancel and the body of the church. Marston has 'pitch-black louveries.'

SC. VILLAN. B. ii. 5.

⁴ Just to keep up the appearance of a church.

Stands straggling on the wastes of Holdernesse :
 Or such as shivers on a Peake hill side, &c.—
 Yet must he haunt his greedy landlord's hall
 With often presents at each festivall :
 With crammed capons euerie New-yeare's morne,
 Or with greene cheeses when his sheepe are shorne :
 Or many maunds-full¹ of his mellow fruite, &c.

The lord's acceptance of these presents is touched with much humour.

The smiling landlord shewes a sunshine face,
 Feigning that he will grant him further grace ;
 And leers like Esop's foxe vpon the crane,
 Whose neck he craves for his chirurgian².

In the second³, he reprehends the incongruity of splendid edifices and worthless inhabitants.

Like the vaine bubble of Iberian pride,
 That overcroweth all the world beside⁴ ;
 Which rear'd to raise the crazy monarch's fame,
 Striues for a court and for a college name :
 Yet nought within but lousy coules doth hold,
 Like a scabb'd cuckow in a cage of gold.—
 When⁵ Maevio's first page of his poesy
 Nail'd to a hundred postes for nouelty,
 With his big title, an Italian mot⁶,
 Layes siege unto the backward buyer's grot, &c.

He then beautifully drawes, and with a selection of the most picturesque natural circumstances, the inhospitality or rather desertion of an old magnificent rural mansion.

¹ Maund is Basket. Hence MAUNDAY-Thursday, the Thursday in Passion-week, when the king with his own hands distributes a large portion of alms, &c. MAUNDAY is DIES SPOR-TULÆ. Maud occurs again, B. iv. 2.

With a *maund* charg'd with household marchandize.

In the WHIPPINGE OF THE SATYRE, 1601. Signat. C. 4.

Whole MAUNDS and *baskets* ful of fine sweet praise.

² B. v. i. f. 58.

³ In this Satire there is an allusion to an elegant fiction in Chaucer, v. 5. f. 61.

Certes if Pity dyed at Chaucer's date.

Chaucer places the sepulchre of PITY in the COURT OF LOVE. See COURT OF L. v. 700.

————— A tender creature
 Is shrinid there, and PITY is her name
 She saw an Egle wreke him on a Flie,
 And plucke his wing, and eke him in his game,
 And tendir harte of that hath made her die.

This thought is borrowed by Fenton, in his MARIAMNE.

⁴ The Escorial in Spain.

⁵ As when.

⁶ In this age, the three modern languages were studied to affectation. In the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, above quoted, a fashionable fop tells his Page, 'Sirrah, boy, remember me 'when I come in Paul's Church-yard, to buy a Ronsard and Dubartas in French, an 'Areteine in Italian, and our hardest writers in Spanish, etc.' A. ii. Sc. iii.

Beat the broad gates, a goodly hollow sound
 With double echoes doth againe rebound ;
 But not a dog doth bark to welcome thee,
 Nor churlish porter canst thou chasing see :
 All dumb and silent, like the dead of night,
 Or dwelling of some sleepy Sybarite !
 The marble pavement hid with desert weed,
 With house-leek, thistle, dock, and hemlock-seed.—
 Look to the towered chimnies, which should be
 The wind-pipes of good hospitalitie : ———
 Lo, there th' unthankful swallow takes her rest,
 And fills the tunnell with her circled nest¹ !

Afterwards, the figure of FAMINE is thus imagined.

Grim FAMINE sits in their fore-pined face,
 All full of angles of vnequal space,
 Like to the plane of many-sided squares
 That wont be drawne out by geometars².

In the third, a satire is compared to the porcupine.

The satire should be like the porcupine,
 That shoots his sharp quills out in each angry line³.

This ingenious thought, though founded on a vulgar error, has been copied, among other passages, by Oldham. Of a true writer of satire, he says,

He'd shoot his quills just like a porcupine,
 At view, and make them stab in every line⁴.

In the fourth and last of this Book, he enumerates the extravagancies of a married spendthrift, a farmer's heir, of twenty pounds a year. He rides with *two liveries*, and keeps a pack of hounds.

But whiles ten pound goes to his wife's new gowne,
 Not little less can serue to suite his owne :
 While one piece pays her idle waiting-man,
 Or buys an hood, or filuer-handled fan :
 Or hires a Friezland trotter, halfe yard deepe,
 To drag a tumbrell through the staring Cheape⁵

The last Book consisting of one long satire only, is a sort of epilogue to the whole, and contains a humorous ironical description of the effect of his satires, and a recapitulatory view of many of the characters and foibles which he had before delineated. But the scribblers seem to have the chief share. The character of Labeo, already repeatedly mentioned, who was some cotemporary poet, a con-

¹ The motto on the front of the house ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ, which he calls a fragment of Plato's poetry, is a humorous alteration of Plato's ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ.

² B. v. 2.

³ B. v. 3.

⁴ APOLOGY for the foregoing ODE, &c. WORKS, vol. i. p. 97, edit. 1722, 12mo.

⁵ B. v. 4.

stant censurer of our author, and who from pastoral proceeded to heroic poetry, is here more distinctly represented. He was a writer who affected compound epithets, which sir Philip Sydney had imported from France, and first used in his *ARCADIA*¹. The character in many respects suits Chapman, though I do not recollect that he wrote any pastorals.

That Labeo reades right, who can deny,
The true straines of heroick poesy ;
For he can tell how fury reft his sense,
And Phebus fill'd him with intelligence :
He can implore the heathen deities,
To guide his bold and busy enterprise :
Or filch whole pages at a clap for need,
From honest Petrarch, clad in English weed ;
While big BUT OH's each stanza can begin,
Whose trunk and taile sluttish and heartlesse been :
He knowes the grace of that new elegance
Which sweet Philisides fetch'd late from France,
That well beseem'd his high-stil'd *ARCADY*,
Though others marre it with much liberty,
In epithets to joine two wordes in one,
Forsooth, for adjectives can't stand alone.

The arts of composition must have been much practised, and a knowledge of critical niceties widely diffused, when observations of this kind could be written. He proceeds to remark, it was now customary for every poet, before he attempted the dignity of heroic verse, to try his strength by writing pastorals².

But ere his Muse her weapon learn to wield,
Or dance a sober Pirrhicke³ in the field ; —
The sheepe-cote first hath beene her nursery,
Where she hath worne her idle infancy ;
And in high startups walk'd the pastur'd plaines,
To tend her tasked herd that there remains ;
And winded still a pipe of oate or breare, &c.

Poems on petty subjects or occasions, on the death of a favourite bird or dog, seem to have been as common in our author's age, as at present. He says,

Should Bandell's throstle die without a song,
Or Adamans my dog be laid along

¹ We have our author's opinion of Skelton in these lines of this satire, f. 83.

Well might these checks have fitted former times,
And shoulder'd angry Skelton's breatheless rimes.

² Though these lines bear a general sense, yet at the same time they seem to be connected with the character of Labeo, by which they are introduced. By the *Carmelite*, a pastoral writer ranked with Theocritus and Virgil, he means Mantuan.

³ The Pyrrhic dance, performed in armour.

Downe in some ditch, without his exequies¹,
Or epitaphs or mournful elegies²?

In the old comedy, the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, we are told of a coxcomb who could bear no poetry 'but flyblown sonnets 'of his mistress, and her loving pretty creatures, her monkey and 'her parrot³.'

The following exquisite couplet exhibits our satirist in another and a more delicate species of poetry.

Her lids like cupid's bow-case, where he hides
The weapons that do wound the wanton-ey'd⁴.

One is surprised to recollect, that these satires are the production of a young man of twenty three. They rather seem the work of an experienced master, of long observation, of study and practice in composition.

They are recited among the best performances of the kind, and with applause, by Francis Meres, a cotemporary critic, who wrote in 1598⁵. But whatever fame they had acquired, it soon received a check, which was never recovered. They were condemned to the flames, as licentious and immoral, by an order of bishop Bancroft in 1599. And this is obviously the chief reason why they are not named by our author, in the SPECIALITIES of his Life written by himself after his

¹ In pursuance of the argument, he adds,

Folly itself or Baldness may be paid.

An allusion to ERASMUS'S *MOLES ENCYMIUM*, and the *ENCYMIUM CALATHI*, written at the recommendation of learning. Cardan also wrote an *encymium* on Nero, the Gout, &c.

² In this Satire, Tarleton is praised as a poet, who is most commonly considered only as a comedian. Meres commends him for his facility in extemporaneous versification. *WITS* THE f. 166.

I shall here throw together a few notices of Tarleton's poetry. 'A new booke on English verse, entituled, *TARLETON'S TOYES*,' was entered Dec. 10, 1575, to R. Jones. *REGISTER*. D. f. 150. b. 'See Henney's *FOUR LETTERS*, 1592. p. 34. Tarleton's devise 'upon the unlocked for great move,' is entered, in 1577. *Ibid.* f. 150. b.—A ballad called *TARLETON'S FAREWELL*, is entered as 1577. *Ibid.* f. 233. a.—'Tarleton's repentance just 'before his death,' is entered in 1579. *Ibid.* f. 242. a. The next year, viz. 1580, Aug. 20, 'A pleasant dittye dialogue-wise betwix Tarleton's glasse and Robyn Goodfellowe,' is entered to H. Carre. *Ibid.* f. 249. a. There is a transferred copy of *TARLETON'S JESTS*, I suppose *TARLETON'S TOYES*, in 1607. *REGISTER*. C. f. 178. b. Many other pieces might be recited. See more of Tarleton, in *SUPPLEMENT TO SHAKESPEARE*, i. pp. 56, 58, 59. And *OLD PLAYS*, edit. 1778. PREFACE, p. lxiii.

To what is there collected concerning Tarleton as a player, it may be added, that his ghost is one of the speakers, in that character, in *CHIEFLE'S KIND-HART'S DREAM*, printed about 1593. Without date, qto. *Signat.* E. 3. And that in the Preface, he appears to have been also a musician. 'Tarleton with his Taler taking two or three leaden frisks, &c.' Most of our old comedians professed every part of the histrionic science, and were occasionally actors, dancers, and gesticulators. Dekker says, Tarleton, Kempe, nor Singer, 'ener plaide the Clowne more naturally.' Dekker's *GULLS HORNE BOOKE*, 1609. p. 3. One or two of Tarleton's Jests are mentioned in 'The DISCOURSE OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE POSTE, &c.' By S. S. Lond. Impr. by G. S. 1577. 4to. Bl. Lett. In Fitz-Geoffrey's *CENOTAPHIA*, annexed to his *ARFANTIA*, 1601, there is a panegyric on Tarleton. *Signat.* N. 2. Tarleton and Greene are often mentioned as associates in Harvey's *FOUR LETTERS*, 1592.

³ A. 3. Sc. iv.

⁴ B. vi. Pontan here mentioned, I presume, is Jovianus Pontanus, an elegant Latin amatorial and pastoral poet of Italy, at the revival of learning.

⁵ *WITS TREAS.* f. 28A. It is extraordinary, that they should not have afforded any choice flowers to ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS, printed in 1600.

preferent to a bishoprick¹. They were, however, admired and imitated by Oldham. And Pope, who modernised Donne, is said to have wished he had seen Hall's satires sooner. But had Pope undertaken to modernise Hall, he must have adopted, because he could not have improved, many of his lines. Hall is too finished and smooth for such an operation. Donne, though he lived so many years later, was susceptible of modern refinement, and his asperities were such as wanted and would bear the chissel.

I was informed, by the late learned bishop of Gloucester, that in a copy of Hall's Satires in Pope's library the whole first satire of the sixth book was corrected in the margin, or interlined, in Pope's own hand; and that Pope had written at the head of that satire, OPTIMA SATIRA.

Milton who had a controversy with Hall, as I have observed, in a remonstrance called an APOLOGY FOR SMECTYMNUS, published in 1641, rather unsuitably and disingenuously goes out of his way, to attack these satires, a juvenile effort of his dignified adversary, and under every consideration alien to the dispute. Milton's strictures are more sarcastic than critical; yet they deserve to be cited, more especially as they present a striking specimen of those awkward attempts at humour and raillery, which disgrace his prose-works.

'Lighting upon this title of TOOTHLESS SATYRS, I will not conceal 'ye what I thought, readers, that sure this must be some sucking 'satyr, who might have done better to have used his coral, 'and made an end of breeding ere he took upon him to wield 'a satyr's whip. But when I heard him talk of *scouring the shields of 'elvish knights*², do not blame me if I changed my thought, and concluded him some desperate cutler. But why his *scornful Muse 'could never abide with tragick shoes her ancles for to hide*³, the pace 'of the verse told me, that her mawkin knuckles were never shapen to 'that royal buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth [seventh]

¹ SHAKING OF THE OLIVE, or his Remaining Works, 1660. 4to. Nor are they here inserted.

² A misquoted line in the DEFIANCE TO ENVY, prefixed to the Satires. I will give the whole passage, which is a compliment to Spenser, and shews how happily Hall would have succeeded in the majestic march of the long stanza,

Or scoure the rusted swordes of Elvish knights,
Bathed in pagan blood : or sheathe them new
In mistie moral types : or tell their fights,
Who mighty giants, or who monsters slew :
And by some strange enchanted speare and shield,
Vanquish'd their foe, and won the doubtful field.
May be she might, in stately stanzas frame
Stories of ladies, and aduenturous knights :
To raise her silent and inglorious name
Vnto a reachlesse pitch of praise's hight :
And somewhat say, as more vnworthy done¹,
Worthy of brasse, and hoary marble stone.

³ D. i. 7.

'Satyr of his second Book, I was confirmed : where having begun 'loftily in *heaven's universal alphabet*, he falls down to that wretched 'poorness and frigidity as to talk of *Bridge-street in heaven*, and the 'ostler of heaven'. And there wanting other matter to catch him a 'heat, (for certain he was on the frozen zone miserably benumbed,) 'with thoughts lower than any beadle's, betakes him to whip the 'sign-posts of Cambridge alehouses, the ordinary subject of fresh- 'mens tales, and in a strain as pitiful. Which, for him who would be 'counted the FIRST ENGLISH SATYRIST, to abase himselfe to, who 'might have learned better among the Latin and Italian Satyrists, 'and in our own tongue from the VISION AND CREEDE OF PIERCE 'PLOWMAN, besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous 'undertaking with weak and unexamined shoulders. For a satyr is as 'it were born out of a Tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage, to 'strike high, and adventure dangerously at {the most eminent vices 'among the greatest persons, and not to creep into every blind tap- 'house that fears a constable more than a satyr. But that such a poem 'should be TOOTHLESS, I still affirm it to be a bull, taking away the 'essence of that which it calls itself. For if it bite neither the persons 'nor the vices, how is it a satyr? And if it bite either, how is it 'toothless? So that TOOTHLESS SATYRS, are as much as if he had 'said TOOTHLESS TEETH, &c².

With Hall's SATIRES should be ranked his *MUNDUS ALTER ET IDEM*, an ingenious satirical fiction in prose, where under a pretended description of the *TERRA AUSTRALIS*, he forms a pleasant invective against the characteristic vices of various nations, and is remarkably severe on the church of Rome. This piece was written about the year 1600, before he had quitted the classics for the fathers, and published some years afterwards, against his consent. Under the same class should also be mentioned his *CHARACTERISMES OF VIRTUES*, a set of sensible and lively moral essays, which contain traces of the satires.

¹ Hall supposes, that the twelve signs of the zodiac are twelve inns, in the high-street of heaven,

———— With twelve fayre signes
Euer well tended by our star-divines.

Of the astrologers, who give their attendance, some are ostlers, others chamberlains, etc. The zodiacal Sign *AQUARIUS*, he supposes to be in the *BRIDGE-STREET* of heaven. He alludes to *Bridge-street* at Cambridge, and the signs are of inns at Cambridge.

² *APOLOGY FOR SMECTYMNUS*, Milton's Prose-works, vol. i. p. 186. edit. Amst. 1698. fol. See also p. 185, 187, 191.

³ *WORKS* ut supra. Under the Character of the *HYPOCRITE*, he says, 'When a rimer 'reads his poeme to him, he begs a copie, and perswades the presse, etc.' p. 187. Of the *VAIN-Glorious*. 'He sweares bigge at an Ordinary, and talkes of the Court with a sharp voice.—He calls for pheasants at a common inne.—If he haue bestowed but a little 'summe in the glazing, pauing, parieting, of gods house, you shall find it in the church- 'window.' [See *SAT. B.* iv. 3.] 'His talke is, how many mourners he has furnished with 'gownes at his father's funerals, what exploits he did at Cales and Newport, etc.' p. 194, 195. Of the *BUSIE BODIE*. 'If he see but two men talke and reade a letter in the 'streete, he runnes to them and askes if he may not be partner of that secret relation : and

I take the opportunity of observing here, that among Hall's prose-works are some metaphrastic versions in metre of a few of David's Psalms¹, and three anthems or hymns written for the use of his cathedral. Hall, in his Satires, condemned this sort of poetry.

An able inquirer into the literature of this period has affirmed, that Hall's Epistles, written before the year 1613², are the first example of epistolary composition which England had seen. 'Bishop Hall, he says, was not only our first satirist, but was the first who brought 'epistolary writing to the view of the public: which was common in 'that age to other parts of Europe, but not practised in England till 'he published his own Epistles³.' And Hall himself in the Dedication of his Epistles to Prince Henry observes, 'Your grace shall herein 'perceiue a new fashion of discourse by EPISTLES, new to our language, 'vsuall to others: and, as nouclty is neuer without plea of vse, more 'free, more familiar⁴.'

The first of our countrymen, however, who published a set of his own Letters, though not in English, was Roger Ascham, who flourished about the time of the Reformation: and when that mode of writing had been cultivated by the best scholars in various parts of Europe, was celebrated for the terseness of his epistolary style. I believe the second published correspondence of this kind, and in our own language, at least of any importance after Hall, will be found to be EPISTOLÆ HOELIANÆ, or the Letters of James Howell, a great traveller, an intimate friend of Jonson, and the first who bore the office of the royal historiographer, which discover a variety of literature, and abound with much entertaining and useful information⁵.

'if they deny it, he offers to tell, since he cannot heare, wonders: and then falls vpon 'the report of the Scottish Mine, or of the great fish taken vp at Linne, or of the freezing of 'the Thames, &c.' p. 188. Of the SUPERSTITIOUS. 'He never goes without an Erra 'Pater in his pocket.—Every lanterne is a ghost, and every noise is of chaines, &c.' p. 189. These pieces were written after the Gunpowder-plot, for it is mentioned, p. 196.

¹ WORKS, ut supr. p. 157. In the DEDICATION he says, 'Indeed my Poetry was long 'sithence out of date, and yelded her place to grauer studies, etc.' In his EPISTLES he speaks of this unfinished undertaking. 'Many great wits haue vndertaken this task.— 'Among the rest, were those two rare spirits of the Sidnyes: to whom poesie was as natvrall 'as it is affected of others: and our worthy friend Mr. Sylvester hath showed me how hap- 'pily he had sometimes turned from his Bartas to the sweet singer of Israel.—There is none 'of all my labours so open to all censures. Perhaps some thinke the verse harsh, whose 'nice eare regardeth roundnesse more than sense. I embrace smoothness, but affect it not.'

DEC. ii. Ep. v. p. 302, 303. ut supr.

² See WORKS, ut supr. p. 275.

³ See Whalley's INQUIRY INTO THE LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE, p. 41.

⁴ WORKS, ut supr. p. 172. The reader of Hall's SATIRES is referred to DEC. vi. Epist. vi. p. 394.

⁵ 'EPISTOLÆ HOELIANÆ. Familiar Letters, Domestic and Foreign, divided into sundry 'sections partly historical, poetical, and philosophical.' Lond. 1645, 4to. They have five editions from 1645, to 1673, inclusive. A third and fourth volume was added to the last impression.

I must not dismiss our satirist without observing, that Fuller has preserved a witty en- comiastic English epigram by Hall, written at Cambridge, on Greenham's Book of the SABBATH, before the year 1592. CHURCH HISTORY, B. ix. CENT. xvi. §. vii. p. 220. edit. 1655. fol. I find it also prefixed to Greenham's WORKS, in folio, 1601.

SECTION LXV.

IN the same year, 1598, soon after the appearance of Hall's Satires, John Marston, probably educated at Cambridge, a dramatic writer who rose above mediocrity, and the friend and coadjutor of Jonson, published 'The metamorphosis of Pigmalion's image. And Certaine Satyres. By John Marston. At London, printed for Edmond Matts¹, and are to be sold at the signe of the hand and plough in Fleet-streete, 1598².' I have nothing to do with PIGMALIONS IMAGE, one of Ovid's transformations heightened with much paraphrastic obscenity³. The Satires here specified are only four in number. In Charles Fitzgeoffry's AFFANIE, a set of Latin epigrams, printed at Oxford in 1601, he is not inelegantly complimented as the Second English Satirist, or rather as dividing the palm of priority and excellence in English satire with Hall.

Ad JOHANNEM MARSTONIUM.

Gloria Marstoni satyrarum proxima primæ,
 Primaque, fas primas si numerare duas:
 Sin primam duplicare nefas, tu gloria saltem
 Marstoni primæ proxima semper eris.
 Nec te pœniteat stationis, Jane: secundus,
 Cum duo sunt tantum, est neuter, et ambo pares⁴.

¹ The Colophon at the end of the book, is 'At London printed by James Roberts, 1598.'

² In duodecimo. With vignettes. Pages 82. They are entered to Matts, May 27, 1598. REGISTR. STATION. C. f. 36. b. Hall's Satires are entered only the thirtieth day of March preceding.

³ Of this piece I shall say little more, than that it is thought by some, notwithstanding the title-page just produced, not to be Marston's. But in his SCOURGE OF VILLANIE he cites it as his own. B. ii. 6. Again, B. iii. 10. And in ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS, published in 1600, part of the dedication to OMNION is quoted, with the name J. Marston, p. 221. He seems to have written it in ridicule of Shakespeare's VENUS and ADONIS. He offers this apology, B. i. 6. (ut supr.)

————— Know, I wrot
 Those idle rimes, to note the odious spot
 And blemish, that deforms the lineaments.
 Of Modern Poesie's habiliments.
 Oh, that the beauties of inuention
 For want of iudgement's disposition,
 Should all be spoil'd! O, that such treasure,
 Such straines of well-conceited poesie,
 Should moulded be in such a shapelesse forme
 That want of art should make such wit a scorne!

The author of the Satires appears in stanzas, x. xiv. xix. I have thought that this poem suggested to Shakespeare what Lucio says in MEASURE FOR MEASURE. A. iii. S. ii. Vol. ii.

P. 92.

⁴ Lib. ii. Sig. F. 4. In Davies's SCOURGE OF FOLLY, there is an Epigram to 'The acut
 'Mr. John Marston,' on his comedy of the MALECONTENT. p. 105.

In general it is not easy to give a specimen of Marston's satires, as his strongest lines are either openly vitiated with gross expression, or pervaded with a hidden vein of impure sentiment. The following humorous portrait of a sick innamorato is in his best, at least in his chastest, manner of drawing a character.

For when my eares receau'd a fearfull sound
That he was sicke, I went, and there I found
Him laid of loue¹, and newly brought to bed
Of monstrous folly, and a franticke head.
His chamber hang'd about with elegies,
With sad complaints of his loue's miseries:
His windows strow'd with sonnets, and the glasse
Drawne full of loue-knotts. I approacht the asse,
And straight he weepes, and sighes some sonnet out
To his faire loue ! And then he goes about
For to perfvme her rare perfection
With some sweet-smelling pink-epitheton.
Then with a melting looke he writhes his head,
And straight in passion riseth in his bed ;
And hauing kist his hand, strok'd vp his haire,
Made a French conge, cryes, *O cruell Faire*,
To th' antique bed-post ! — — —

In these lines there is great elegance of allusion, and vigour of expression. He addresses the objects of his satire, as the sons of the giants,

Is Minos dead, is Rhadamanth asleepe,
That thus ye dare vnto loue's palace creepe ?
What, hath Rhamnusia spent her knotted whip,
That ye dare striue on Hebe's cup to sip ?
Yet know, Apollo's quiuer is not spent,
But can abate your daring hardiment.
Python is slaine, yet his accursed race
Dare looke diuine Astrea in the face².

In the same satire he calls himself,

A beadle to the world's impuritie !

Marston seems to have been the poetic rival of Hall at Cambridge, whom he repeatedly censures or ridicules. In the fourth satire, he supposes Hall's criticisms on Dubartas, the versions of David's Psalms by Sternhold and king James, Southwell's MARY and ST. PETER'S TEARS, the MIRROR OF MAGISTRATES, and other pieces of equal reputation, to be the production of pedantry and malignity. And the remainder of this satire is no unpleasant parody of Hall's prefatory stanzas against envy³.

¹ The midwife's phrase.

² SAT. 5.

³ It appears from the SCOURGE OF VILLANIE, that Hall had caused a severe Epigram to be pasted on the last page of every copy of Marston's PIGMALION'S IMAGE, that was sent from

A Thrasonical captain, fresh from the siege of Cadiz, is delineated in this lively colouring.

Great Tubrio's feather gallantly doth waue,
Full twenty falls do make him wondrous braue !
Oh golden jerkin ! Royall arming coate !
Like ship on sea, he on the land doth floate.—
— — — — What news from Rodio ?
' Hot seruice, by the lord,' cries Tubrio.
' Why dost thou halt ? Why, six times through each thigh
' Push'd with the pike of the hot enemye.
' Hot service, Hot !—The Spaniard is a man.—
' I say no more — And as a gentleman
' I serued in his face. Farwell, Adew !'
Welcome from Netherland — from steaming stew¹.

Marston's allusions often want truth and accuracy. In describing the ruff of a beau, he says,

His ruffe did eate more time in neatest setting,
Than Woodstock-worke in painfull perfecting.

The comparison of the workmanship of a laced and plaited ruff, to the laboured nicety of the steel-work of Woodstock, is just. He adds, with an appearance of wit,

It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield.

This was no exaggeration. The shield of Ajax was only sevenfold. To say nothing of one of the leading ideas, the delicacy of contexture, which could not belong to such a shield.

But Marston is much better known as a satirist by a larger and a separate collection, yet entirely in the strain of the last, called the SCOURGE OF VILLANY, published the same year. I will give the title exactly and at length. 'The SCOURGE OF VILLANIE. Three Bookes of SATYRES. [No Name of the Author.]—Nec scombros metuentia carmina nec thus. At London, Printed by I. R. [James Roberts,] and are to be sold by John Buzbie, in Pawles churchyard, 'at the signe of the Crane, 1598².' He here assumes the appellation of KINSAYDER, by which he is recognised among other cotemporary

London to the booksellers of Cambridge. B. iii. 10. The Epigram is there cited. This tenth satire of the third Book was added in the second edition, in 1599. It is addressed 'to his very friend maister E. G.' One Edward Gilpin is cited in ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS, 1600.

It appears from this Satire, that the devices on shields and banners, at tournaments, were now taken from the classics.

He who upon his glorious scutcheon,	Can quaintly show wits newe inuention.
Advancing forth some thirstie Tantalus,	Or els the vulture on Prometheus,
With some short motto of a dozen lines, &c.	

Peacham says, that of Emblems and Impresses, 'the best I have seen have been the devices of tilting, whereof many were till of late reserved in the private gallery at White-Hall, of sir Philip Sydney, the earl of Cumberland, sir Henry Leigh, the earl of Essex, with many others : most of which I once collected with intent to publish them, but the charge dissuaded me.' COMPL. GENT. CH. xviii. p. 277. edit. 3d. 1661. 4to. ¹ Sat. i.

² In duodecimo. With vignettes. Wh. Let. The signatures run inclusively to, Sign. 1. 3. The title of the second edition is 'THE SCOURGE OF VILLANIE. By John Marston. Nec

poets in the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS. In his metrical introduction, he wishes all readers of fashion would pass over his poetry, and rather examine the play-bills pasted on every post, or buy some ballad about the fairy king, and king Cophetua and the female beggar. Instead of a Muse, he invokes REPROOF, in this elegant and animated address.

I inuocate no Delian deitie,
Nor sacred offspring of Mnemosyne :
I pray in aid of no Castalian Muse,
No Nymph, no female ancell, to infuse
A sprightly wit to raise my flagging wings,
And teach me tune these harsh discordant strings.
I craue no Syrens of our halcyon-times,
To grace the accents of my rough-hew'd rimes :
But grim Reproofe, sterne Hate of villany,
Inspire and guide a satyr's poesie !
Faire Detestation of fowle odious sinne,
In which our swinish times lie wallowing,
Be thou my conduct and my Genius,
My wit's inticing sweet-breath'd Zephyrus !
Oh that a satyr's hand had force to pluck
Some floodgate vp, to purge the world from muck !
Would god, I could turne Alpheus' riuer in,
To purge this Augean stable from fowle sinne !
Well, I will try.—Awake, Impuritie !
And view the vaile drawne from thy villanie¹.

The passage reminds us of a witty line in Young UNIVERSAL PASSION, I know not if borrowed from hence.

And cleanse the Augean stable with thy quill².

Part of the following nervous paragraph has been copied either by Dryden or Oldham.

Who would not shake a satyr's knotty rod,
When to defile the sacred name of god,
Is but accounted gentlemen's disport ?
To snort in filth, each hower to resort
To brothell-pits : alas, a veniall crime,
Nay royal, to be last in thirtieth slime³?

In an invocation to RIME, while he is not inclegantly illustrating the pleasingness of an easy association of consonant syllables, he artfully intermixes the severities of satire.

scombros, etc. At London. Printed by I. R. Anno Dom. 1599.' The tenth Satire is not in the former edition. All Marston's SATIRES, with other pieces of old poetry, were reprinted, Lond. for R. Horsfield, 1764, 12mo.

¹ B. iii. PROEM.

² There is a thought like this in Dekker's GULS HORNE BOOKE, 1609. p. 4. 'To pvrge [the world] will be a sorer labour, than the cleansing of Augeas' stable, or the scouring of Moore-ditch.'

³ B. i. 2.

Come prettie pleasing symphonie of words,
 Ye well-match'd twins, whose like-tun'd tongue affords
 Such musicall delight, come willingly,
 And daunce Levoltus¹ in my poesie !
 Come all as easie as spruce Curio will,
 In some court-hall to shew his capering skill :—
 As willingly as wenches trip around,
 About a may-pole, to the bagpipe's sound.—

————— Let not my ruder hand
 Seem once to force you in my lines to stand :
 Be not so fearfull, prettie soules, to meete,
 As Flaccus is, the sergeant's face to greete :
 Be not so backward-loth to grace my sense,
 As Drusus is, to haue intelligence,
 His dad's aliue : but come into my head,
 As iocundly, as, when his wife was dead,
 Young Lelius to his home. Come, like-fac'd Rime,
 In tunefull number's keeping musick's time !
 But if you hang an arse like Tubered,
 When Chremes drag'd him from the brothel-bed
 Then hence, base ballad-stuffe ! My poesie
 Disclaimes you quite. For know, my libertie !
 Scornes riming lawes. Alas, poore idle sound !
 Since first I Phebus knew, I neuer found,
 Thy interest in sacred poetry :
 Thou to Inuention addst but surquedry²,
 A gaudie ornature : but hast no part
 In that soule-pleasing high-infused art³.

He thus wages war with his brother-bards, especially the dreamers
 in fairy land.

Here's one must inuocate some loose-leg'd dame,
 Some brothel-drab, to help him stanzas frame
 Another yet dares tremblingly come out,
 But first he must inuoke good COLIN CLOUT⁴.
 Yon's one hath yean'd a fearefull prodigy,
 Some monstrous and mishapen balladry.⁵—
 Another walkes, is lazie, lies him downe,
 Thinkes, reades : at length, some wonted slepe doth crowne,
 His new-falne lids, dreames : straight, ten pounds to one,
 Out steps some Fayery with quick motion,
 And tells him wonders of some flowery vale ;
 He wakes, he rubs his eyes, and prints his tale⁶.

¹An old fashionable dance. Hanmer, on Shakespeare, defines it to be a dance in which there was much capering and turning. HEN. V. A. iii. S. v. The word implies more *capering* than turning.

²Pride. False pomp.

³B. ii. AD. RITHMUM.

⁴Spenser as a pastoral writer.

⁵An allusion to some late Ballad, with a print, of a monster, or incredible event. A Ballad-monger is a character in, 'WHIMZIES, or a Newe Cast of CHARACTERS,' where says the writer, 'For want of truer relations, for a neede, he can finde you out a Sussex dragon, some 'sea or inland monster, etc.' Lond. 1641. CHAR. ii. p. 9. For this Sussex dragon, see the Harleian miscellany.

⁶B. ii. 6.

The following line is a ridicule on the poetical language of his time, which seems rather intended for certain strains of modern poetry.

Thou nursing *mother of faire wisdom's lore*,
Ingenuous Melancholy !——[Proem. B. i.]

He supposes himself talking with Esop, alludes to the story of his coming into the streets of Athens to *look for a man*¹. This idea introduces several ridiculous characters. Among the rest a fine lady.

Peace, cynicke, see what yonder doth approach,
'A cart, a tumbrell?' No, a badged coach².
'What's int? Some Man.' No, nor yet woman kinde,
'But a celestially angel, faire refine.
'The divell as soone. Her maske so hinders me,
'I cannot see her beautie's deitie.
'Now that is off, she is so vizarded,
'So steep'd in lemon-iuyce, so surphuled³,
'I cannot see her face. *Under one hood*
'*Two faces*: but I neuer understood,
'Or sawe one face under two hoods till nowe.
'Away, away! Hence, coachman, go inshrine,
'Thy new glaz'd puppet in port Esquiline⁴.'

¹The introductory line, supposed to be spoken by Esop, is no unhappy parody on a well-known line in Shakespeare's *RICHARD*.

A Man, a Man, my kingdom for a man.

²A coach painted with a coat of arms. [See above.]

³The word is often used by Hall and Marston. Our author supposes, that the practice came with other corruptions from Venice. *CERT. SAT. 2.*

Didst thou to Venis goe aught els to haue
But buy a lute, and vse a curtezan?—
And nowe from thence what hether dost thou bring,
But *SURPHULINGS*, new paints and poysoning,
Aretine's pictures, etc.

I find the word used for a meretricious styptic lotion. 'This mother baud hauing at home, 'a well paynted manerly harlot, as good a maid as Fletcher's mare, that bare three great 'foles, went in the morning to the apothecaries for halfe a pint of swete water, that commonly 'is called *SURFYLING* water, or *Clynckerdeuice*, etc.' From 'A manifest *DETECTION* of the 'most vyle and detestable vse of *DICE PLAY*, etc. Imprinted at London in Paules church-yard, at the signe of the Lambe, by Abraham Vele.' No date. But early in the reign of Elizabeth. *Bl. Lett. 12mo.* Apothecaries would have *SURPHALING* water, and potatoe rootes, 'lie dead on their hands,—The suburbs should haue a great misse of vs, and Shoreditch 'would complaine to dame Anne a Clear, etc.' *Theeves falling out, True men come by their goods.* By R. G. Lond. 1615. 4to. *SIGNAT. C. 3. Bl. Lett.* See Steevens's *Shakesp.* ix. 168.

⁴B. ii. 7. The classical reader recollects the meaning of this allusion to the *Porta Esquilina* at Rome. In passing, I will illustrate a few passages in Marston's satires.

Lib. iii. 11. He says,

Praise but *ORCHESTRA*, and the skipping art.

This is an allusion to sir John Davies's *ORCHESTRA*, a poetical dialogue between Penelope and one of her wooers, on the antiquity and excellency of Dancing, printed with his *NOCTURNISUM* in 1599. This piece occasioned a humorous epigram from Harrington, *EPIGR. B. ii. 67.*

A few lines afterward Marstons says,

Roome for the spheres, the orbes celestiall
Will daunce *KEMP'S LIGGE*. ——

Of Kemp, the original performer of Dogberry, I have spoken before. I find, entered to T Gosson, Dec. 28, 1591. The third and last part of 'Kemp's ligge.' *Registr. STATION. B. f. 282. b.* And May 2. 1595, to W. Blackwell. 'A ballad of Mr. Kemp's Newe ligge of the

He thus nervously describes the strength of custom.

For ingrain'd habits, died with often dips,
Are not so soon discoloured. Young slips

'kitchen stuffe woman.' Ibid. f. 132. a. Again, Octob. 21, 1595, to T. Gosson. Kempe's Newe Iigge betwixt a soldier and a miser. Ibid. f. 3. b. In Kemp's NINE DAIES WONDER, printed in 1600, is the character of an innkeeper at Rockland, which could not be written by Kemp, and was most probably a contribution from his friend and fellow-player, Shakespeare. He may vie with our host of the Tabard. SIGNAT. B. 3.

He was a man not ouer spare,
Anon, Anon, and coming friend,
Saue, sometimes he would sit and tell,
Closing each period of his tale
Turwyn and Turney's siege were hot,
Kets field, and Musseleborough fray;

'O, twas a goodly matter then,
'They would lay here, and here and there,
'But I would meet them every were, etc.'
By this some guest cries *ho, the house!*
Still will he drink, and still be dry,
Saint Martin send him merry mates
For a blither lad than he

In his eybals dwelt no care :
Were the most words he vsde to spend ;
What wonders once in Bullayne fell ;
With a full cup of nut-browne ale.
Yet all my hoast remembers not :
Were battles fought but yesterday
To see your sword and buckler men
A fresh friend hath a fresh carouse.
And quaffe with euerey company.
To enter at his hostry gates !
Cannot an Innkeeper be.

In the same strain, is a description of a plump country lass, who officiates to Kemp in his morris-dance, as his Maid Marian. SIGNAT. B. 3. Jonson alludes to Kemp's performance of this morris-dance, from London to Norwich in nine days. EPIGR. cxxxiv.

— — — or which
Did dance the famous morrisse vnto Norwich.

But to return to Marston.

In the Preface called *In lectores frensus indignos*, is the word 'Proface.' I do not recollect that the passage has been adduced by the late editors of Shakespeare. Vol. v. p. 595. edit. 1778.

Proface, read on, for your extreamst dislikes
Will add a pinion to my praises flights.

In the GULS HORNE BOORE, 1609. p. 4. 'Comus, thou clarke of Gluttonie's kitchen, doe thou also bid me PROFACE.' In the same author's BELMAN OF LONDON, 1603, the second edition, Bl. Lett. 4to. 'The table being thus furnished, instead of Grace, euerie one drew out a knife, rapt out a round oath, and cried, PROFACE, *you mad rogues, &c.*' Signat. C. See also Taylor's SCULLING EPIGR. 43. These instances may be added, to those which Farmer, Steevens, and Malone, have collected on the word. The meaning is obvious, 'Fall on—' B. i. 3.

Candied potatoes are Athenians meate.

Our philosophers, our academics, indulge themselves in food inciting to venery.
B. i. 4.

He'll cleanse himself to Shoreditch puritie.

I have before observed that Shoreditch was famous for brothels. He just before speaks of a 'White friers queane. We have a Shoreditch baulke. B. iii. 11.' In his CERTAIN SATYRES he mentions the gallants trooping to 'Brownes common.' Sat. ii. In Goddard's MASTIF, or Satires, No Date. SAT. 27.

Or is he one that lets a *Shoreditch* wench
The golden entrails of his purse to drench.

In Dekker's IESTS TO MAKE YOU MERIE, 1607. JEST. 59. 'Simpenny signets that lay in 'the Spittle in Shoreditch.' In Middleton's INNER TEMPLE MASQUE, printed 1619.

Tis in your charge to pull down bawdy houses.
— — — Cause spoile SHOREDITCH,
And deface Turnbull [street.] — —

And in the Preface to *The Letting of Humours blood in the head vaine*, or Satires, 1600, Signat. A. 2.

— — — Some coward gull
That is but champion to a *Shoreditch* drab.

New set are easly mou'd and pluck'd away ;
But elder roots clip faster in the clay. [B. i. 4.]

Of the influence of the drama, which now began to be the most

I know not whether it will illustrate the antiquity of the Ballad of George Barnwell to observe, that the house of the Harlot, the heroine of the story, is in Shoreditch. The CURTAIN, one of our old theaters, was in Shoreditch. B. ii. PROEM. st. 3.

With tricksey tales of speaking Cornish dawes.

Tricksey, I think, is an epithet of Ariel in the TEMPEST. A *tricksie* strain occurs. B. iii. 9.

Ibid. st. 4.

What though some John a stile will basefly toile.

This is the first use I remember of *John a Stiles*. But we have below, B. ii. 7.

Looke you, comes John a noke, and John a stile.

He means two lawyers,
B. ii. 7. Of a gallant,

Note his French herring-bones.——

His band-strings. Wood says, that Dr. Owen, dean of Christ church, and Cromwell's vice-chancellor at Oxford, in 1652, used to go, in contempt of form, 'like a young scholar, with powdered hair, *snake-bone* bandstrings, or bandstrings with very large tassells, lawn band, a large set of ribbands, pointed, at his knees, and Spanish-leather boots with large lawn tops, and his hat most cocked.' ATHEN. OXON. ii. 738. Num. 572.

B. ii. 7. He is speaking of a Judge, in his furred *damaske-coate*.

He's nought but budge.——

That is, fur. So Milton in COMUS, v. 707.

Those budge doctors of the stoick fur.

He alludes to the furred gown of a graduate. See Life of SIR T. POPE, p. 285, edit. 2.

B. iii. 9. He speaks of a critic abusing Mortimer's numbers. I believe he means Drayton's epistle of MORTIMER to QUEEN ISABEL. Drayton's EPISTLES appeared in 1597. Or perhaps Drayton's MORTIMERIADOS, published in 1596.

B. iii. 11.

—— Lothsome brothell-rime,
That stinks like Aiax-froth, or muckpit slime.

He means sir John Harrington's Ajax, which gave great offence to queen Elizabeth. See Harrington's EPIGRAMS, B. i. 51. And Jonson, EPIGR. cxxxiv.

My Muse has plough'd with his that sung A-JAX.

B. ii. 7.

He nowe is forc'd his paunch and guts to pack
In a faire tumbrell.——

That is, To ride in a Coach.

B. ii. 7.

Her seate of sense is her rebato set.

The *set of her rebato* is the *stiffness* of her ruff newly plaited, starched, and *poked*. To *set* a hat, is to *cock* a hat, in provincial language. The ruff was adjusted or trimmed by what they called a *poking-stick*, made of iron, which was gently heated. A pamphlet is entered to W. Wright, Jul. 4, 1590, called 'Bluc starch and poking-stickes.' REGISTR. STATION. B. f. 260. a. Jonson says of a smoking coxcomb. 'The other opened his nostrils with a 'poking-stick, to giue the smoake more free deliuerie.' EVERIE M. OUT OF HIS H. Act. iii. Sc. iii.

In Goddard's *Degges from the Antipedes*, a lady says, whose ruff was discomposed. SAT. 29.

'Lord! my ruffe! SETT it with thy finger, Iohn!'

And our author, Sc. VILL. i. 2.

Lucia, new SET thy ruffe. ——

In the GULS HORNE BOOKE, p. 7. 'Your stiff-necked rebatoes, that have more arches for pride to rowe vnder, than can stand vnder fve London bridges, durst not then *set* themselves out in print.' And hence we must explain a line in Hall, iii. 7.

His linnen collar Labyrinthian *set*.

polite and popular diversion, on conversation, we have the following instance.

Luscus, what's plaid to day? Faith, now I know,
I set thy lips abroach, from whence doth flowe
Nought but pure JULIET AND ROMEO.
Say, who acts best, Drusus or Roscio?
Nowe I have him, that nere, if aught, did speake
But when of playes or players he did treat :
Hath made a common-place book out of playes,
And speakes in print : at least whateer he sayes,
Is warranted by curtaine-*plaudities*.
If eer you heard him courting Lesbia's eyes,
Say, courteous sir, speakes he not movingly
From out some new pathetique tragedy? [B. iii. II.]

He appears to have been a violent enemy of the puritans.

———— — But thou, rank Puritan,
I'll make an ape as good a christian :
I'll force him chatter, turning vp his eye,
Look sad, go graue, Demure civillitie
Shall scorne to say, *good brother, sister deare!*
As for the rest, to snort in belly cheere,
To bite, to gnaw, and boldly intermell
With holy things, in which thou dost excell,
Vnforc'd he'll doe. O take compassion
Euen on your soules : make not Religion
A bawde to lewdnesse. Civil Socrates,
Clip not the youth of Alcibiades
With vnchast armes. Disguised Messaline,
I'll teare thy mask, and bare thee to the cyne, &c. [B. iii. 9.]

It is not that I am afraid of being tedious, that I find myself obliged to refrain from producing any more citations. There are however, a

B. i. 3.

A Crabs bakt guts, a lobsters buttered thigh, &c.

So in MARSTON'S *MALECONTENT*, printed 1604. A. ii. S. ii. 'Crabs guts baked, distilled ox-pith, the pulverized hairs of a lion's upper lip, etc.'

SAT. iii. 8.

I saw him court his mistresse looking glasse,
Worship a buske-point. —

A buske was a flexile pin or stick for keeping a woman's stayes tight before. Marston's context too clearly explains the meaning of the word. So in *PIGMALION'S IMAGE*, st. xix.

Loue is a child contented with a toy,
A buske-point or some favour stills the boy.

But see *OLD-PLAYS*, v. 251.

SATYRES, Sat. iv.

Ye Granta's white Nymphs come!—

White was anciently used as a term of fondling or endearment. In the *RETURN FROM PARNASSUS*, 1606, Amoretto's Page says, 'When he returns, I'll tell twenty admirable lies of his hawk; and then I shall be his little rogue, his *WHITE* villain, for a whole week after.' A. ii. S. vi. Doctor Busby used to call his favourite scholars, his *White Eyes*. I could add a variety of other combinations.

few more passages which may safely be quoted, but which I choose to reserve for future illustration.

There is a carelessness and laxity in Marston's versification, but there is a freedom and facility, which Hall has too frequently missed, by labouring to confine the sense to the couplet. Hall's measures are more musical, not because the music of verse consists in uniformity of pause, and regularity of cadence. Hall had a correcter ear; and his lines have a tuneful strength, in proportion as his language is more polished, his phraseology more select, and his structure more studied. Hall's meaning, among other reasons, is not always so soon apprehended, on account of his compression both in sentiment and diction. Marston is more perspicuous, as he thinks less and writes hastily. Hall is superiour in penetration, accurate conception of character, acuteness of reflection, and the accumulation of thoughts and images. Hall has more humour, Marston more acrimony. Hall often draws his materials from books and the diligent perusal of other satirists, Marston from real life. Yet Hall has a larger variety of characters. He possessed the talent of borrowing with address, and of giving originality to his copies. On the whole, Hall is more elegant, exact, and elaborate.

It is Marston's misfortune, that he can never keep clear of the impurities of the brothel. His stream of poetry, if sometimes bright and unpolluted, almost always betrays a muddy bottom. The satirist who too freely indulges himself in the display of that licentiousness which he means to proscribe, absolutely defeats his own design. He inflames those passions which he professes to suppress, gratifies the depravations of a prurient curiosity, and seduces innocent minds to an acquaintance with ideas which they might never have known.

The satires of Hall and Marston were condemned to the same flame and by the same authority. But Hall certainly deserved a milder sentence. Hall exposes vice, not in the wantonness of description, but with the reserve of a cautious yet lively moralist. Perhaps every censurer of obscenity does some harm, by turning the attention to an immodest object. But this effect is to be counteracted by the force and propriety of his reproof, by shewing the pernicious consequences of voluptuous excesses, by suggesting motives to an opposite conduct, and by making the picture disgusting by dashes of deformity. When Vice is led forth to be sacrificed at the shrine of virtue, the victim should not be too richly dressed.

SECTION LXVI.

THE popularity of Hall's and Marston's Satires, notwithstanding their proscription or rather extermination by spiritual authority, produced an innumerable crop of SATIRISTS, and of a set of writers, differing but little more than in name, and now properly belonging to the same species, EPIGRAMMATISTS.

In 1598, printed at London, appeared 'SKIALETHEIA, or a Shadowe of Truth in certaine Epigrams and Satyres.' The same year, SEVEN SATIRES, applied to the week, including the world's ridiculous follies¹. This form was an imitation of the SEMAINES of Du Bartas, just translated into English by Delisle. The same year, 'A SHADOWE of TRUTH in certaine Epigrams and Satires².' This year also, as I conjecture, were published Epigrams by sir John Davies, author of NOSCE TEIPSUM³. These must not be confounded with the SCOURGE OF FOLLY, by John Davies of Hereford, printed in 1611. In 1598 also, was published in quarto, 'Tyros roaring Megge, planted against the 'walls of Melancholy, London, 1598.' With two Decads of Epigrams⁴. The author appears to have been of Cambridge. Tyro is perhaps a real name. The dedication is to Master John Lucas.

In the year 1598, was also published, under the general title of CHRESTOLOROS, seven Books of Epigrams, by Thomas Bastard⁵. Bastard, a native of Blandford in Dorsetshire, was removed from a fellowship of New-College Oxford, in 1591, being, as Wood says, 'much guilty of the vices belonging to the poets, "and given to libel-ling⁶.' Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, has an Epigram addressed to 'Master Bastard, a minister, that made a pleasant Booke 'of English Epigrams⁷.' Wood, in his manuscript Collection of Oxford libels and lampoons, which perhaps he took as much pleasure in collecting as the authors in writing, now remaining in the Ashmolean

¹ Entered to William Fyrebrand, May 3, 1508. REGISTR. STATION. C. f. 34. b.

² Entered to N. Linge, Sept. 15, 1598. Ibid. f. 41. b.

³ Marlowe's OVID'S ELEGIES were accompanied with these Epigrams. The whole title is, 'Epigramms and Elegies, by J. D. and C. M. [Marlowe.] at Middleburgh.' No date. Davies's Epigrams are commended in Jonson's Epigrams, xviii. And in Fitzgeoffry's AFFIANÆ, Lib. ii. Signat. E. 4.

DAVISIOS lædat mihi, Jonsoniosque lacesat.

⁴ With 'sequitur Tyronis Epistola.' Compare Wood, ATH. OXON, F. i. 219.

⁵ Entered to Joane Brome, Apr. 3, 1598. Ibid. f. 38. b.

⁶ ATH. OXON. i. 431.

⁷ HARRINGTON'S EPIGRAMS, B. ii. 64. See also B. ii. 84. They are also mentioned with applause in Goddard's MASTIF, no date, SAT. 81. And in Parrot's SPRINGES FOR WOODCOCKES, Lib. i. EPIGR. 118.

Museum, and composed by various students of Oxford in the reign of queen Elizabeth, has preserved two of Bastard's satirical pieces¹. By the patronage or favour of lord treasurer Suffolk, he was made vicar of Bere-regis, and rector of Hamer, in Dorsetshire; and from writing smart epigrams in his youth, became in his graver years a quaint preacher². He died a prisoner for debt, in Dorchester-gaol, April 19, 1618. He was an elegant classic scholar, and appears to have been better qualified for that species of the occasional pointed Latin epigram established by his fellow-collegian John Owen, than for any sort of English versification.

In 1599, appeared 'MICROCYNICON sixe snarling satyres by T. M. Gentleman,' perhaps Thomas Middleton. About the same time appeared, without date, in quarto, written by William Goddard, 'A MASTIF WHELP, with other ruff-iland-like currs fetcht from amongst the Antipedes, which bite and barke at the fantastical humourists and abusers of the time. Imprinted at the Antipedes, and are to be bought where they are to be sold.' It contains eighty-five satires. To these is added, 'Dogges from the Antipedes,' containing forty one³.

¹ One of them is entitled, 'An admonition to the City of Oxford, or Mareplate's 'Bastardine.' In this piece, says Wood, he 'reflects upon all persons of note in Oxford, who were guilty of amorous exploits, or that mixed themselves with other men's wives, or with wanton houswives in Oxon.' The other is a disavowal of this lampoon, written after his expulsion, and beginning *Jenkin why man*, etc. See Meres, WITS TR. f. 284.

² There are two sets of his Sermons, Five, London, 1615, 4to. The three first of these are called the MARIGOLD OF THE SUN. Twelve, London, 1615, 4to.

³ The name of the author, who appears to have been a soldier, is added in the Dedication, to some of his *flatt-cappe* friends at the Temple. The Satires were written after Bastard's EPIGRAMS, which are commended, SAT. 81. I will give a specimen from the second part, SAT. 5.

To see Morilla in her coach to ride,
With her long locke of haire vpon one side :
With hatt and feather worn in swaggering guise,
With buttnd boddice, skirted dubblett-wise,
Vnmaskt, and sit i' th' booth without a fanne :
Speake, could you iudge her lesse than be some manne, etc.

Here is the dress of a modern amazon, in what is called a *Riding-habit*. The side lock of hair, which was common both to men and women, was called the French Lock. So Freeman of a beau, in RUB AND A GREAT CAST, edit. 1614, EPIGR. 32.

Beside a long French locke. —

And Hall, SAT. iii. 7.

His haire French-like stares on his frighted head.
One locke, amazon-like, disheveled.

Hence may be illustrated a passage in a *Letting of Humours blood*, &c. printed about 1600. EPIGR. 27.

Aske Humors why a feather he doth weare, —
Or what he doth with such a horsetail locke.

See also Perrott's *Springs for Woodcocks*, or Epigrams, 1613, Lib. i. EPIGR. i. Of a beau,
And on his shoulder weares a dangling locke.

In B. Rich's OPINION DEIFIED, etc. 'Some by wearing a *long locke* that hangs *dangling* by his eare, do think by that louzie commoditie to be esteemed by the opinion of foolery.' Lond. 1613. 4to. ch. xxix. p. 53. Again, in RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, 1606, A. iii. S. ii.

Must take tobacco, and must *weare a lock*.

Compare Warburton's note on MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING, A. v. S. i. 'He wears a key in his ear, and a long lock hanging by it, &c.' I add but one more instance, from the character of a RUFFIAN, or bully. 'When without money, his ginsling spurre hath lost his voice, his head his *locke* etc.' WHYMZIES, or a new Cast of CHARACTERS, Lond. 1631. 16mo. p. 136.

A satyirical piece in stanzas, which has considerable merit, called PASQUILL'S MAD-CAP, was printed at London in quarto, for V. S. in the year 1600¹. With Pasquill's MESSAGE. Also by the same author, perhaps Nicholas Breton, Pasquill's FOOLE-CAP, printed for T. Johnes in the same year, the dedication signed, N. B. At the end is 'Pasquill's passion for the world's waiwardnesse².' In the year 1601, was 'published in duodecimo, 'The whipper of the Satyre, his pennance in 'a white sheete, Or the Beadles Confutation, Imprinted at London, by 'John Fasket, 1601.' And by way of reply, 'No whippinge nor trip- 'pinge, but a kind of snippinge, London, 1601.' Again, 'The whipping 'of the SATYRE, Imprinted at London for John Flasket, 1601³.' About the same time, as I conjecture, were published, 'Epigrams served out 'in fifty-two severall dishes, for every man to taste without surfeting. 'By I. C. gentleman.' At London, without date. In 1608, 'Epigrams, 'or Humour's Lottery⁴.' The same year, 'A Century of Epigrams, by 'R. W. Bachelor of Arts, Oxon⁵.' The same year, 'Satyres, by Richard 'Myddleton, gentleman, of Yorke⁶.' In 1619, 'Newe Epigrams, 'having in their Companie a mad satyre, by Joseph Martin, London, 'for Elde⁷.' In 1613, were published two books of epigrams, written by Henry Perrot, entitled, 'LAQUEI RIDICULOSI, or Springes for Wood-

¹ He says, p. 36.

And tell prose writers, STORIES are so stale.
That penie ballads make a better sale.

He mentions country-players, p. 31. PASQUILL'S MAD-CAP is applauded in THE WHIPPING OF THE SATYRE, 1601. Signat. F. 3.

That MAD-CAP yet superior praise doth win, etc.

In Dekker's GUL'S HORNE BOOK, 1609, we have, 'I am the Pasquill's MAD-CAPPE that 'will doot.' p. 8. 'PASQUILL'S HESTS, with the merriments of mother Bunch,' were published, Lond. 1609. Bl. Let. 4to. But this I suppose not to have been the first edition. And in reference to Pasquill's MAD-CAP, there is, 'Old Mad-cappes new gallimaufry, made into a 'merrie messe of mingle mangle, 1602.'

² Under the title of PASQUIN, we have also the following coeval pieces. 'PASQUILL'S 'MISTRESSE, or the wortheie and unwortheie woman, 1600.—PASQUILL'S PASSE, and passeth 'not, set downe in three pees, 1600.—PASQUILL'S PALINODIA, and his Progresse to the 'taverne, where, after the survey of the Sellar, you are presented with a pleasant pynte of 'poeticall sherry, 1619.'

³ In duodecimo. It is dedicated to the Vayne glorious, the HUMOURIST, SATYRIST, and 'EPIGRAMMATIST.' The writer's initials are I. W. I believe this piece to be a Reply to Rowlands. But in one place he seems to attack Marston. Signat. D. 2.

But harke, I here the Cynicke Satyre crie,

A man, a man, a kingdom for a man!

He mentions the Fatness of Falstaff. Signat. D. 3.

That sir John Falstaffe was not any way
More grosse in body, than you are in brayne.

⁴ Entered, April 11, to Busbie and Holme. REGISTR. STATION. C. f. 165. b.

⁵ Entered, Apr. 21, to T. Thorpe, lb. f. 166. a. I take R. W. to be Richard West, who is the author of 'Newes from Bartholomew fair,' entered to I. Wright, Jul. 16, 1606. Ibid. f. 147. b. I find 'Merry Jestes, concerning popes, monks, and fryers, from the French, by R. 'W. Bachelor of Arts, of H. H. [Hart-Hall] Oxon, assigned to John Barnes.' REGISTR. STATION. D. f. 11. a.

⁶ Entered to Jos. Harrison, May 4. REGISTR. C. f. 167. a.

⁷ There is a second edition entered to Elde, May 1, 1621. REGISTR. D. f. 15. a. In 1617, 'A paraphrasticke transcript of Juvenal's tenth Satyre, with the tragicall narrative of Virginia's 'death is entered, Oct. 14, to N. Newbury.' REGISTR. C. f. 284. b.

'cockes. *Caveat emptor*. Lond. for J. Busbie, 1613¹. Many of them are worthy to be revived in modern collections. I am tempted to transcribe a specimen.

A Welshman and an Englishman disputed,
Which of their Lands² maintain'd the greatest state:
The Englishman the Welshman quite confuted;
Yet would the Welshman nought his brags abate;
'Ten cookes in Wales, quoth he, one wedding sees;
'True, quoth the other,—*Each man toasts his cheese*³.'

John Weaver, I believe the antiquary who wrote ANCIENT FUNERAL MONUMENTS, published a book of Epigrams, in 1599, or rather 1600, which are ranked among the best, by Jonson⁴. Thomas Freeman, [a student in Magdalen college Oxford, about the year 1607, who appears to have enjoyed the friendship and encouragement of Owen, Shakespeare, Daniel, Donne, Chapman, and Heywood the dramatist, printed in quarto, 'RUB AND A GREAT CAST. In one hundred Epigrams, 'London, 1614⁵. To these is annexed, 'RUB AND A GREAT CAST. 'The second Bowl in an hundred Epigrams.' Both sets are dedicated to Thomas Lord, Windsor. Thomas Wroth of Glocester-Hall, Oxford, about 1603, published at London, in quarto, 1620, 'An Abortive 'of an idle Hour, or a century of Epigrams⁶.'

To the opening of 1600, I would also assign 'The MASTIVE or 'young Whelpe of the old dogge. Epigrams and Satyres. London,

¹ In the Latin Dedication, it appears they were written in 1611. Mr. Steevens quotes an edition in 1606. Shakesp. Vol. viii. 409.

² Countries.

³ Lib. i. EPIGR. 9.

Taylor the water poet, has mentioned Parrot's Epigrams, in EPIGRAMS, p. 263. fol. edit. EPIGR. vii.

My Muse hath vow'd reuenge shall haue her swindge,
To catch a *Parrot* in the wookcockes springe.

See also p: 265. EPIGR. xxxi.

⁴ Jonson's EPIGR. xviii. They are in duodecimo, and cited in ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS, 1600.

⁵ I am tempted to give the following specimen of our author's humour, more especially as it displays the growing extent of London, in the year 1614. Sign. B. 3. EPIGR. 13.

LONDON'S PROGRESS.

Quo ruis alidemens? —

Why how nowe, Babel, whither wilt thou build
I see old Holborne, Charing-crosse, the Strand,
Are going to Saint Giles's in the field.
Saint Katerne she takes Wapping by the hand,
And Hogsdon will to Hygate ere't be long.
London is got a great way from the streame,
I thinke she meanes to go to Islington,
To eate a dishe of strawberries and creame.
The City's sure in *progresse* I surmise,
Or going to revell it in some disorder,
Without the walls, without the Liberties,
Where she neede feare nor Mayor nor Recorder.
Well, say she do, 'twere pretty, yet tis pittie,
A *Middlesex* Baliff should arrest the *Citty*.

This poetical rant has been verified far beyond the writer's imagination.

⁶ They are mentioned with applause in Stradling's EPIGRAMMATA, published 1607.

'printed by Thomas Creede. In quarto, without date.' The Advertisement to the reader is subscribed H. P¹. We are sure that they were at least written after Churchyard's death: for in the third Epigram, the writer says, that Haywood was *held for* EPIGRAMS *the best* when Churchyard wrote².

Some of the critics of the author's days are thus described.

The mending poet takes it next in hand ;
 Who hauing oft the verses ouerscan'd,
 'O filching !' straight doth to the stat'ner say,
 'Here's foure lines stolen from my last newe play.'—
 Then comes my Innes of court-man in his gowne,
 Cryes, *Mew!* What hackney brovght this wit to towne?
 But soone again my gallant youth is gon,
 Minding the kitchen³ more than Littleton.
Tut what cares he for law, shall haue enough
 When's father dyes, that canker'd miser-chuffe.
 Next after him the countrey farmer⁴ views it,
 'It may be good, saith he, for those that vse it :
 'Shewe me king ARTHUR, BEUIS, or SIR GUY, &c⁵.'

In these days, the young students of the Inns of Court, seem to have been the most formidable of the critics⁶.

The figure and stratagems of the hungry captain, fresh from abroad, are thus exposed.

¹ I know not if these initials mean Henry Parrot, an epigrammatist before recited. There is also, 'THE MORE THE MERRIER, containing threescore and odde headlesse Epigrams shott, like the Fools bolt amongst you, light where you will. By H. P. Gent.' Lond. 1608. 4to. 'Who says in his dedication, Concerning vnsauorie lewdnesse, which many of our Epigrammatist so much affect, I haue esteemed it fitter for Pick-hatch than Powles churchyard.' Is H. P. for Henry Peacham? One of the Epigrams (Epig. 51.) in the last mentioned collection appears, with some little difference only, in Peacham's MINERVA, fol. 61. edit. 4to. By one H. P. are 'Characters and Cures for the Itch. Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs.' A BALLAD-MAKER is one of the characters, p. 3. London, for T. Jones, 1626. 12mo.

² I have some faint remembrance of a collection of Epigrams, by Thomas Harman, about the year 1599. Perhaps he is the same who wrote the following very curious tract, unmentioned by Ames. 'A Caueat for common cversitors vulgariter, called Uagabondes, set forth by Thomas Harman, esquier, for the vtilitie and proffyt of his naturall countrey. Newly augmented and imprinted Anno domini. M.D. LXVII. Imprinted at London in fletestrete, at the signe of the faulcon, by Wylliam Gryffith, and are to be solde at his shoope, in saynt Dunstones churchyard, in the west.' A quarto in black letter, with a wooden cut in the title. In the work, is a reference to the first edition in the preceding year, 1566. It is dedicated, with singular impropriety, to Elizabeth countess of Shrewsbury. The writer speaks of his lodgings 'at the White fryers within the cloyster.' fol. 20. b. This seems to have given rise to another piece of the same sort, unnoticed also by Ames, 'The fraternitie of vacabondes, the xxv order of Knaues, &c. Imprinted at London. by John Awdely, dwelling in little Britayne streete, without Aldersgate, 1575.' Bl. Let. 4to. These, by the way, are some of the first books exhibiting, not only the tricks but the language, of thieves, which Jonson has introduced into his MASQUE OF GIPSIES. Compare Ames, HIST. PR. p. 423.

³ They were famous for their entertainments at the inns of court.

⁴ Country gentleman, yeoman.

⁵ Old Romances. SAT. ii. SIGNAT. H. 3.

⁶ Hence, among a variety of instances, says Marston in the second preface to his SCOURGE OF VILLANY.

Some pedant spruce, or some span-new-come fry,
 Of Inns a-court, struing to vilifie
 My darke reproofes, &c.

Marke, and you love me.—Who's yond' marching hither?
 Some braue Low-Country Captain with his feather,
 And high-crown'd hat. See, into Paules¹ he goes,
 To shoue his doublet, and Italian hose.
 The whiles his Corporal walkes the other ile,
 To see what simple gulls he can beguile².

The wars in Spain and the Low-countries filled the metropolis with a set of needy military adventurers, returning from those expeditions, who were a mixture of swaggering and submission, of flattery and ferocity, of cowardice and courage, who assumed a sort of professional magnanimity, yet stooped to the most ignominious insults, who endeavoured to attract the attention of the public, by the splendour of martial habiliments, were ready for any adventures of riot and debauchery, and insinuated themselves into favour by hyperbolical narrations of their hazardous achievements. Jonson's Bobadill was of this race of heroic rakes. We have seen one of them admirably described by Marston³.

In 1600 appeared, a mixture of Satires and Epigrams, 'THE LETTING OF HUMOURS BLOOD IN THE HEAD VAIN, with a new morisco 'daunced by seuen satyrs, upon the bottom of Diogenes tubbe,' written by Samuel Rowlands, and printed by William White⁴.

In a panegyric on Carnico, a potation mentioned by Shakespeare,

¹ The ile of Saint Paul's church were the fashionable walk.

² Sat. iii. SIGNAT. I. 2.

³ And in another place, B. ii. 7.

What, meanst thou him, that in his swaggering slops
 Wallowes vnbraced all along the streete?
 He that salutes each gallant he doth meete,
 With *farewell capitaine, kind heart*, adew!
 He that the last night, tumbling thou didst view,
 From out the great man's head¹, and thinking still,
 He had been sentinell of warlike Brill, &c.

The *great man's* head, if the true reading, must be a cant-word for the Sign of some tavern. Harrington has an Epigram of one getting drunk at the *Sarazens head*. B. i. 52. W. Fenner mentions the Saracen's head, without Newgate, and another without Bishopsgate both famous for ferocity of feature. The Compter's *Commonwealth*, &c. p. 3, Lond. 1617. 4to. Brill, which we now call The Brill, is a town in the Netherlands. See also Hall. SAT. iv. 4.

And pointed on the shoulders for the nonce,
 As new come from the Belgian garrisons.

¹ In small octavo. There is another edition, without date, in small quarto, exhibiting a very different title, 'HUMORS ORDINARIE, where aman may be *verie merrie* and *exceedingly* well vsed for his *six-pence*. At London, Printed for William Firebrand, etc.' I know not which is the first of the two. He praises Tarleton the comedian, for his part of the Clowne, and his Clownishe *sloppe*, EPIGR. 30. And Pope for his part of the Clowne. SAT. iv. Singer the player is also mentioned. *ibid.* One Samuel Rowlands, I know not if the same, has left in verse, 'The Betreying of Christ, Judas in despair, The seven wounds of our Saviour on the crosse, with other poems on the passion,' dedicated to sir Nicholas Walsh, knight, 1598, for Adam Islip, in quarto. Under the same name I have seen other religious poems, rather later. See Percy's BALL. iii. 117.

¹ A sign.

he alludes to the unfortunate death of three cotemporary poets, two of which are perhaps Green and Marlowe, or perhaps George Peele¹.

As for the Worthies on his hoste's walle²,
He knowes three worthy drunkards passe them alle;
The first of them, in many a tauerne tride,
At last subdued by *Aquavite* dide:
His second worthy's date was brought to fine,
Freshing with oysters, and braue Rhenish wine.
The third, whom diuers Dutchmen held full deere,
Was stabb'd by pickled herrings and stronge beere.
Well, happy is the man doth rightly know,
The vertue of three cuppes of Charnico³!

The rotation of fashionable pleasures, and the mode of passing a day of polite dissipation in the metropolis, are thus represented. The speaker is SIR REVELL, who is elegantly dressed in a *dish-crowned* hat and square-toed shoes.

Speake, gentlemen, what shall we do to day?
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse⁴,
Or shall we to the GLOBE, and see a Play?
Or visit Shoreditch for a bawdie house⁵?
Let's call for cardes, or dice, and have a game:
To sit thus idle, &c⁶.

In another we have the accomplished fashion-monger⁷.

¹ It is called a *sparkling* liquor, in Goddard's MASTIF-WHELP, or Satires, no date. SAT. 63. [See Notes to SEC. P. HENR. vi. A. ii. S. 3.]

— — — I will steepe
Thy muddy braines in sparkling CHARNICO.

See Reed's OLD PLAYS, iii. 457.

² Pictures on the walls of the tavern.

³ Sat. vi. Again, EPIG. 22. Marlow's end has been before related. Robert Green was killed by a surfeit of pickled herrings and Rhenish wine. This was in 1592. At which fatal banquet Thomas Nash was present. Meres says, that Peele died of the venereal disease. WITS TR. f. 285. p. 2. He must have been dead before, or in, 1593.

⁴ Marston asks, what a traveller brings from Holland, CERT. SAT. ii.

From Belgia what, but their deep beeling,
Their boote-carouse, and their beere-buttering.

Again, SC. VILLAN. B. i. 3.

In Cyprian dalliance, and in Belgick cheere.

⁵ See George Wither's ABUSES STRIPT AND WHIPT, OR SATYRICAL ESSAYS, Lond. 1615. 12mo. The SCOURGE, p. 277.

— — — But here approaches
A troop, with torches hurried in their coaches,
Stay, and behold, what are they? I can tell,
Some bound for Shoreditch, or for Clarkenwell.
O, these are they which thinke that fornication, &c.

⁶ EPIG. 7.

⁷ I will subjoin the same character from Marston's SCOURGE OF VILLANIE, which is more witty, but less distinct and circumstantial. B. iii. 11.

This fashion-monger, each morne fore he rise,
Contemplates sute shapes, and once out of bed,
He hath them straight full lively portrayed:
And then he chuckes, and is as proude of this,

Behold a most accomplish'd cavaleere,
 That the world's ape of fashions doth appeare !
 Walking the streets, his humour to disclose,
 In the French doublet, and the German hose :
 The muffle, cloak, Spanish hat, Toledo blade,
 Italian ruffe, a shoe right Flemish made :
 Lord of misrule, where'er he comes he'll revell, &c¹.

In another, of a beau still more affected, he says,

How rare his spurres do ring the morris dance² !

One of the swaggerers of the times, who in his rambles about the town, visits the Royal exchange as a mercantile traveller, is not unhappily delineated.

Sometimes into the Royal 'Change he'll droppe,
 Clad in the ruines of a broker's shoppe.
 And there his tongue runs byass on affaires,
 No talk, but of commodities and wares.—
 If newes be harken'd for, then he prevalyes,
 Setting his mynt at worke to coyne new tayles³.—
 He'll tell you of a tree that he doth knowe,
 Vpon the which rapiers and daggers growe,
 As good as Fleetstrete hath in any shoppe,
 Which being ripe downe into scabbards droppe.—
 His wondrous trauells challenge such renowne,
 That sir John Mandeuille is quite pvt downe⁴.

As Taphus when he got his neighbours blisse.
 All fashions, since the first yeare of the Queene,
 May in his study fairly drawne be scene ;—
 The long Fooles coat, the huge slop, the lug'd boote,
 From mimick Pyso all doe claime their roote.
 O, that the boundlesse power of the soule
 Should be coup'd vp in fashioning some roule !

See above, a fantastic beau by Hall.

¹ EPIGR. 25.

² EPIGR. 32. Boots were a mark of dignity or elegance, *ibid.* EPIGR. 8.

He scornes to walke in Powles without his bootes.

³ Hall has a character partly resembling this, SAT. vi. 1.

Tatteliuſ, the new-come traueller,
 With his disguised coate, and ringed ear,
 Trampling the bourse's marble twice a day,
 Tells nothing but starke truths, I dare well say, &c.

The *bourse's marble* is the pavement of the Royal Exchange, now newly erected by sir Thomas Gresham. The Royal Exchange seems to have been frequented by hungry walkers as well as saint Pauls, from Robert Hayman's QUODLIBETS, or EPIGRAMS, &c. Lond. 1628. 4to. Epigr. 35. p. 6.

TO SIR PEARCE PENNILESS.

Though little coyne thy purselesse pockets lyne,
 Yet with great company thou'rt taken vp ;
 For often with duke Humfray thou dost dyne,
 And often with sir Thomas Gresham sup.

⁴ Hall alludes to sir John Mandeuille's TRAVELLS, a book not yet out of vogue. SAT. B. iv. 6.

Or whetstone leesings of old Mandeuille.

And in the IRISH BANQUET, 'or the Mayors feast of Youghall,' Certain pieces of this age parabolized in T. Scot's PHILOMYTHIE, printed in 1606. 8vo. Signat. M. 2.

Of Ladies loues, of Turnaies, and such sights
 As Mandeuille nere saw. —

Men without heads, and pigmies hand-breadth hie,
 Those, with no legges, that on their backs do lie;
 Or¹, do the weather's iniurie sustaine,
 Making their leggs a penthouse for the raine².

Gabriel Harvey, in his *Four Letters* printed in 1592, quotes some English hexameters, from 'those vnsatyrical Satyres, which Mr. 'Spencer long since embraced in an overloving sonnet³.' This passage seems to indicate a set of satires, now unknown, to which Spenser had prefixed the undeserved honour of a commendatory sonnet, now equally forgotten.

Meres, who wrote in 1598, observes, 'As Horace, Lucilius, Juvenal, 'Persius, and Lucullus, are the best for SATYRE among the Latins, so with us, in the same faculty these are chiefe: Piers PLOWMAN, Lodge, 'Hall of Emanuel colledge in Cambridge, the author of PIGMALION'S 'IMAGE AND CERTAINE SATYRES⁴, the author of SHIALETHIA⁵.' And in another place, having cited some of Marston's satires, he adds Rankins as a satirist⁶. I have never elsewhere seen the name of Rankins. Nor have I seen Lodge's Satires, unless his 'ALARUM 'AGAINST USURERS, containing tried experiences against worldly 'abuses,' and its appendix his *History of Forbonius and Prisæria*, printed, London, 1584, may be considered under that character.

Wood also, a great dealer in the works of our old minor poets, yet at the same time a frequent transcriber from Meres, still more embarrasses this matter, when he says, that Lodge, after he left Trinity college at Oxford, about the year 1576, and 'had spent some time in 'exercising his fancy among the poets in the great city, he was 'esteemed, not Joseph Hall of Emanuel college excepted, the best for 'satyr among English men⁷.' Lodge was fitted for a different mode of composition. He was chiefly noted for pastorals, madrigals, and sonnets; and for his *EUPHUES GOLDEN LEGACY*, which furnished the plot of the *AS YOU LIKE IT* of Shakespeare. In an extended acceptance, many of the prose-pamphlets written about this period, by Greene and Decker, which paint or expose popular foibles and fashions, particularly Decker's *GUL'S HORN-BOOK*, a manual or directory for initiating an unexperienced spendthrift into the gaieties of the metropolis, might claim the appellation of satires⁸. That the rage of writing

I have 'THE SPANISH MANDEVILE OF MIRACLES, translated from the Spanish,' Lond. 1618. 4to. The Dedication, to lord Buckhurst, is dated 1600.

¹Or those, who having legs, and lying on their backs, etc.

²SAT. i. In these Satires, Monsieur Domingo, a drunkard is mentioned. EPIGR. i. See Shakesp. SEC. P. H. iv. A. 5. S. 3.

³LET. iii. p. 44.

⁴Marston's SCOURGE OF VILLANIE had not yet appeared.

⁵Fol. 282. 2.

⁶Fol. 277.

⁷ATH. OXON. i. 498.

⁸Harrington in his *Epigrams*, mentions the Satires of a poet whom he often attacks under the name of Lynus. B. i. 67.

His Distickes, SATYRES, Sonnets and Hexameters,
 His Epigrams, his Lyrics, and Pentameters.

satires, and satirical epigrams, continued long, will appear from a piece of some humour, called "An Inquisition against Paper-persecutors," written in 1625¹. But of this, more distinct proofs will appear in the progress of our history.

It must not be forgotten, that a second impression of an English version of Ariosto's Satires, which contain many anecdotes of his life and circumstances, and some humorous tales, and which are marked with a strong vein of free reprehension, but with much less obscenity than might be expected from satires written by the author of ORLANDO FURIOSO, appeared in long verse, by an anonymous translator, in 1611². I believe these satires are but little known or esteemed by the Italians.

For the sake of juxtaposition, I will here anticipate in throwing to-

And again, he has an Epigram 'Against a foolish Satyrist, called Lynus, B. i. 14. See also, B. i. 41.

¹ By A. H. Lond. for H. H. 1625. p. 1. At the end of 'A Scourge for Paper-persecutors, 'by I. D.'

And shall it still be so? Nor is't more hard
To repaire Paul's, than to mend Paul's church-yard?
Still shall the youths that walk the middle ile,
To whet their stomachs before meales, compile
Their sudden volumes, and be neuer barr'd
From scattering their bastards through the yard? —

— — — It is no wonder,
That Paul's so often hath beene strucke with thunder:
T'was aimed at those shops, in which there lie
Such a confus'd heape of trumperie,
Whose titles each terme on the posts are rear'd,
In such abundance, it is to be fear'd
That they in time, if thus they go on, will
Not only LITTLE but GREAT Britain fill,
With their infectious swarmes, whose guilty sheetes
I haue obserued walking in the streetes;
Still lurking neare some church, as if hereby
They had retired to a sanctuary,
For murdering paper so. — — —

— — — Each drincking lozell nowe,
That hath but seen a colledge, and knows howe, etc.

After having censured those who versified the bible, and made it all Apocryphal, but with a compliment to the translators of Du Bartas, he adds,

Others that nere search'd newe-born vice at all,
But the Seuen Deadly Sinnes in generall,
Drawne from the tractate of some cloyster'd frier,
Will needs write SATYRES, and in raging fire
Exasperate their sharpe poetick straine;
And thinke they haue touch'd it, if they raile at Spaine,
The pope, and devill. — — —

The reader will recollect, that Saint Paul's church-yard and its environs, in which was LITTLE-BRITAIN, abounded with shops and stalls of booksellers: that its steeple was thrown down by lightning, in 1561: and that a general reparation of the church was now become a great object of the nation.

² 'Ariosto's SEVEN PLANETS governing Italie. Or, his Satyrs in seuen famous discourses, 'etc. Newly corrected and augmented, etc. With a new edition of three most excellent 'ELEGIES, written by the same Lodovico Ariosto.' By W. Stansby, 1611. 4to. I believe this title gave rise to the following. 'A Booke of the seuen planets, or seuen wandring 'motions of William Alabaster's wit, retrograded or removed by John Raester.' Lond. 1598. 4to. There is an edition of this translation of Ariosto's Satires, 1608.

It is more certain that Ariosto's title gave rise to 'The Philosophers Satyrs, or the 'Philosophers Seven Satyres, alluding to the seuen Planets, etc.' By Robert Anton of Magdalene college, Cambridge. Lond. 1616. 4to. It may be sufficient to have mentioned these Satires here.

gether the titles of some others of the most remarkable collections of satires and satirical epigrams, published between 1600 and 1620, meaning to consider hereafter those that best deserve, more critically and distinctly¹. *The COURT OF CONSCIENCE, or Dick Whippers Sessions*, appeared in 1607. *More fooles yet*, a collection of Epigrams in quarto, by R. S., perhaps Richard Smith, in 1610. *The most elegant and wittie Epigrams* of sir James Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, in four books, in 1611². Jonson's EPIGRAMS, in 1616³. Henry Fitzgeoffrey's SATIRES in 1617⁴. PHILOMYTHIE or PHILOMYTHOLOGIE, wherein outlandish birds, beasts, and fishes, are taught to speak true Englishe plainly, By T. SCOT, gentleman, including satires in long English verse, in 1616⁵. *The second part of PHILOMYTHIE, containing certaine Tales of True Libertie, False Friendship, Power United, Faction and Ambition*, by the same, 1616⁶. *Certaine Pieces of this age parabolized*, by the same, in 1616⁷. George Wither, of Manydowne in Hampshire, educated at Magdalene College, in Oxford, and at Lincolns inn, afterwards an officer in Cromwell's army, and popular even among the puritans as a poet, published ABUSES stript or whipt, or Satyricall Essayes. Divided into two Bookes, in 1613⁸. For this publication, which was too licentious in attacking establishments, and has a vein of severity unseasoned by wit, he suffered an imprisonment for many

¹ I have seen 'N. Britland's BOURE OF DELIGHT, Contayning Epigrams, Pastorals. 'Sonnets, &c.' Printed for W. Jones 1597. But these Epigrames do not so properly belong to the class before us. The same may be said of the Epigrames of George Turberville, and some few others.

² Many of Harrington's Epigrams were certainly written before. Perhaps there was an older edition. In Fitzgeoffrey's Latin Epigrams, called AFFANIE, published 1601, there is an Epigram to Harrington, with these lines preferring him to Haywood or Davies, as an English epigrammatist. Signat. B. 3.

Sive arguta vago flectas epigrammata torno
Sive Brittanna magis sive Latina velis.
At tu Biblidicis malis comes ire Camenis,
Illis HAYWOODOS DAVISIOSQUE præis.

And in sir John Stradling's Epigrams, published 1607, there is one to Harrington with this title, Lib. i. p. 32. 'Ad D. I. Harrington, Equitem doctissimum, de quibusdam epigrammatis Stradlingo, equiti, dono missis, 1590.' And in Stradling's epigrams, we have two of Harrington's translated into Latin.

³ Jonson's epigrams, as we have seen, are mentioned with Davies's, by Fitzgeoffrey, 1601. AFFAN. Lib. ii. Signat. E. 4.

DAVISIOS lædis mihi, JONSONIOSQUE lacessis.

Of this the first Davies, Harrington says, 'This Haywood [the epigrammatist] for his proverbs and epigrams is not yet put down by any of our country, though one [Davies in the margin] doth indeede come neare him, that graces him the more in saying he put him downe, &c.'—'A NEW DISCOURSE of a stale sbject, called the METAMORPHOSIS of AJAX, &c.' Printed 1596. 12mo. SIGNAT. D. 2. Again, 'But as my good friend M. Davies saide of his Epigrams, that they were made like doublets in Birchen-lane, for euey one whom they will serue, etc.' Ibid. SIGNAT. I.

⁴ In Hayman's QUODLIBETS, or Epigrams, there is one, 'To the reverend, learned, and acute, Master Charles Fitz-Geoffrey, bachelor in diuinity, my especiall kind friend, and most excellent poet.' He compares him to Homer, being blind of one eye. B. i. iii. p. 18. This was Charles the author of the Latin Epigrams, above-mentioned.

⁵ This is a second edition, 'much enlarged,' Lond. For Francis Constable, etc. 8vo.

⁶ For Constable, ut supr.

⁷ Lond. Printed by E. Griffin, for F. Constable, etc. 8vo. I suppose these two last to be second editions.

⁸ Three editions soon followed, 1614, 1615, 1622, 8vo.

months in the Marshalsea. Not being debarred the use of paper, pens, and ink, he wrote during his confinement, an apology to James I., under the title of A SATYRE, printed the following year, for his censures of the government in his first book. But, like Prynne in the pillory railing at the bishops, instead of the lenient language of recantation and concession, in this piece he still perseveres in his invectives against the court¹. Being taken prisoner in the rebellion, by the royalists, he was sentenced to be hanged; but sir John Denham the poet, prevailed with the king to spare his life, by telling his majesty, *So long as Wither lives, I shall not be the worst poet in England*. The revenge of our satirist was held so cheap, that he was lampooned by Taylor the water-poet². Richard Brathwayte, a native of Northumberland, admitted at Oriel college, Oxford, in 1604, and afterwards a student at Cambridge, chiefly remembered, if remembered at all, as one of the minor pastoral poets of the reign of James I., published in 1619, 'NATVRES embassie, or the Wilde-mans measures, danced naked, 'by twelve Satyres, with sundry others, &c³.'—Donne's SATIRES were written early in the reign of James I., though they were not published till after his death, in the year 1633. Jonson sends one of his Epigrams to Lucy Countess of Bedford, with MR. DONNES SATYRES⁴. It is conjectured by Wood, that a lively satirical piece, on the literature of the times, which I have already cited, with Donne's initials, and connected with another poem of the same cast, is one of Donne's juvenile performances. I had supposed John Davies. But I will again exhibit the whole title of the Bodleian edition. 'A Scourge for paper-

¹ Reprinted 1615, 1622, 8vo.

² The titles of Wither's numerous pieces may be seen in Wood, ATH. OXON. i. 392. seq. He was born in 1588, and died in 1667. He has left some anecdotes of the early part of his life, in the first book of his ABUSES, etc. The OCCASION, p. 1. seq. In Hayman's Epigrams, 1628, there is one, 'To the accute Satyrst, Master George Wither.' EPIGR. 20. And 21. p. 61.

Here might be mentioned, 'ESSAYES and CHARACTERS, ironically and instructive, etc. 'By John Stephens the younger, of Lincolnes inne, Gent.' Lond. 1615. 12mo. Mine is a second impression. Many of the ESSAYES are Satires in verse.

There is also a collection of Satyrical poems called the KNAVE OF HEARTS, 1612. Another, the KNAVE OF SPADES, 1611. And 'Knave yet, The Knave of Spades and 'Diamonds. With new editions,' 1612, 4to. Among Mr. Capell's SHAKESPERIANA, at Trinity college, Cambridge, are 'Dobson's Dry Bobs,' 1610, Bl. Lett. 4to. And Heath's EPIGRAMS, 1610, 8vo.

³ For R. Whitcher, 12mo. They were reprinted for the same, 1621. 12mo. In his satire on ADULTERIE, are these lines, p. 30.

And when you haue no favours to bestow,
Lookes are the lures which drawe Affection's bow.

To these pieces is annexed, 'The second Section of Divine and Morall Satyres, etc.' This is dedicated to S. W. C. by R. B. See also Brathwayte's STRAPPADO for the Devil, 1615, 8vo.

⁴ EPIGR. xciii. See xcvi. Though Jonson's EPIGRAMS were printed in 1616, many were written long before. And among Freeman's Epigrams, RUN AND A GREAT CAST, 1614, we have the following. EPIGR. 84.

To JOHN DONNE.

The STORME described hath set thy name afloat,
The CALME a gale of famous winde hath got;
Thy SATYRS short too soone we them o'erlook,
I prithee, Persius, write another booke!

'persecutors, by I. D. With an Inquisition against paper-persecutors, 'by A. H. London, for H. H. 1625,' in quarto. But Wood had seen a detached edition of the former piece. He says, 'Quære, whether John 'Donne published *A Scourge for Paper Persecutors*, printed in quarto, 'tempore Jacobi primi. The running title at the top of every page is 'PAPER'S COMPLAINT, in three sheets and a half. The date on the 'title pared out at the bottom¹.' This must have been an older edition, than that in which it appears connected, from similarity of subject, with its companion, *An Inquisition against paper-persecutors*, in the year 1625, as I have just noticed.

Owen's idea of an epigram points out the nature which now prevailed of this kind of composition, and shews the propriety of blending the epigrams and satires of these times, under one class. A satire, he says, is an epigram on a larger scale. Epigrams are only satires in miniature. An epigram must be satirical, and a satire epigrammatical². And Jonson, in the Dedication of his EPIGRAMS to Lord Pembroke, was so far from viewing this species of verse, in its original plan, as the most harmless and inoffensive species of verse, that he supposes it to be conversant above *the likeness of vice and facts*, and is conscious that epigrams *carry danger in the sound*. Yet in one of his epigrams, addressed TO THE MEERE ENGLISH CENSVRER, he professes not exactly to follow the track of the late and most celebrated epigrammatists.

To thee my way in EPIGRAMMES seemes newe,
When both it is the old way and the true.
Thou saist that cannot be: for thou hast seene
DAVIS, and WEEVER, and the BEST have BEENE,
And mine come nothing like, &c³.

This, however, discovers the opinion of the general reader.

¹ ATH. OXON. i. 556. [See above, p. 81.] He thus ridicules the minute commemoration of unhistorical occurrences in the Chronicles of Hollinshead and Stowe. Signat. B. 3.

Some chroniclers that write of kingdom's states,
Do so absurdly sableize my white
With maskes, and interludes, by day and night,
Bald may games, beare baytings, and poore orations,
Made to some prince, by some poore corporations.
And if a bricke-bat from a chimney falls,
When puffing Boreas nere so little bralls;
Or wanton rig, or leacher dissolute,
Doe stand at Paules-crosse in a sheeten sute:
All these, and thousand such like toyes as these,
They close in Chronicles like butterflies.
And so confound grave matters of estate
With plaies of poppets, and I know not what. —
Ah good sir Thomas More, fame be with thee,
Thy hand did blesse the English historie! —

As also when the weathercock of Paules
Amended was, this chronicler enroules, etc. —

² Robert Hayman above quoted, thus recommends his own Epigrams. QUODLIBETS, B. iv. 19. p. 61.

Epigrams are like Satyrs, rough without,
Like chesnuts sweet; take thou the kernell out.

³ EPIGR. xviii. Freeman also celebrates Davis, RUN AND A GREAT CAST, 1614, 4to. FIGR

Of the popularity of the epigram about the year 1600, if no specimens had remained, a proof may be drawn, together with evidences of the nature of the composition, from Marston's humorous character of Tuscus, a retailer of wit.

But roome for Tuscus, that iest-moungering youth,
Who neer did ope his apish gerner mouth,
But to retaile and broke another's wit.
Discourse of what you will, he straight can fit,
Your present talke, with, *Sir, I'll tell a iest,—*
Of some sweet ladie, or grand lord at least.
Then on he goes, and neer his tongue shall lie,
Till his ingrossed iests are all drawne dry:
But then as dumbe as Maurus, when at play,
Hath lost his crownes, and paun'd his trim array.
He doth nought but retaile iests: breake but one,
Out flies his table-booke, let him alone,
He'll haue it i' faith: Lad, hast an EPIGRAM,
Wil't haue it put into the chaps of Fame?
Giue Tuscus copies: sooth, as his own wit,
His proper issue, he will father it, &c.¹

And the same author says, in his Postscript to PIGMALION,
Now by the whyppes of EPIGRAMMATISTS,
I'll not be lash'd. — — — — —

One of Harrington's Epigrams, is a comparison of the Sonnet and the Epigram.

Once by mishap two poets fell a squaring,
The Sonnet and our Epigram comparing.
And Faustus hauing long demur'd vpon it
Yet at the last gaue sentence for the Sonnet,
Now, for such censvre, this his chiefe defence is,
Their sugred tast best likes his likrous senses.
Well, though I grant sugar may please the tast,
Yet let my verse haue salt to make it last.²

In the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, acted 1616, perhaps written some time before, Sir Roderick says, 'I hope at length England will 'be wise enough: then an old knight may haue his wench in a corner, 'without any SATIRES or EPIGRAMS³.' In Decker's VNTRUSSING OF THE HUMOROUS POET, Horace, that is Jonson, exclaims in a passion, 'Sirrah! I'll compose an EPIGRAM vpon him shall go thus—⁴.'

Haywood wrote Epigrams, and so did Davis,
Reader, thou doubttest *utrum horum maioris*.

In Dunbar's Latin Epigrams, published 1616, there is a compliment to Davies of Hereford, author of the SCOURGE OF FOLLY, as a Satyrist or epigrammatist. CENT. XX. p. 66.

¹ SC. VILLAN. B. iii. 11.

² EPIGR. B. i. 37.

³ A. ii. S. 2.

⁴ Edit. 1602. Sign. C. 2. Again, *ibid.* 'Heere be EPIGRAMS vpon Tucca.' E. 3. 'They are bitter EPIGRAMS composed on you by Horace.' F. 3. 'A gentleman, or honest citizen, shall not sit in your pennie-bench theatres with his squirrell by his side cracking nuttes, but he shall be SATYRED and EPIGRAMMED vpon, etc.' H. 3. 'It shall not be the *whipping o' th' satire* nor the whipping of the blind beare, etc.' L. 3. 'He says here, 'you diuulged my EPIGRAMS.' H. 'And that same PASQUILLS-MAD-CAP nibble, etc.' A.

INDEX.

- Abbas, Benedictus, 530. Abby of the Holy Ghost, Alcock, 484. Abbot, Abp., 487. Abelard and Eloisa, Epistles of, 399, 430. Abelard's Letters, 243. Abyndon, Thos. 340. Achademios, Comedy, Skelton, 541. Achelly, Tho., 806. Achilleis, Tragedy, Alberti Mussato, 591. Acricious, Ballet of, 875. Active Policy of a Prince, Poem, by Geo. Ashby, 679. Acts of the Apostles, in Englyshe metre, by Dr. C. Tye, 748, 750, 929; of the Popes by Bale, Studley, 873. Acuparius, Thomas, 480. Adam and Eve, Sufferings, Repentance, Death and Burial, 437. Adam de Orleton, Bp Winchester, 63. Ægidius Romanus, 340, 387. Aelian's various History, A. Fleming, 885. Æneaz Gesta Trojæ, 62. Æneas, Romance, 90. Æneas, Story on tapestry, 193. Æsop, 850, 916. Affania, C. Fitzjeffrey, 808. Affectionate Shepherd, Barnefield, 887. Afer Constantinus, 292. — Dionysius, 347. Africanus, Julius, 316. Agamemnon, Seneca's Tragedy, Studeley, 813, 872, 895. Age and Youth, Poem, 27. Aged Lover, Poem, Lord Vaulx, 655. Agon Heroicus, Ed. Bolton, 806. Agricola Rodolphus, 618, 622. Agriculture, Spiritual, 922. Agrippa, Cornelius, 265, 267, 269, 631. Agynkourte, Battallye, and Seyge of Harflett, 338. Ahasuerus and Esther, a Poem, 437. Ailward, Simeon, 343. Ajax of Sophocles, Latin, 575. Alan, Cardinal, 804. Alanus, Anticlaudian of, 258. Alardus, Lampriidius, 250. Alasco, Albertus de, 573. Alba, a Pastoral Comedy, 574. Alban, St., Martyr, a Poem, 68. Albertus Magnus, 265, 393, 406. Albion's England, Warner, 15, 802, 805; Triumph, Masque, 586. Albumasar, and Rhasis, Arabian Astrologers, 262. Alcabutius, Abdilazi, Isagoge in Astrologiam, 281. Alcestis, Romance, 276. Alcione and Ceyx, 892. Alcock, Bishop of Ely, 204, 435, 598. Alcoran of the Prelates, John Bale, 677. Alcuine, 430. Aldred, Abp., 201; an English Monk, 390. Alesand Reid, by de Chatillon, 430. Ales, various kinds, 708. Alexander and Campaspe, and Apelles, Play, 927. — De Paris, 101. — De Villa Dei, 430. — Geste of, Ad. Davie, 699, 705, 706, 708, 710. — Life and Actions of, from the Persian, Sim. Seth, 94. — Life of, Callistines, 315, Adam Davie, 526, 543. — Magnus, Aristoteli præceptor, 70. — Romance of, Ad. Davie, 90, 93, 96, 100, 143, 154, 205, 206, 228, 231. — Roman de, 98, 205. — Schoelmaster at Pisa, 549. Alexandre, la Vengeance du Graunt, 100. Alexius, St. Legend of, by Ad. Davie, 148, 927. Alfayns and Archelaus, famooste and notable History of, 898. Alfred, King, 335, 457, 526. — of Beverly, 406. — Bede's Eccles. Hist., 9. Alhazen, Arabic Philosopher, 268. Allen, Ed., Founder of Dulwich College, 907. — Thomas, 192. All Fools, Comedy, by George Chapman, 581. Allot, Robert, 807. Almagest, by Ptolemy, 325. Almenhusen, Conrade Von, Game of Chess, in German, 341. Alphabet of Birds, Steph. Hawes, 459. Alphonsus, of Castile, 259. — Peter, 322. Alveare, Baret, 886, 893. Alyngton, Sir Giles, 484. Amadis de Gaule, Romance, 107, 900. Amazonida, by Boccacio, 226, Ambrose of Milan, Siege of Jerusalem, 149. Ambrose, St., 260. Ambrosius, 316. Amergot Marcell, 540. Amille, a French Morality, 62. Amon and Madocheus or Mordecai, Poem, 437. Amoris Incendium, Hampole, 176. Amorous Prison, Poem, Froissart, 308. Amours, with Sonnets, by J. or G. D. and W. S., 886. Amour Espris, le Livre de Cueur d', 275. Amys and Amilion, Romance, 62, 143. Anatomy of Melancholy, Burton, 817, 906. Anciseno Dominicho Falugi, Italian Poem, 100. Andalus the Blake, 374. Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, 123. Andria of Terence, 571; Kyffin, 916; N. Grimoald, 600. Anglieus Bartholomew, 393. — Gilbertus, 293. Anglorum Prelia, Poem, Ocland, 828. Anna Commena, 39, 111, 230. — De Graville, 229. Anne Boleyn, 645, 658, 663. Anno, Abp. of Cologn, Life of, 4. Ann Queen of Rich. 11, 535. Annunciada, Order of the, 167. Anslay, or Annesley, Brian, 677. Anstis, 807. Answers of the Sybills, 243. Antechrist, Banner of, 189. — Tournoyement, de l', Roman de, Huon de Meri, 188, 303. Antichrist's Mas, Downfal of, 718. — Papal Dominion, Poem, Kirchmaier, 922. Anticlaudian, Alanus, 258. Antigone of Sophocles, translated, 906. Anthony de la Sale, 220. Antioch, John de, 392. Antiochus, Tale of, 316. Antiochia Gesta et Regum aliorum, 78. — Liber de Captione, 60. — Antiochus, Epiphanes, 323. — Poem, by Jos. of Exeter, 378. Antiprogностicon of W. Fulk, W. Paynter, 926. Antoine le Macon, 396. Antonio and Arena, 555. — De Beccaria, 347. — De Lebrixa, 595. Anuar Sohaili, 95. Apius, Terannve of Judge, Poem, 874. Apollinaris, Bp. of Laodicea, 563, 565. Apollo shroving, Comedy, Hawkins 576.

- Appolo shroving, Tragedy, Hawkins, 576
 Apology for Woman, Will. Heale, 833
 Apolonii Tyanæi Historia, 232. Apolonius of Tyre, 231. Apono Pierre, on Problems of Aristotle, 291. Apostolic Creed, versified, Will. Whyttingham, 733. Appius and Virginia, Tragedy, 874. Appolin Roy de Thir, la Cron. d', 232. Appollonius, Appolyne, Kyng of Thyre, 330. Appolyn of Tyre, Romance, 717. Apponus, 259. Apuleius, 260.
- Aquinas, Thos., 265, 340, 363, 518.
 Arbor of Amite set fourth, Thos. Howell, 896. Arcæus, F. Anatomy, 742. Arcadia, Sidney, 896, 900. Arcadian Rhetoricke, Fraunce, 887. Arcite and Palamon, Play, 812, 813. Archipropheta five Johannes Baptista Tragedia: Latin Tragedy, Nich. Grimoald, 664. Architrenius, John Hanville, 430. Aretine, Leonard, 346. Aretine's War of Italy, 892. Argenteus Codex, 9. Argonautica of Catullus, 888. Argonauticon, Valerius Flaccus, 92. Ariodanto and Janeura, tragicall and pleasaunte History of, Peter Beverley. Aristarchus, 525. Aristotle, 192, 250, 286, 292, 294, 314, 324, 340, 360, 388, 395, 449, 452, 471, 523, 573, 591, 594, 596, 618, 622, 839. The Ten Categories, Gooze, 922. — Ethics, Figlinei Felice, 643. — Politiques, Aretine, 346. Economicks, Laurence, 356. Ariosto, 96, 105, 220, 271, 592, 634, 644, 853. Aristophanes, in Latin, Reuchlen, 602. Armes et de Chevaillerie, Livres de fais d', Christina of Pisa, 392. Arnobius Carus, 590. Arnalt and Lucinda, a fyn Tuscan Hystorye, 938. Arnold's, Rt. Chronicle, by, 712. Arraignment of Paris, Geo. Peele, 878. Arresta Amorum, Decrees of Love, a Poem, 304. Art of English Poesie, Puttenham, 634, 655, 689, 763, 805. French Poetry, 815, 841, 884, 893, 901. Art de Dictier, Ballades et Rondelles, 308. — Kalender, Rauf, 54. — Rhetorique, in French Ryme, 850. — Logic, Wilson, 818, 840. — Of Rhetoric, Wilson, 340, 344, 685, 840. — Versification, Eberhardus Bethuniensis, 428. Arthur an Armorican Knight, History of, Lord Berners, 663. — King, History of, 705, 846. — Rom. of, 75, 85, 90, 97, 100, 104, 139, 140, 143, 147, 232, 269, 276, 307, 310, 473, 476, 529. — Rites of, restored by Roger, Earl of Mortimer, 85. — Of Little Brittainne, Romance, 932. Arthure, Prince, the Auncient Order Societie, &c. in verse, 322, Creacion of, Skelton, 541. Arthure Prince, Rich. Robinson, 878. Arthuri Assertio, by Leland, 322. Artois, Count d', on Ballad, the Defeat of the, 43. Arundel, Abp. 312. — Philip, Earl of, 897.
- Assaillant, l', Romance, 396. Assault of Cupide, Poem, Lord Vaulx, 655, 658, Ascham, Roger, 571, 616, 620, 625, 643, 820, 839, 840, 887, 911, 924. Assemblée of Foules, Chaucer, 246, 260, 460, of Ladies, 304, 460, 464, 465. Asser, Bp. St. Davids, 334. Asserterio Arthuri of Leland, Robinson, 878. Asses, Feast of, Mystery of, 37. As you like it, Shakespeare, 550. Ashby, Geo., 679. Asheldown, Joly Chepeit, of, Romance, J. Lawerne, 55. Ashmole, Elias, Theatrum Chemicum, 154, 316, 405, 406, 681. Asinus Penitentiarius, 456. Askew, Dr., 233. Astionax and Polixine, 895. Astle, 821. Astyages and Cyrus, History of, 140.
- Atchlow, a Player, 907. Athanasius Creed, versified, 23. W. Whyttingham, 734. Hunnis, 741. Athelstan, King, 66. Athys and Prophylas, Metrical Rom. 100, 105, 220, 278. Attecliff, Will., 602. Atropoion Delion, Poem, 879.
- Aubrey, 644. Auctours, uncertain, 645, 655. Audley, Lord Chancellor, Poem on the Death, 656. Aulica, de, Gabrl. Harvey, 901. Aulularia of Plautus, acted before Queen Elizabeth, 573. Aurelio and Isabella, Romance, 941. Aurelius, Marcus, Golden Booke of, Lord Berners, 807. Aurora or History of the Bible allegorised, Petrus de Riga, 430. Ausonius, Epigrams, Kendall, 429, 905. Austin, St., 260, 278.
- Averroes, Asiatic Philosopher, 292, 293. Avianus Flavius, 428. Avicen, Arabian Physician, 292. Avranches, Henry d', 46.
- Babylon, Peter, 105. Bacon, Roger, 313, 314, 392, 406. — Sir Nicholas, 843. Badby, 444. Bade, Joce, Brandts ship of Fools, in French, 480. Badius, Jodocus, on Mantuan, 490. Baif, Lazare de, 650. Balatyn, John, 532. Balades et Rondelles. l'Art de Dictier, 308, 390. Baldwyn, Will., 742, 763, 764, 799, 831. Bale, John W., 61, 72, 154, 156, 195, 443, 576, 654, 663, 655, 677, 680, 751, 754, 759, 836. Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch, 505. Balsam, H. de, 141. Banastre, Will., 55. — Gilb. 55, 407. Bancroft, Archbishop, 488. Banello, Bandishment of Cupid, Banockburn, Poem, Laure, Minot, 697. Banquet of Daintie Conceptes, Barnsly, Char., 681. Baptism and Temptacion, Interlude, John, Bale, 677. Barbarus. Hermolaus, 602. Barbatoria, or Shew of Beards, 558. Barbour, J., 211, 214. Barcham, Dr. John, 300, 807. Barclay Alexander, 434, 435, 477, 479, 490, 549, 603. Barlaam, 361. Barnabas of Cyprus, 259. Barnes, or Berners, Julyana, 431. Barnefelde, Richard, 887. Barrett, John, 887, 893. Barrington's Ancient Statutes, 36, 300. Barron, Robt., Romance of Lancelot du Lac, 78, 318, 393. Bartholinus, 92, 150. Basset, Mrs., 589. Bastard, Thom., 808. Baston, Robert, 154, 167, 403. Battailes plusieurs des Rois d'Israel, 463. Battayle of Troye, Guido de Colugna, 92. Battell of Jerusalem, Ad. Davie, 146. Bate, John, 599. Bathsabe and David, Play, Geo. Peele, 838. Batmanson, John, 616. Batman, Dr. Steph., 917. Batrachomomachy of Homer, translated, Chapman, 914. — Imitated, John Heywood, 688. — Translated, Dr. Johnson, 906. — By Dem. Zenus, 232. Bavande, Will., 803. Bayes, Poem, 659. Bayard, La Vie, Preux Chevalier, 276.
- Beearde, Rich., 832. Bearde, D. Theatre of God's Judgments, 813, 908. Beau Miracle de S. Nicholas, French Play, 836. Beauchamp, Lord, 104. Beaumont, Francis,

- 584, 807, 896. Beccaria, Antonio de, 347. Beckett, St. Thos. of, Legend of, 20, 387, 445, 605, 607; Life of by Herbt. Borham, in English Rymes, Laur., Wade. In French, Langtoft, 475. Bede, 93, 316, 436, 450, 786. Bedford, Jasper, Duke of, Epitaph, Skelton, 541. Bedwell, Will., 693. Behn, Mrs., 584. Bell, David, 917. Bellay, 853. Belleforest, 487. Belleperche, 323. Belle Dame sans Mercy, Chaucer, 304. Belisarius romance, 232. Bellocensis Vinc., 91, 96, 360, 578, 564. Bellum contra Runcivallum, 62. Belvedere, or Garden of the Muses, John Bodenham, 807. Bembo, Pietro, 853. Benedictus, Alex., 96, 112. Bennet, 467. Benivieni, Jeronimo, 490. Benjamin, a Traveller, 70. Bentley, 907. Benoit de St. More, 98. — Thomas, 360, 365. Metrical Romance of Dukes of Normandy, 469, 478. Beowulf, Danish Saxon Poem, 9. Beral, las complanchas de, Fouquett, 87. Bercheur, Peter, Livy, td., into French, 391. Bercy, Hug. de, 61. Bergeretta, or the Song of Shepherds, a Mummary, in Besancon, 563. Bergman, Johannes, 569. Berlin, Romance, 98. Berlington, John, 67. Bernard, And., 403. — Richd., 916. Bernardinus, 569. Berners, Lord, Froissart's Chronicle, 222, 654, 663, 720, 807. Berni, 96, 271. Bertrand's Amour's with Chrysata, 232. —'s De Guescelin, Romance, 232. Beryn, or Marchant's second Tale, 103, 290, 291, 301. Besalin, Ramon, Vidal de, 851. Bestiare, Metrical Fables from Esop, 317. Betham's Military Precepts, 882. Latin Poem on Versification, 428. Bethuniensis Eberhardus, 552. Beverley, Peter, Bevis of Southampton, Romance, 782. Beza, Theodore, 729, 905.
- Bibienna, Cardinal 595. Bible, 147, 148, 596. — Heroick Poem on History of, by Apollinaris, 565. — Translated into Latin by St. Jerom, 325. — Metrical Version of, 387. — History of, allegorised in Latin Verse, by Petrus de Riga, 430. — Translated by William Bedwell, 693. — A Satire, de Bercy, 32. Biorner, M. 15. Bird, Will., 663.
- Blair Arnaldi Ralationes, by Blind Harry, 215. — Rob. 216. Blandamoure, Sir Roman, 104, 141. Blaunpayne, Michael, 36. Blase Bishop, 854. Blasts of Retrait from Plaies, the II, and III, 812. Blazon of Jealousie, R. T. Blessedness of Brytaine, Poem, Kyffin, 916. Blesensis, Archdeacon of London, 96. Blind Harry, 212, 218, 540, 552, 558, 604. Blois, Peter of, 318, 326, 346, 349, 359, 360, 605. Blomefield's Blossoms, or Campe of Philosophy, 681. Will., 681, 682. Blondell de Nesle, Minstrel to Rich. I. 77, 85. Blount's Ancient Tenures, 673. Blundeville, Thos., 805.
- Boarde, And., 399. Boar's Head, Custom of the, 717. Boccace's Epistle to Pinus, Lord Surrey, 644. Boccacio Giovanni, 100, 131, 226, 231, 232, 235, 239, 253, 262, 274, 279, 286, 366, 361, 379, 396, 445, 462, 467, 545, 552, 570, 690, 766, 788, 853, 922, 926, 928. Boccus and Sidrake, Romance 387, 446. Bodenham, John, 867. Boethius, 243, 255, 303, 312, 335, 365, 396, 399, 457, 522, 532, 552, 606. Boileau, 252, 569. Bokenham, Osbern, 407. Booke of Certain Triumphs, 221. Boyley, Anne, 645, 658, 663, 723. — Geo. Viscount Rochford, 653, 654, 663. Bolton, Edmd., 643, 810, 812. Bonaventure de cæna et passionis Domini, et Pœnis S. Mariæ Virginis, de Brunne, 56. Bonner, Bp. of London, 161, 645. Borbonius's Epigrams, Kendall, 905. Borde, Andr. 286, 671, 677, 843. Boscam, Herb., Thos. of Becket, 60, 402. Bottom the Weaver, 556. Botoner, Will., 401, 602. Bouchier, John, Lord Berners, 654, 663, 720, 807. Bouge of Court, Skelton, 549, 550. Boulay, 568. Bouquassiere, Jean de Courci, 394. Bourdour, 121. Bovillus, or Bullock, Hen., 610. Broxhornius, 428. Boyardo, 96, 270. Boy, Bp., Ceremony of the, 165, 568, 578, 579, 821, 822, 833, 836. Bozmanni, Cardinal, 576.
- Braham, John, 368. Brandt, Sebastian, 480, 483. Brandon, Chas. and Hen., 620, 846. Epitaph on, Wilson, 905. Brawardine, Abb., 256, 278, 311, 436, 443. Breton, Nicholas, 885. Breviary of Health, Andr. Borde, 671, 676. Breviary of Britaine, T. Twyne, 882. Brice, Thos., 855. Bridlington, John, 55. Briggam, Nicholas, 854. Brimsley's Virgil's Bucolics, and Fourth Georgic, 886. Brithnorth, Offa's Ealdorman, Ode, 9. Britte, Walter, 190. British Muse, Thos. Hayward, 808. Broadgate Hall, Oxford, 684. Brooke Thos., 802. — Arthur, 941. — Will. de, 191. Bromele, Abbot of Hyde Monastery, 615. Browne, Poet, 556, 586, 587. Brown, Prebendary of Westminster, 882. Bruce, Robert, King of Scots, John Barbour, 154, 210, 212. Bruit le Petit, Rause de Boun, 46. Brun, Mons. Le, Avantures d' Apolonius de Thyre, par, 232. Brunne, Robert de, 707. Brunetto, 393. — Tesoretto, and Tesoro, 779, 790. Bruno's Epigrams, Kendall, 905. Brunswerd, John, 749. Brut, Romance of, 360. — d' Angleterre, by Eustace, 46. Bruto, Liber de, et de gestis Anglorum, metrificatus, 46. Bryan Reginald, 547. — Sir Francis, 645, 649, 653, 663. Brytayne lytel, and Ponthus and Galyce, 463.
- Bucer, 741, 917. Buchanan, 571, 625, 671. Bulman, John, 415. Bullocar, William, 431, 849. Buoninsegni Fiorini, 554. Burgh, Benedict, 356, 430. — Thos. 17. Burlacus, 618. Burton, Rob., 46, 286. — John, alias Robert, 817, 900, 906. Buryal and Resurrection of Chryst, Interlude, Bale, 677. Burying of the Masse, in Rithme, 753. Buttis, Doctor, 677. Bussy d'Amboise, Tragedy, Chapman, 916. Byngam, Will., 597. Byrchensau, Maur., 395, 406. Byron, Ch., Duke of, Play, 915.
- Cæsar's Commentaries, Golding, 893. Tip-toft, Earl of Worcester, 893; In French, Jean Du Chesne, 395. Cædmon, 9. Cairels Elias, a Troubadour of Perigord, 477. Cario's Chron., 526. Calaileg and Damag, 95. Calandar, an Italian

- Comedy, Bibienna, 592. Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe, the Loves of, 230. Callinicus, Grecian Fire, 111. Callistines, 90, 94, 95. Calisto, Masque, by Crown, 586. Callot, 500. Caltha Poetarum, 945. Calvin, John, 532, 614, 731, 734, 741. Cambrensis Gyraldus, 71, 96, 207, 267. Cambyses, Play, Preston, 813. Camden, William, 873, 884. Camera Obscura, by Roger Bacon, 290. Camillus Julius, 593. Comens, 267. Campaspe and Alexander, Play, 899. Campbell, Dr., 808. Campe of Philosophy, 681. Campeden, Hugh, Romance of Boccus and Sidrake, 141, 387. Campion, Edm., 813, 884; Thos., 929. Campo di Fior, or the Flourie Feld of Four Languages of M. Claudius Desainliens, 926. Candidus Petrus, 338. Canning, William, 405, 408. Cantacuzenus, 230. Canterbury Tales, Chaucer, 757. Chanon Yeman's, 119. Frankelein's, 200, 259, 265, 267, 273, 290. Freer's Tale, Clerk of Oxenford's, 273, 276. Knight's, 121, 149, 220, 226, 236, 243, 255, 364, 503. Man of Lawe's, 220, 232, 350. Marchaunt's, 257, 258, 259, 261, 278, 279, 549. Miller's, 259, 279, 281, 285, 497. Monke's, 156, 186, 187, 286. Nonnes Priest's, 145, 464. Wife of Bath's, 258, 290, 329. Prologue to the Wife of Bath's, 157, 278, 281. Reve's, 272. Sompnour's, 184, 281, 286, 294. Shipman's, 286. Squier's, 121, 256, 262. Canticles of Solomon, versified, 742. Metrical Commentary, Dudley Fenner, 831. In English Verse, Spenser, 831. Cantilenæ, 66. Canute, King, 9. Capella Marcianus de Nuptiis Philogæ, et Mercurii, 258, 369, 430. Capellanus, Joannes, 337. Capgrave, John, 344. Capuano, Benedict, 571. Carr, Earl of Somerset, 584. — Nicholas, 841. Carew, Sir Geo., 60, 61; — Thomas, 584; Nicholaſ, 663. Cards and Card-playing, 530. Carlile. Christopher, 917. Carlisle, Alex., Seriant of Minstrillis to Ed. IV., 399. Carman's Whistle, Ballad, 814. Carmelian, Pet., 484. Carmina Vaticinalia, John Eridlington, 55. Carnotensis Bernardus, 430. Caroli Gesta Secundum Turpinum, 61. Carols, Account of, 466, 717, 718, 824. Carpenter's Supplement to Du Cange, 124, 130, 143, 164. Carowles, certayne goodly, to be songe to the Glory of Gode, 824. Carter, Peter, 904. Case is Altered, Play, 814. Cassianus, Joannes, 17, 395. Cassiodorus, 319. Castellione, Lopus de, 322, 347. Castle of Love, Bp. Grosthead, 57, 60, by Lord Berners, 163. — Of Honour, 408. — Of Labour, Poem, by Barclay, 452, 483. — Of Memorie, Will. Fullwood, 458. Castiglio's il Cortegiano, Thos. Hoby, 866. Casulis, Jacobus de, 340, 389. Catechismus Paulinus, Mulcaster, 849. Catharine, St., Play of, 157, 563, 567, 835. Cato, 916. — Morals, 427, 430. Catullus, 888. Causa Dei, Brawardine, 256. Cave, Hen., Fall of Paris Garden, 813. Cavyll, 765, 800. Caxton, 17, 46, 92, 100, 222, 319, 340, 375, 399, 428, 445, 448, 466, 471. — Ovid, 663; epilogue to Chaucer's Book of Fame, 854. Cecil, Sir Will., 643. Cedrenus, 564. Ceiris, a Fable of Nisus and Scylla, 887. Celtes's Conradus, Dramas, and Poetry, 569, 595, 622. Cent Histories Tragiques of Belleforest, 947. — Nouvelles Nouvelles, les, 941. Cephalus and Procris, 895. Cerisie, 336. Certain Meters by Sir Thomas More, 690. Noble Storyes, 944. — Triumphes, Booke of, 222. Certamen inter Johannem et Barones, versifice, 62. Cervantes, 76, 96, 273. Cessio, Philip, 92, 318. Ceyx and Alcione, Historie of, English Meeter, Will. Hubbard, 892. Chadworth, Bp. of Lincoln, 598. Chalcondylas Demetrius, 602. Chaloner, Sir Thos., 882, 926. Chance of the Dolorous Lover, Poem, Chrstr. Goodwin, 681. Chanson a Boire, or Drinking Ballad, *the first*, 759. Chant, Royal, 307. Chaos of Histories, Chapman, Geo., 581, 584, 805, 805, 806, 814, 906, 911, 914, 916. Charette, La, Roman, par Chrestien, 98, 318. Charicell and Dorilla, a Romance, 230. Charite, Will., 62. Charito, Romance, 230. Charlemagne, Romance, 62, 75, 90, 98, 99, 105, 143. Charles, V., 593. — Duke of Biron, Play, 915. Chartier, Alain, 225, 344. Chateau d'Amour of Robert Grosthead, by Rob. de Brunne, 57, 60. Chatelain de Courcy, 307. Chatterton, 408, 424, 917. Chaucer, 31, 49, 54, 92, 93, 103, 104, 106, 115, 119, 120, 122, 135, 141, 145, 148, 149, 150, 156, 157, 169, 184, 187, 200, 203, 220, 224, 225, 226, 232, 235, 239, 240, 244, 245, 253, 311, 313, 317, 326, 328, 337, 343, 347, 363, 399, 427, 430, 435, 459, 464, 468, 473, 491, 492, 497, 500, 520, 537, 549, 553, 612, 635, 644, 650, 662, 675, 679, 687, 693, 751, 804, 827, 837, 841, 854, 893, 901, 907, 918, 926. Chaundler, Tho., 29. Chelde Ippomedone, Rom., 100. Chertley, And., 678, 828. Chess, Game of, 340, 378. Chester Foundation of Abbey of, Poem, Bradshaw, 437. — Mysteries, or Whitsun Plays, 162, 437, 457, 458. Chestre, Thos., 711. Chettie, Hen., 814, 875, 907. Chevalier au Signe, l'Ystoire du, Romance, 230. Chevalrye, Booke of the Order, 222. Chevelere Assigne, Knight of the Swan, Rom., 207. Children of the Chapel Stript and Whipt, 812. Chopping Knives, Ballad, 814. Chorle and the Bird, Poem, Lidgate, 468. Christ, Spousage of a Virgin to, bp Alcock, 485. — The Childhood of, Poem, 434. A Poem, Passion of, Walt. Kennedie, 531. — In his Twelfth Year, Interlude, John Bale, 677. Christi de Passione, 322. Descensus ad Inferos, Religious Drama, 456, 577. — Gesta Salvationis, 457. — Passionis et Resurrectionis Gesta, 54. Christian Friendship, Newton, 879. — And Jew, Dialogue, Sidonins, 433, 473. Christina of Pisa, 359, 371. Morale Proverbes of, by Widville, Earl of Rivers, 407. Christmas Latin Poem, John Opicius, 599. — Carols, 717, 718, 824; Recreation, Robinson, 878. Christopherson, John, Tragedy of Jephtha, 521. Christopher, St., Life, 19. Christ's Dialogues in Hell, 457. — Kirk on the Green, a Poem, 530.

- Chronica Chronicorum, Theodoric Engelhusen, 318, 526. — D'Isodoro, 316. — Novella, Herman Korner. Chronica Regnorum, 66, 70. Chronicles of England, Caxton, 316. — Of the Kings of England, 436. Of Brutes, Arthur Kelton, 758. — The Emperors, Rich. Reynholds, 849. — Chronicon breve, Cassiodorus, 317. — Trojæ, 62. Chronicum Britannorum, 92. Chrysanalia, A. Munday, 813. Chrysoloras, 346, 610. Chryso-Triumphos, City Pageant, A. Munday, 813. Church, Daniel, 430. Church, Figure of our Mother holy, oppressed, Poem, Barclay, 483. Churchyard, Thos., 634, 764, 794, 807, 878, 897. Chyld, Bysshop, Song of the, 833. Chytræus, Bysshop, 892.
- Cicero, 260, 276, 324, 325, 360, 392, 395, 399, 464, 522, 552, 593, 596, 601, 619, 622, 755, 839, Translated by Lawra. Permier-sait, 356, 395; Dialogue on Friendship, translated by Tipstoft, Earl of Worcester, 602; Familiar Epistles, by Skelton, 541. — Epistles, Fleming, 886. — Marcus Tullius, Death of, N. Grimoald, 666. — Oration for the Poet Archias, Drant, 904; orations, 904; dream of Scipio. Cinnamus, 230. Circe and Ulysses, Masque, Will. Brown., 586, 587. Citta di Vita, Matteo Palmeri, 522, 526. Citharistæ, The, 64. Citie of Civilitie, 927. — Of Dames, Comedy, Brian Annesley, 678. — Of Ladies, Rom., 205. City Heiress, Mrs. Behn, 584.
- Clamund, 618. Claudian, 258, 261. Clavell, John, 883. Clem Clawbacke and Prig Pickshanke, Picture of, 865. Cleomades, Rom., 98. Cleomenes and Juliet, Historie of, 473. Clerc, John, 644. Clere, Sir Thom., Epitaph on, Lord Surrey, 644. Clergy, Satirical Balad on, 30. Clerke of Tranent, Scotch Version of Exploits of Gawaine, 711. Clitophon and Leucippe, 916. Cloris, Complaynt of, Despised Sheppard, W. Smyth, 885.
- Coccacie, Martin, 554. Cockneys, King of the, 588. Cœlum Britannicum, Masque, Thos. Carew, 584. Codex Argenteus, 9. Cognatus Gilbertus, 894. Colbrond, Song of, 63. Coldwell, or Colvil, Geo., 337. Colin Clout, Skelton, 542, 546, 547. Collins, William, 679, 814. Collection of Choice Flowers, Fitzgeffry, 809. College of Poetry, founded in Vienna, by Maximilian I., 595. Collet, Dean, his Grammaticus Rudimenta, 196, 608, 612, 616. Cologne, three Kings of, 434. Colona or Columna, 393. Coluthus's Rape of Helen, Marlowe, 906. Comediæ Sacræ, Gawin Douglas, 514. Comestor, Peter, 387, 437. Commandments, versified, Whyttingham, 734. Commedia de Geta, 156. — Il Divina, di Dante, 778, 780, 781, 791. Commena, Anna, Alexiad of, 39, 111, 230. Commendacion of True Poetry, Commune Defunctorum, Stanyhurst, 884. Comœdia, Worke in Rhyme, by H. N., 756. Complaint against the Stiff-necked Papists, in Verse, Mardiley, 750. — A Poem, ascribed [to Anne] Boleyn, 663. — Of the Papyngo, 492, 503, 528, 530. Compleat Angler, 909. Compound of Alchemie, Geo. Ripley, 400. Comus, Masque, by Milton, 587. Concabranus, MS. Life of, 482. Confessio Amantis, Gower, 224, 311, 313, 316, 471, 484, 854. Confutation of Miles Hoggard, Crowley, 753. Conquest of Jerusalem, by Godfrey of Bulloigne, Representation of, 163. Constable, Hen., 805, 807, 811, 814, 875. Constantine, Emp., 243. Constantinopolis Christiana, by Du Cange, 112. Consolation of Lovers, 459; of Philosophy, by Boethius, translated, 355, 357; of the Monkes, Eccard, 356; of Theology, John Gerson, 356. Continens, by Rhasis, 292. Conversion of Swerers, Stephen Hawes, 459. Conway, Sir John, Copia Scedulæ valvis domini regis existentis in Parlamento, suo tento apud Westmonasterium, mense marcii anno Hen. VI., vicessimo 8vo., Balad, 44. Copland, Robert, 741, 828. Cooper, John. — Mrs., 73. Corbet, Bishop, 735. Corbian, Pierre, 448, 467. Corbichon, John, 393. Corderoy, Mathurine, 430. Cornish, Thos., 479. Will., Poet and Musician, 559, 562. Cornubience, Girard, 61. Corona Preciosa, Stephen, Sabio, 232. Cornwaile, John, 12. Cors, Lambert li, 100. Corvini, Mattheo, King of Hungary, 596. Cosens, Dr., 748. Cosmographia Mundi, John Phrea, 600. — Le premier livre de la, in Verse, John Mallard, 403. Cossa, Jean, 394. Cosyn, William, Dean of Wells, 520. Cotgrave, 49. Council of the High Priests, Interlude, John Bale, 677. Courci, Jean de, 394. Court of Love, Chaucer, 106, 304, 309, 309, 492. — Of Venus, moralised, 855. — Of Virtue, J. Hall, 742, 899. Courteausse, Jean de, 394. Courtier of Castilio, translated, 762, 866. — Life, Sir Thos. Wyat, 651. Coventry Mysteries, 65, 162. — Plays, 350, 453, 457. Coverdale's Bible, 736. Covetice, old Scots Poem, 529. Cowper, the Fearful Fantyses of the Florentyne, 808, 884, 890, 893. Cox, Dr. Rich., 571. Cox, Leonarde, Tract on Rhetorick, 586, 616, 840. Coxeter, Thos., 586, 898, 904, 905.
- Crammer, Abp., 754, 757. Cranstoun, Dav., 515. Creation of the World, Miracle Play, 158, 194. Creed of Athanasius, versified, 23. Creeds, Nicene, Apostolic, and Athanasian, versified, Whyttingham and Clement Marot, 733. Crescentiis, Peter de, 393. Crescimbin, 100, 166, 307. Croke, Rich., 603. Cromwell, Oliver, 731. — Thos., Lord, ballad on, 718. Cronicle of the Brutes, in Verse, Arthur Kelton, 758. Crophill, John, 449. Crowley, Rob. the Printer, 557, 746, 753. Crown of Laurell, Skelton, 541, 550, 551. Crucifixion, Poem, 23, 28. Cruel Detter, Wayer, ballet, 899. Cruget, Claude, 481. Crusius Martinus, 232.
- Cuckowe, Willm., 814. Culex, by Spenser, 887. Cundy of Comfort, Fleming, 885. Cupid, Banishment of, Romance, 477. — And Psyche, Play, 812. — Whirligig, Comedy, 583. Curias and Florela, Rom., 233. Cursor Mundi, 927. Curteis,

- William, Abbot of Bury, 351. Curtius, Quintus, 96. Cypido, serten Verses of, Mr. Fayre, 882.
- Cyder, an early drink, 283. Cymon and Iphigenia, Boccaccio, 230. Cynthia and Cassandra, Barnefield, 887. — Revels, B. Jonson, 580. Cyriac of Ancona, 595. Cyropædia of Xenophon, translated, 392, 595, 600, 619. Cyropædia, the Version of it, Grimoald, 665.
- Damascene, John, 292. Damon and Pythias, Play, Edwards, 809, 813. Dan Burnell's Ass, 276. Dance of Death, Lydgate, 350; in German, Macaber, 351; in Latin, Petrus Defrey, 351. Dance-Maccabre, 243. Dancing, Account of, 583. Daniel Arnaud, 307, 354, 467, 476. —, Prop., Book of, paraphrased Caedman, 10, 324. —, Sam., 95, 586, 802, 804, 807, 884. Dante, 85, 106, 156, 225, 226, 232, 258, 286, 304, 306, 324, 349, 358, 394, 463, 465, 476, 518, 522, 566, 634, 778, 791, 919, 926. Dares, Phrygius, 91, 98, 256, 260, 243, 276. Darius, King, Play, 838, 919, 926. Dave-nant, Sir Will., 586. David and Bath-sheba, 326. —, and Bethsabe, Play, Geo. Peele, 669, 838. — and Goliath, Story, in Dumb Show, 852. —'s Harp, Part of the Harmony of, 322. —, King, 523. —, Kinge, a new Interlude on the two Synnes of, 838. —, King, Hist. of, 360, 374, 388. Davie, Adam, 699, 705, 706, 707, 708. Davies, Sir John, 807. — Critical, Hist. of Pamphlets, 542. Davy, Adam, 145, 146, 154, 317, 526. Davison's Poems, 648. D'Avranches, Henry, the Versifier, 46. Day, John, the Printer, 743.
- Dead Man's Song, 450. Death and Life, Poem, 207. —, Divine Poem on, Mich. Kildare, 552. De Brooke, Will., 191. De Cis, or Thri, old French Poet, 336. Decameron of Boccaccio, 230, 232, 253, 256, 262, 274. Decker, Thomas, 580. —, or Dekker, Thomas, 808, 814, 901, 904, 907. Dee John, 571. —, John, 882. De Graville, Anna, 228. De Grise, Jehan, 101. De Gulvorde, J., 24. De Hales, Tho., 57. De Harnes, Mich. Turpins Charlemagne, 388. De Lyra, Nich., 193. De Lyra, Nich., 354. De Monte, Petrus, 355. De Montfort, Simon, Balad, 71. De Orlton, Adam, Bp., of Winchester, 63. De Presles Raoul, 389. Defence of Poetry, Sir P. Syney, 802, 860. — of Women, E. More, 833. Degote, Sir, Romance, 125, 128. Delight of the Soul, Hawes, 459. Deloney, Thomas, 904. Democritus, Junior, 817. Demosthenes, 593; in German and English, 619, 620. —, Seven Orations of, T. Wilson, 841; Carr, 873. Dempster, 540. Denny, Sir Anth., on the Death of, 656. Dering, Edward, 927. Dermod, King, Poem, 54, 60. Description of the Restlesse State of a Lover, Poem, Lord Surrey, 640. Descriptio Hiberniæ, 884. Desrey Petrus, 350. Devereux, Richard on the Death of, 656. Dewes Egidius, Preceptor in French, to Henry VIII., and Prince Arthur, &c., 420.
- Dialogue against the Pope, Ochyn, Poynet, 767; on Proverbs, J. Heywood, 685, on Tribulation, Sir Thomas More, 839. Diana, Latin Play, Conradus Celtes, 569. — of Montmayer, Spanish Romance, Tho. Wilson, 848. —, or the excellent Conceitful Sonnets of H. C., 814. Diamant of Devotions, A Fleming, 886. Dickenson, 895. Dictys Cretensis, 91, 98, 560. Didaco and Violenta, Tragical History of, 898. Dido, Romance, 276; —, Play, exhibited before Elizabeth, 573; Card. Wolsey, 608; —, Tragedy, Edw. Haliwell, 681, by Christo. Marloe, 864; — and Eneas, Inter-lude, 907. Didymus, 325. Dietarie of Health, And. Borde, 676; for the Clergy, 757. Digby, 13. Dingley, Fran., 795. Diodorus Siculus, John Phrea, 555, 600. Dion Cassius, 316. Dionysius the Areopagite, 518. Discourse of English Poetrie, Webbe, 655, 814, 884. Discoverie of Cam-pion the Jesuit, 290, 814. Dissolution of the World, Poem, 92. Disputation or Complaynt of the Heart, Lytel Treatise called, 450; betweene a Chrysten Man and a Jewe, Poem, 473. Ditty of the Amorous Spinett, Poem, Froissart, 308. Dives and Lazarus, Play, R. Radcliffe, 576.
- Doctrinale Puerorum, 549. Doctrine of Urines, And. Borde, 676. Doddington, Barth., 874. Dolce Lodovico, 317. Dol-man, John, 765. Dolopathpos, or Seven Sages of Greece, Rom., 306. Dom Johans, 306. Domesdie Book, 15, 117. Donatus, Ælius, 186, 325. Donne, John, 806, 899. Doni's Morall Philosophie, Italian, Sir T. North, 802. Dorman, St., 20, 434. Doro-hernensis Gervasus, 201. Douglas Gawer, 505, 515, 531. Dow, Mr., 278. Downfall of Antichrist's Masse, 718. — of Diana of the Ephesians, 828.
- Dramata Sacra, by Oporinus, 922. Drant, Thomas, 833, 875, 899, 904, 917. Drayton, Michael, 15, 92, 103, 268, 269, 281, 629, 634, 636, 653, 675, 796, 797, 799, 802, 805, 807, 906, 907, 914. Dream of Scipio, Tully's, 682. Dreme, by Sir Dav. Lyndesay, 515, 517. Drinking Ballad, the First, 759. Dryden, John, 236, 243, 274, 279, 297, 912, 918, 931.
- Du Cange, 98, 105, 111, 113, 115, 118, 121, 124, 243, 261, 228, 233, 240, 250, 256. Du Chesne, Jean, 395. Duclos, Mons., 162. Du Fresne, 253. Dufour, Antoine, 394. Dugdale, 124, 200. —'s Monasticon, 724. Du Halde, 266. Duke, Gilbert, 917. Du Mons, Jaques Pelloutier, l'Art Politique du, 308. Dumb Shows, 554, 814, 852, 858. Dun, John, first Master of the Revells, 571. Dunbar, La Countesse de, 55. —, William, 491, 505, 556. Duncane Lairder, a Poem, 535, 539. Du Riz, Pierros, Rom., Judas Macchabee, 275. Du Vignay, 340. Dyer, Sir Edmund, 805.
- Earthquake, in 1580, A. Golding, 893. Easter a Play, 457. Eastward Hoe, Play, 915.
- Eccard's Imitation of Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy, 336. Ecclesiastes, Drant, 830, 909. John Hall, 742. John Pullaine, 830. Henry Lok, or Lock, 830, 914. Ed. Spenser, 830. Oliver Starchy, 833. O Solomon, versified, Lord Surrey, 644, 743.

- in Latin, Rob. Shirwoode, 616. *Ecclesiæ de Corrupto Statu*, 46. *Eccecrinis*, of Verona, Tragedy, Alberti Mussato, 591.
- Edda, 450. Ed. the Black Prince, Achievements of, Poem, 218. Edmonton, Merry Devil of, Play, 679. Edmund, St., Hist. of, Lydgate, 351, 352. Edward I. King, Elegy, 71. II, Play, Marlowe, 909; Poem on, 446. III. Wars of, Minot, 693. IV., and the Tanner of Tamworth, 407. VI. 751. Edwardi de Karnarvon, English Verse, Fabian, 945. Edwards, Richd. Dramatic. Writer, 580, 809, 810, 813, 818. Education, a Compendious Fourm of, &c., in Verse, E. Hake, 804. Edyth, the merry-Gestys of the lying Wydow, Walter Smyth, 562.
- Egill's Ransom, a Poem, 22. Eginhart, 388. Eglamour, Sir, of Artoys, Rom., 105, 119, 121. Eglogues by Barclay, 984, 486.
- Εἰρηνη* of Aristophanes, 401. Eight Kings, History of the, 143.
- Elementarie, Mulcaster, 849. Elinour Rummyng, the Tunnyng of, Skelton. Elizabeth, Latin Poem, Christopher Ocland, 828, 547. Elizabeth, Queen, 573, 625, 805, 812, 880, 896, 900; a rueful Lamentation on the Death of, by Sir Thomas More, 690, 692. *Elucidarium*, 679.
- Emare, Lay, or Romance, 702, 711. Emen-datio Vitæ, Poem, R. Hampole, 176. Emma, Queen, and the Ploughshares, the Tale of, 63.
- Enchiridion of Surgery, Gale, 742. Endimion and Phœbe, 896. Eneas, Romance, 97. Enemy of Idleness, Fullwood, 848. Engelhusen, Theodorick, 318. England, History of, in Verse, Robert of Gloucester, 37. England's Helicon, 814, 832, 885; Parnassus, 807, 910, 930. English Policie, a Poem, 705. Englishman's Roman Life, Ant. Mundaye, 813. Ennius, 510, 552, 904. Enterlude for Boyes to handle and passe Tyme at Christmas, 824. Enterludes prohibited, 754.
- Eparchus Antonius, 593. Epictetus, 923. Epigrammata Seria, by Parker, 904. Epigrams, J. Heywood, 683; Crowley, 747. Ephiloquorus, 323. Episcopus Puerorum, 821, 823, 833, 836.
- Erasmus, 430, 557, 603, 607, 610, 614, 616, 622, 664, 886. Erastus, Romance, 306. Erra Pater, 676. Erceldoune, Romance, 55. Erkenwald, King, History of, 143. Erle of Tholouse, Romance, 385.
- Eschylus, 310. Esdras, 323. Esdras and Darius, Play, 838. Esop's Fables, Bullo-car, 387, 531, 850, 916. Essex, Robt., Earl of, 897. Ester, Queen, Play, 838. Esther, Book of, versified, John Pullaine, 830. Ester and Ahasuerus, 143; Poem, 437. Est-ton, Adam, 193, 599.
- Ethics of Aristotle, Fignilei Felice, 643. Ethiriden, Geo., 809. Etiocles and Poly-nices, Tale of, 875.
- Eugenianus Nicetas, 230. Eunuchus of Terence, translated, 916. Euripedes, 510, 531, 563, 565, 619. Euryalus and Lucretia, 894. Eusebius, 316, 457. Eustace, Poem of, Brut d' Angleterre, 46, 47. Eustathius, on Homer, by, 91, 914; the Romance of, 230. Eutropius, 458.
- Evans, Lewis, 900. Every Man, Interlude, 570. Evesham, Poem on the Battle of, 60. Exemplar of Virtue, Hawes, 459. Exhortations to the Citizens of London, Poem, Lord Surrey, 644. Exodus, Book of, Poetical Biblical History, 35; (Play on) in Greek Iambicks, by Ezekiel, a Jew, 566. Expositio in Psalterium, Hampole, 176. Exposition on the Psalms, Thos. Wilson, and Proverbs, 848. Expedition into Scot-lande, of Edward, Duke of Somerset, William Patten, 763.
- Fabell's Merry Pranks, 679. Fabian, Robt., 445, 446. Fabliaux, 307. Fabri Pierre, or Le Fevre, 832. Fabricius, 292. Fabyan, 111. Fabyll's Ghoste, Poem, 679. Pagius, 241. Fair Rosamond, Hist. of, 202. Fair fax, Ed. 808. Faithful Shepherdess, Fletcher, 586. Fairy Queen, Spenser, 483, 777, 795, 839, 914. Falcandus, 463. Falcon and the Pie, Poem, Rob. Vaughan, 696. Falconet, Mr. 307. Falconry, 467. Fall and Evil Success of Rebellion, Poem, Wilfrid Holme, 680. Fall of Princes, Lydgate, 355, 371, 766. Falstaff, Sir John, 156. Family of Love, 756. Fansie of a Wearded Lover, Howard, Earl of Surrey, 632. Farmor, Mr. 466. Far-ridington, Hugh, Abbot of Reading, 616. Fasti, 893. Fauchet, 74, 96, 97, 98, 131, 144. Faust, John, 908. Fayditt, Anselm, 30, 85, 156, 307; of Asses, Mystery, 164. Feast of Fools, Mystery, 164. Fenner, Dud-ley, 831. Ferrabrach, Guillaume, 151. Ferrers, Geo., 572, 763, 767, 815, 893. Fer-rex and Porrex, Play, by Sackville, 583, 855. Ferris, Rich. dangerous adventure of, 764. Ferron John, Liber Moralís de ludo, in French, 340. Festival, or Festiall, 17. Fete de Ane, 557, 564; Foux, 563, 564, 577. Feyld, Rich. 681. Feylde, Thom., 465.
- Fiametta of Boccace, B. Givuanno del M. Temp, 928. Field, John, 812; Richd. 681; Master of Fotheringay Castle, 428. Fifteen Tokens before the Day of Judgment, Poem, Ad. Davie, 148. Fignlei Felice, 643. Filostrato di Boccacio, 326. Finnaeus Historica Litteraria, 796. Firmius Julius, 466. First Frutes, by Florio, 926. Fitzgerald, Lord Gerald, 631. Fitzgeffrey, Ch. 808. Fitzralph, Richard, Abp. of Armaugh, 192, 226. Fitzroy, Hen. Duke of Richmond, 628. Fitzstephen, Will., 157. Five Joys of the Blessed Virgin, a Song, 26. Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie, by Tusser, 822, 824.
- Flacius, Matthias, 36. Flamma Gualvanei de la, on the Vicecomites of Milan, 194. Flee from the Prefte, Poem, Skogan, 405. Fleet-wood, Bishop, 16. Fleming, Ab. 885, 887, 918, 924; John, 887; Sam., 885. Flemmyng, Rob., 599; Abr., 600. Fletcher, Giles, 905; Rob. 807, 831; John, Drama-tist, 586. Fleury, Jean, 921. Flies and Ants, War with, or Moschea, 554. Flod-den, Battle of, Ballad on the, 208. Floral Games, the, 310. Flores et de Blanche-fleur, Histoire Amoreuse de, Jaques Vin-cent, 233; y Blancaflor, Romance, 233. Florian and Blanca-Flor, Romance, 233. Florimont et Passeroze, Romance, 233.

- Florinus, 430. Florio, John, 926. Florius and Platzafiora, History of, 230, 231. Florus, Version of, Bolton, 806. Flosculi of Terence, Higgins, 793. Floure of God's Commandments, 678. Flower of the Daisy, Poem, by Froissart, 308; Robert, 197; of Fame, Ulpián Fulwell, 801. Flowers, Masque of, 584. Flowre and the Leaf, Chaucer, 220, 240, 510. Flowres of Epigrams, Tim. Kendall, 905.
- Folengio, Theophile, 554. Foliot, Hugh de, Bp. of London, 547, 606. Fontaine, 729; 456; Jane de la, 228. Fontanini, 888. Fontenelle, 106, 156, 304, 309. Fontius, Bartholomew, 595. Fordun, 154. Fornari, Simon, 853. Forrest of Fancy, 875; Syr Will., 827, 828. Fortunate Isles, Masque, by Ben Jonson, 675. Fortune, Boke of Sir Thomas More, 690; et de Felicite, Roman, 303. Forze d'Ercole, Boccacio, 226. Fouquett of Marseilles, 85. Four P's, Play of, 683. Fox, Bp. of Winchester, 454, 608, 609, 733, 854. Foxa, Jefe de, 851.
- Franc, Guillaume de, 731. Francis I. of France, 593; Dauphin of France, Epithalamium, And. Bermad, 404. Fraternity of the Penitents of Love, Society of, 305. Fraunce, Ab., 808, 884, 887, 897. Fredegaire, 388. Free, or Phrea, John, 600, 602. Freebairn, Rob. 506. French, an Introductory for to lerne to rede, &c., for Use of Princess Mary, by Egidius Dewes, 597. Friars, Outline of the Constitution of the Four Orders of Mendicant, 190, 195. Frier Fox-Taile, Ballad, 814. Frigidilles, 323. Frogs and Mice, 905, 914. Froissart, 50, 124, 167, 218, 222, 224; Acc. of his Poems, 308, 497, 518, 539, 705, 904. Frontinus, 395. Fructus Temporum, 46.
- Fyre Grekys, Grecian Fire, 111. Fryssell, Will. 616. Fulk, Will., 926. Fullwood, Will. 848. Fulwell, Ulpián, 801. Furio's Counsels and Counselors, English Verse, Blundeville, 803.
- Gadshill, Ballad, Faire, 883. Gager, Dr. Will. 573, 813, 833. Gaguini, Rob. 552. Galathea, Play, Lilly, 887. Galbraith, 531. Galen, Latin, 23; translated, Jean Tourtier, 395. Galfridus, 430. Gallopes, Jean, 395. Gallus, Cornelius, 888. Gammer Gurton's Needle, Comedy, 570, 760. Gand, Hen. de, 340. Garlandia, Johannes de, 430. Garin, Roman de, 50, 279. Garter, Account of the Order of the, 167. —, Bernard, 899. Gascoigne, Geo., Poet, 427, 583, 655, 669, 805, 808, 811, 813, 815, 849, 866, 872, 875, 893, 901, 911, 931. Gatisden, John, 292. Gauchi, Hen. de, 388. Gaulmin, Gilbert, Pilpay's Fables in French, 96. Gawain, Romance of, 141. Gaya Sciencia, Consistorio de la, founded by Ramon Vidal de Besalin, 851. Gay Science, the, 851.
- Gellius, Aulus, 552. Geminus Marcus, Latin Comedy, 573. Genealogy the Gods, Boccacio, 471. Genesis, Book of, paraphrased by Caedmon, 2; Poetical Biblical History, extracted from, 22; Commentary, John Capgrave, 344; in English Ryme, Hunnis, 741; the first Chapter of, Ballet of, 899. Gentle Craft, the, 904. Gentylness and Nobylyte, Interlude, Ras-
- tall, 561; Play of, 683. Geoffry of Monmouth, 37, 40, 46, 90, 93, 260, 264, 272, 354, 652, 806. Geography of P. Mela, Golding, 893. George Saint, Play, 837. Geraldine, the Fair, 631, 638. Gerard, Antoine, 396. Gerileon, a Poem, 814. Gerson, John, 336. Gervais of Tilbury, 396. Gervays, Bp. of Winchester, 299. Gesta Alexandri Regis, 62, 320; Æneæ post destructionem Trojæ, 69; Antiocheiæ, et Regum aliorum, &c., 77; Caroli secundum Turpinum, 62; Osu-elis, 62; Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi, 54; Ricardi Regis, 62; Romanorum, 318, 319, 320, 330; Salvationis nostri Iesu Christi, 457. Geste of Alexander, Poem, Adam Davie, 699, 705, 706. Gesta Hosi-dius, 430.
- Giamboni, Bono, Tesoro di Brunetto, in Italian, 779. Giamschid, King, 268. Gianoni, 191. Giant, Oliphant and Chylde, Thopas, 286. Giavanno, B. del M. Temp., 928. Giffard, John, 406. Gilbert of Stone, 547. Gilbertine, Gilbertus Anglicus, 293. Gildas, 93. Gilote and Johanne, Adventures of, Poem, 61. Gilpin, Edward, 808. Giraldi Cinthio, 107. Girard, de Vienne, Le Roman de, Bertrand le Clerc, 105.
- Glaskerion, the Briton, 260. Glatesaunt, William, Astrologer, 291. Glaucus and Scylla, 896. Gloucester, Foundation of Abbey, Poem, Will. Malverne, 437. —, Latin Poem on the Abbot of Kildare, 452. God and the penitent Soul, Metrical Dialogue, W. Lichfield, 386. God's Promises, Mystery, Bale, 156, 577. — to Man, Tragedy, John Bale, 677. God ureisun to ure Lesdi, Saxon Poem, 208. Godefroy of Bologne, 393. Godfrey de Leigni, 97, 318. Godfrey of Bullogne, Romance, 75, 143. Godfrey of Bulloign's Conquest of Jerusalem, Play, 163. Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon, 232, 316. Godfrey, a Priest of Sussex, Tale, 456. Godfricus, 316. Goodman, Dr. Christ., Pamphlet against Queen Mary, 823. Goodly Matter, Play, 837. Godrich, a Hermit, 446. Goodwin, Christ., 681.
- Googe Barnaby, 803, 813, 834, 887, 911, 916, 917. Golden Apple, Ballet, 895. —, Boke, or Life of Marcus Aurelius, Lord Berners, 654. Golden Legende, 17, 186, 341, 725. —, Terge, W. Dunbar, 492, 495, 505. —, Sir D. Lyndsey, 658. Golding, Arthur, 813, 889, 897, 899, 910, 911. Goldingham, Hen., 898. Goliath, Psalm, Slaught-er of, 463. Goliath, 557. Gonzague, Guy de, 253. Gordionus Bernardus, 292. Gorbucke, Tragedy of, by Sackville, 669, 734, 805, 855, 866. Gorionides, Joseph, Hebrew translation of the Life and Actions of Alexander the Great, 95. Goscelinus, 443. Gosson, Stephen, 812. Gotham, Mad Men of, 672. Gouget, Abbe, 228. Goulain, John, 389. Goujet, 852. Gower, John, 150, 155, 225, 232, 256, 259, 265, 268, 297, 304, 311, 320, 337, 347, 399, 468, 471, 484, 500, 530, 552, 605, 612. Gower, John, 679, 757, 843, 854.
- Graal, Saint, 143. Grafton's Chronicle, 763, 904. Grammar, English, Bullock, 850. Grammaticus, 365. Grandison, Bp., 186. Grandison, Bp. of Exeter, 480. Grant, 882. Grant's, Ed., Specilegium of the

- Greek Tongue, 885. Grantham's, Hen., Scipio Lentulo's Italian Grammar, 926. Granuci's, Nich., Theseid of Boccaccio into Italian Prose, 228. Gratalorus, 879. Gratian du Pont, 850. Gratulationes Valdineses, Gab. Harvey, 901. Graunt, Kaan, Histoire de, et des Merveilles du-Monde, 70. Graville, Anna de, 228. Gray, 482; Will. Bp. of Ely, 600. Gray, Thomas, 55; John, 55. Gregoras Nicephorus, 230. Gregory, Pope, the Great, 324. — of Tours, 323, 365, 388, 435. Grenailles, 232. Greene, Robt., 814, 875, 907. Greenwich, Devices shewn at, 727, 821. Greseildis, Marquis de Saluces, Le Mystere de, 275. Greseildis Vita, per Fr. Petrarcham, 275. Grieseld, Patient, 827. Grieseld the Second, Poem, by Syr Wm. Forrest, 827. Greville, Fulk, Lord Brooke, 586. Greville, Fulke, Lord Brooke, 806. Grimoald, Nichols., 664, 670. —, Play, on St. John the Baptist, 571. Grindal, Abp., 161, 625. Grisilde, Patient, Play, R. Radcliffe, 576. Groatsworth of Wit, Rob. Greene, 875. Grocyn, Will. 602. Grosthead, Bp. of Lincoln, 44, 46, 57, 60, 173, 174, 191, 195, 259, 268, 335, 563, 604. Groundes of Good Huswifery, 900. Grynaeus, Simon, 617.
- Gualo, Latin Poet, 46. Gualtier de Belleperche, Romance, Judas Macchabee, 275. Gualtier de Chatillon, 93, 430, 552. Guarini, Baptiste, 599, 600, 602. Guazzo, Steph., Civile Conversation of, by Barth. Yong and Will. Pettie, 927. Guerre, Jean de, 396. Guiart de Moulins, 387. Guichard et Sigismonde, 931. Guido de Colona, or Columna, 87, 90, 91, 100, 227, 254, 260, 363, 368, 374, 378, 393, 889. Guldevorde, John de, 24. Guigemar, Lay of, 462. Guillaume le Briton, Philippeis, Latin Poem, 118. Guillaume, Prior of Chalis, 542. Guillaume le Roy, 336. Guillaume de France, 797. Guiscard and Sismond, W. Walter, 478. Guls Hornbook, 900, 901. Gunther, 430. Gunthorpe, John, 597, 602. Guy, Earl of Warwick, Romance, 61, 62, 103, 104, 143, 428, 716. Guy de Warwick, Chevalier d' Angleterre, 162. Guy and Colbrand, Poem, 61. Guy de Burgoine, 62. Guy de Warwick, le livre de, et de Harold d' Ardenne, 163. Guy of Warwyk, Chronycle of, Girard Cornubeynce, 61.
- Gyrrat de Vianne, Histoire, 105. Gyron le Courtois, Romance, 393
- Hackluyt's Voyages, 705. Haddon, Dr. Wal., 847, 905. Hake, Ed., 804, 901. Hakem, Arabian Juggler, 266. Hakluyt, 70, 281, 284. Hales, Thos. de, 57. Haliwell; Ed., 681. Hall, Anthy., 259; Joseph, Bp. 270; Chronicle, 725, 764, 904; Satires, Bishop Jos. 802, 829, 830; Arthur, 910; Eliseus, 742; Edward, 926, John, 899. Haly, Arabic Astronomer, 291. Hamanus, Latin Tragedy, Kirchmaier, 909. Hamlet, Play of, 567, 571, 573, 580, 655, 813, 907. Hampole, Rich., 169, 176, 682. Handfull of Honeysuckles, William Hunnis, 741. Hannibal, 143. Hantwille, Barth., 225. Hanville, John, 430. Harding, John, 399, 400. Harflett, Siege of, and Battayle of Agynkourte, 338. Harmony of the four Gospels, 9, 617. Harpalus and Phyllida, Poem, 659, 661. Harper, the King's, 37. Harrington, Sir John, 808, 876. Harriots, Master, 912. Harrison's Britain, 674, 687. Harris's Hibernia, 60. Harrowing of Hell, by Christ, Interlude, 457. Harvey, Gabriel, 841, 872, 884, 901, 931, 940; Thom., Mantuan, by, 490. Hatcher, 818. Hathway, Richd., 814. Hatton, Sir Christ., 869. Haunse, Everard, 814. Hawes, Stephen, Pastime of Pleasure, 144, 239, 457 to 491. Hawking, 466, and Hunting, Poem, by Julyana Barnes or Berners, 431. Hawkins, Sir Thos., 899. Hawkwood, Sir John, Life of, 668. Hay, Arch., 531. Hayward, Thos., 808.
- Heale, Will., 574 833. Hearne, 12, 16, 37, 46, 61, 65, 92, 95, 121, 133, 209, 258, 636, 672, 673, 675, 722, 740, 819, 839. Heaven, Death, Judgment, &c. alliterative Ode on, 29. Hebdomada, Mariana, 884. Heber's, Romance of, Seven Sages of Greece, 306, 388. Hector, Life and Death of, 368. Hecuba and the Ladies of Troy, Lamentation of, Ballad, 914. Hecuba of Euripides, in French, Lazare, de Baef, 852. Hegesippi de Bello Judaico, et Excidio Urbis-Hierosolymitanæ Libri quinque, 147, 209. Hegisippus, 316. Helen's Epistle to Paris, Ballet, by B. G., 899. Helenæ Raptus, 906. Helicon, England's, 670, 814, 832, 885, 909. Heliodorus, MS. of, 297, 596; Ethiopics of, 896, 916. Helis and Guinchester, 430. Hemidos, Tragedy, Robinson, 878. Hemperius, the Erotic, History of, 297. Henderson, 531. Henricus Versificator Magnus, 46. Henrici Septimi de progressu in Galliam, 598. Henry and Emma, Poem, by Prior, 713, 716. Henry, King, Elegy on, 73; of Huntingdon, 46, 93, 250; IV., Play of, 587, 883; Balade, Gower, 357; V., 336; VI., Legend of, 445; VII., Achievements of, And. Bernard—Elegy on, Skelton, 543. Miseries of England, Poem, Skelton, 541. VIII., 489, 60, 611, 628, 663, 751, 758; Encomium in Greek Verse on, Geo. Etheredge, 809; Panegyric on, Whittington, 403. Adresse to, And. Bernard, 404. The Coronation of, in English Verse, Step. Hawes, 459. Henrysount, Robert, the morall Fablis of Esope, compylit by, 531. Hentzner, 617. Herbelot, Mons., 265, 266, 268, 271. Herbert, a Minstrel, 63; Will., 448. Hercules, Romance, 100, 243, 244; and his End, Ballet, 895. Hercules Oetaeus of Seneca, in blank verse by Q. Elizabeth, 880. Heredia del Preyres, or Heresy of the Fathers, Satirical Drama, Fayditt, 30. Heresbach, Conrade, Treatise on Agriculture, Gooze, 922. Hermaphroditus and Salmacus, Peend, 874. Hermes, Bird, Poem, 407, 468; Fable of, 886; Trismegistus, 259. Hero and Leander, 906. Herod, Pageant, 194. Herodotus, 323, 619. Herolt Dardenne, 103. Hesdin, Simon de, 391. Hesiod's Works and Days, Geo. Chapman, 510, 914. Hether, Dr. Will., 828. Heusius, or Hews, 905. Heuterus, 817. Heywood, Jasper, 802, 812, 813, 875, 876, 911; Thos., 520,

- 556, 813, 896, 907; or Heiwood, John, 683, 689, 847, 850, 876. Hezekiah, Play of, exhibited at Cambridge, 573.
- Hibernia, Harris, 60. Hiberniæ Descriptio, Stanyhurst, 884. Hicckes's Thesaurus, 9, 13, 16, 30. Hickscorner, Interlude, 457. Hierarchie of Angels, T. Heywood, 520. Hieronymo, Tragedy, 669. Higden, Ralph, Polychronicon, 61, 226, 436, 438. Higgins, John, 793, 808. Hilcher, Paul Christian, 350. Hildebert, Eveque de Mons. Oeuvres de, 250. Hill of Perfection, Bp. Alcock, 485. Hincmarus, Abp. of Rheims, 336. Hippocrass, or spiced Wine, 548. Hippocrates, in Latin, 294, 324. Histoire d'Angleterre, en Vers, par Maistre Wase, 46. Historia Aurea, John of Tinnmouth, 443. Historia de Bello Trojano, 92. Historical Parallel, Bolton, 806. Histriomastix, by Prynne, 828, 926. Hive full of Honey, William Hunnis, 741.
- Hoby, Thos., 866. Hodgkins, 459. Hoggard, Miles, 753, 832. Holbein, Hans, 143. Holcot, Robert, 11, 340; Dictionarie, Higgins, 793. Holland, Joseph, 459, 751; Hugh, 806. Hollingshead, 154, 158, 268. Hollinshed, 657, 658, 728; Chronicle of, supervised by Fleming, 885. Holme, Randal, 437; Wilfrid, 680. Holofernes, History of, 143; Play, 838. Holophernes, Play, 579. Holy Ghost, Order of, 167. Homer, 34, 90, 128, 256, 260, 310, 360, 369, 552, 619, 643, 804, 881, 906, 910; Illiad, G. Chapman, 804, 911; Arthur Hall, 910; Illiad and Part of the Odyssey by Leontius Pilatus, 370. In French, Juques Miles, 370. In Latin, Francis Philadelphus, 592, 595; odyssey, in Spanish Blank Verse by Gon-salvo Perez, 643. Homiliæ, Vulgares, Alcock, 485. Honourable Prentice, 668. Hooker, John, 681, 804. Hopkins, John, 652, 733, 735, 737, 738, 740, 741, 748, 803, 855, 921. Horace, 552, 606; Art of Poetry, in French, Pelletier, 853; Epistles, N. Grimoald, 664; Satyres, two books of, Drant, 886; translated, 650, 853, 881, 899, 918. Horn Childe and Maiden Rivinel, Poem, 34; Geste of King, 31, 34. Horne, Bp. of Winchester, 813. Horologium Principum, Antonio Guevara's, Sir Thos. North, 802. Houdane, Raoul de, a Provençal, 307. House of Fame, Chaucer, 54, 93, 257, 259, 369, 460. Hoveden, John, 60. Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 489; Hen., Earl of Northampton, 897. Howell, Thomas, 896.
- Hubbard, Will., 892. Hudson, Thos., 807. Hues, Rob., 442. Huet, 76. Hugh de Balsham, Founder of Peter House, Cambridge, 191. Hugo de Evesham, 200. Hugh de Foliot, 547, 606; de Sancto Victore, 547; Sir, of Bourdeaux, 663. Hughes, Rob., 912. Hugo, Prior de Montacuto, 37. Hugolin of Pisa, Story of, 258. Hugues de Bercy, 30. Humagoun Nameh, (the Royall Book), 95. Hume, Mr., 204. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 344, 347, 620. Humphries, Laur., 624. Hundred good Poyntes of Husbundry, &c., 822; Poyntes of Evel Huswyfraye 304; Sonnets, or Passionate Century of Love, Thos. Watson, 906. Hunnis, Will., 741, 865, 893. Hunte, Gaulter, 387. Hunting, 466. Huon de Meri, Roman d' Antechrist, 189. Hurd, Dr., 189, 287. Huss, John, Tragedy, R. Radcliffe, 576. Hussey, Maistress Margaret, Poem, Skel-ton, 562.
- Hymen's Triumph, Sam. Daniel, 586. Hy-percritica, Bolton, 784, 804, 805.
- Idoyne and Amadas, Romance of, 325. Ig-noto, 908.
- Illustria aliquot Anglorum Encomia, 878. Illyrius Flacius, 14.
- Image of the World, 517. Imperator Ludo-rum, 570.
- Incendium Amoris, Rich. Hampole, 75. In-dia de Situ et Mirabilibus, 70. Infortunio, 446. Inghish, John, Sir James, a Poet, 531. Inner Temple, Masque, Middleton, 584. Will. Brown, 586. Inns of Court Anna-grammatist, or the Masquers masqued, Fran. Lenton, 584. Interludes, Sir D. Lyndesay's, 517. Introduction of Know-ledge, Poem, by A. Borde, 673.
- Iphis, unfortunate Ende of, versified, 892. Ipmedon, Romance, 136, 139. Ippotis, Sir, Romance, 141.
- Isaure, Clementina, Countess of Tholouse, 310. Iscanus, Josephus, Poem on the Trojan War, 665. Islip, Abbot, 543. Iso-crates, 326, 619, 625; certain Orations, Christ. Johnson, 906. Isodorus Hispa-lensis, 154, 317, 360, 430. Israel, plusieurs Batailles des rois d', contre les Philistines et Assyriens, 463.
- Italia Liberata di Goti, Trissino, 644. Ite in Vineam, Comedy, Lord Berners, 663. Itz-wert, James, 917.
- Ives, Simon, 584. Ivychurch, Countess of Pembroke's, Fraunce, 887.
- Jack Hare, 471; of Newbery, 904; Snacker of Witney, 160; Strawe, 277; Upland, 203; Wat, that could pull the Lining out of a black boll, Poem, Lidgate, 471.
- Jacob and Esau, a newe, merry, and wittie Comedie, 838; and his twelve Sons, His-tory of, 450. Jacobus de Vitriaco, 378; de Voragine, 17, 341. Jaloux Chatie, Tale by Raimond; Vidal de Basaudin, Trouba-dour, 465. James I. (of Scotland), 399, 737, 808; II., 534; IV., V., 491, 515, 539, V., 540; VI., 574, 625. Jane Shore, Tra-gedy, 807. Jardinde Plaisance et Fleur de Rhetorique, 850. Jason, Romance, 100, 105; and the Golden Fleece, History of, 144; and Medea, Story of, Nich. Whyte, Jean d' Orronville, 117; Tourtiers, 395; Jeber, Arabian Chemist, Lapis l' hiloso-phorum, 264. Jeffrey the Harper, 65. Je-han de Grise, 101; de Vignay, Legenda Aurea, 17; de Nivelois, 100; du Chesne, 96. Jephth, Judge of Israel, Ballad, Wm. Petowe, 906; Tragedy of, John Christo-pherson, 571. Jeranchie, John de Pentham, 391. Jeremiah, translated, 899. Jerome, French Psalter, translated, 23, 317, 325. Jerusalem, Destruction of, Prose Romance, 147; Poem, Davie, 145, 147. Jeu de Per-sonages, 164. Jew and Christian, Dialogue, Sidonius, 430; of Malta, Tragedy, Kit Marlowe, 907.

- Joan of Arc, 525. Job, Book of, paraphrased, Rich. Hampole, 175; St. Jerome, 786; paraphrased, Drant, 904. Suffering, Tragedy, Radcliffe, 576. Jocasta of Euripides, Geo. Gascoigne, 669, 866, 867. Jocatores, the, 64. Jocelyne, Bishop of Salisbury, 606. Jocolator, or Bard, 15, 64. Joel, Rabbi, Pilpay's Fables in Hebrew, 95. Johan the Husband, Tyb the Wife, and Sir Johan the Preeste, Play of, 683. Johannes of Capua, Pilpay's Fables in Latin, 96. Johanni de Wallis, 37. John Chandois Herald, Poem on Edward the Blk. Prince, by, 218. John de Dondi, 290. John de Guldevorde, 24. John de Langres, Translation of Boethius, 203. John de Meun, 62, 106, 243, 252, 300, 303, 312, 359, 389, 477. John, King, Play of, 907. John of Basing, 186. John of Hoveden, 36. John of Salisbury, 37, 96, 158, 162, 266, 278, 340, 364, 390, 394, 428, 656. John of Tinmouth 351, 443. John of Waldenly, 432. John Prior of St. Swithin's, Winchester, 240. John the Babbist, Comedy of, John Bale, 677. John, the Chaplain, 337. Johnson, Dr. Christ., 906; (Johnston), N. 46; Rich. author of the seven Champions, 473, 489. Joinville, 113, 117, 121. Joly Chepert of Askeclown, Romance, Lawren, 55. Jonas, Tragedy, R. Radcliffe, 576. Jones, Inigo, 575, 584, 779; John, 915, 917. Jonson, Ben., 520, 567, 577, 580, 586, 677, 709, 806, 808, 814, 906, 907, 913, 916. Joos, Dan., Legend, Lydgate, 353. Jopas, Song of, Sir Thom. Wyat, 652. Jordan, Will., 158. Jordi Messen, a Provençal Poet, 647. Josaphas, Life of, 17. Joseph of Arimathea, Hist. of, 97; Life of, 552; Exeter, 378; the tragidious Troubles, &c. of, Poem, Sir Will. Forrest, 827. Josephue, Flavius, 147, 260, 278. Josephus, 316, 323, 394, 526. Jovius Paulus, 463.
- Judas Macchabee, French Romance, 275. Judith and Holofernes, Ballad of, 838; Book of, versified, 'Pullaine, 830; Fortitude of, Tragedy, Radcliffe, 576. Juglers, the, 151, 260. Julian of Brentford, the Testament of, R. Copland, 828; Cardinal of St. Angelo, Greek MSS., 464. Juliane, Seinte, Legend of, 16. Julius and the poor Knight, Story of, 320; Julius Valerius, 95. Junius Patrick, 506. Jupiter and Juno, Hist. of, on tapestry, 143. Justinian, 378, 728. Justin's History, Golding, 893. Juvenal, 552, 918.
- K. J. or John Keyper, 896. K. W. i. e. William Kethe, 735, 823, 896. Kaan, Histoire de Graunt, et des Merveilles du monde, 70. Kalandre in Englysshe, Lydgate, 428. Kalender of Shepherds, 448, 450. Kalilave Damna, 95. Karlewerch en Escoce, les Noms et les Armes des Seigneurs, a l' Assize de, 221. Katherine, St., Life of, 17. Kay, John, Poet Laureat to Edward IV., 401.
- Keeper, John, 741, 896. Kederminster, Abbot of Winchecombe, 616. Keigwin, John, 158. Kelton, Arth., Chronicle of Brutes, by, 579. Kempe, Will., 813, 904. Kennedie, Walter, 531. Kenelme, St., Life of, 278. Kennet, Bishop, 64. Kendale, Romance, 55. Kendall, Tim., 886, 905. Kenilworth Castle, Princely Pleasures of, 709, 715, 815, 855, 893. Keyper, John, 745, 896. Kethe, Will., 735, 823, 896. Kett's Norfolk Insurrection, Latin Narrative of, by Nevyl, 874.
- Kildare, Michael, 452. Killingworth Castle, Entertainments at, 690, 715. Kinaston, Sir Fran., 254. Kinnedy, Andro, Testament of, by Dunbar, 535, 556. Kinde-Hart's Dreame, Hen. Chettle, 814, King, Dr. Philip, 807; Horn, Geste of, 31; of Tars, and the Soudan of Dammias, Tale, 131, 135. Kings, Book of, versified 748; Complaint, by James I., Scotland, 399; Fool, and Lucis, King of Rome, Story of, 320. Kinwelmarsh, Francis, 866, 867. Kirther, 75, 315.
- Knight of Courtesy and Lady of Faguel, Romance, 144. Knight of the Swan, Romance, 207. Knights Conjuring, by Decker, 814; Templars, 548. Knox, 733, 896. Knyght of the Burning Pestle, Play, by Beaumont and Fletcher, 807.
- Kolson, Ancient Northern Chief, 39. Kongs-Scugg-Sio, or the Royal Mirroure, 796. Korner Herman, 323.
- Kyd, Thos., 808. Kyffin, Maurice, 916. Kymes, Gilbert, 346. Kyng Apollyn of Tyre, Romance, 717. Kynloich, 531.
- Labbe Pere, Romance of Beuves de Hauton, 102. Lady of Faguel and Knight of Courtesy, Romance, 144. Lambarde, 160, 874. Lambe, Will., Memorial of, by A. Fleming, 886. Lambeccius Petrus, 253. Lamentation of Amyntas for the Death of Phillis, 887. —, of Corydon for Love of Alexis, by A. Fraunce, 887. of Hecuba and the Ladies of Troy, 914. —, of Jeremye, &c., 899. —, of Souls, Poem, Adm. Davie, 148. —, of Troy for the Death of Hector, 914. Lament for the Death of the Makkaris, 711. Lancelot du Lac, Romance, 78, 97, 139, 222, 278; Lancelot du Lac, Robert de Borron's, 78, 782. —, Romance of, 318, 319, 393, 476. Laneham, 64, 690, 715, 874. Langbaine, Gerard, 341. Langius Rodolphus, Latin Poet, 595. Langley, Thos., Monk of Hulm, 401. Langtoft's Chronicle, 46, 48, 52, 60, 67, 68, 88, 118. —, Peter, 479. Langton, Bp. of Lichfield, 463, 603. Lannoy, 10. Lapidaire, Poem of Marbodeus, 387. Lapidary, on Gems, 250. Lapus de Castellione, 322, 347. Lascaris, Constantius, 91. —, John, 604. Latimer, Bp., Song on, 753; Hugh, 603, 618. Latin Plays, 568, 569. Lattini, 106, 780. Launval, Romance of, 382, 705, 711. Laureat, Poet, Account of the first, 88, 403, 404. Laurence de Premierfait, 356. Lavaterus of Ghosts, in English by R. H., 824. Lawern, John, 55. Lawes, Will., 584. Laws, the Three, Comedy, Bale, 754. Lawyers, Ballad on the, 30. Lay of Emare, 702, 711. — Lay of Launval, 705, 713. — of the Erle of Tholouse, 704. Lazamon, 46.
- Leander's Italia, 361. Lear, King, by Shakespeare, 486, 870. Lebrixa, Antonio de, 595. Lectionary of Cardinal Wolsey, 719. Lee, Abp. of York, 616.

- , Lady Marg., Poem on the Death of, 670, 853, 904. Le Brun, Monsieur, *Avantures d'Apollonius de Thyre*, par, 232. Le Fevre Rauol, 368. Le Fevre, Jean, 392. *Legende of Good Women*, 226, 245, 258, 209, 427. *Legenda Aurea*, translated by John du Vignay, 17, 389. Leigny, Godfrey de, 318. Leirmouth, or Rymer, Thos., 55, 517. Leland, 55, 71, 191, 195, 208, 262, 291, 292, 634, 646, 677, 728, 339, 464, 616, 617. Lelarmoner, or Lelarmor, John, 428. Lent and Liberty, Dialogue, Crowley, 747. Lenten Stuff, Nash, 909. Lenton, Francis, 584. Lentulo's Scipio, his Italian Grammar, Henry Grantham, 926. Leonard of Arezzo, 394. Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, 457. Leonela and Canamor, Romance, 233. Leonico, Angelo, *l'Amore de Troleo et Greseida*, 232. Leontius Pilatus, 361, 370. Lepanto, by King James I., 805. Letter of Cupide, Occleve, 244, 337. Lewick, Edw., 929. Lewis VIII., a Romance, 558; XII., 593.
- Lhuyd, Humphrey, 882.
- Libeaux, Sir, Romance, 135, 141. Libro d'Amore, 307. Lichfield, William, 386. Lieu Girardis, 320. Liessl'Abbede, Abbot of Jollity, 572. Life of our Lady, Lydgate, 353, 354. — of Man, Description of, Poem, 742. Lives and Sayings of Philosophers, &c., W. Baldwyn, 763. Lives of the Saints, 16, 20, 66, 90, 721. Lillie, William, Grammarian, 542, 602, 607. Lillie, John, 290, 580; or Lilly, 887, 894, 899. Linacer or Linacre, 601. Litany, translated into Rymer, R. Crowley the Printer, 746. *Livre de cuer d'Amour espris*, Romance, 275. Livius, Titus, 260, 347, 391, 394, 397, 526, 552, 605, 622.
- Lloyd, Lodowyke, 834, 877.
- Lobeyra's, Vasco, *Amadis de Gaul*, 107. Locke, or Lok, Henry, 833, 974. Locrine, Play of, 907. Lodge, Tho., 807, 812, 813. Logic, Seton's, 904. Lollius, 253, 260, 378. Lombard, Ptr., 618. Lomelyn Domingo, 549. London Chaunticles, 903. — Lickpenny, by Lidgate, 497. —, *Panegyric on the City of*, by Fabian, 446. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, 558, 616. —, Robert, the Author of *Pierce Plowman's Vision*, &c., 176, 207. Lord of Misrule, 783, 815, 824. —'s Prayer, homily, in verse, 21; paraphrased, Hampole, 173. —'s Prayer, Latin, Paraphrase on, John Mallard, 403. —'s Prayer, versified, Whittingham, 733. —'s Supper, Interlude, John Bale, 677. Louis, Duke of Bourbon, Life of, Jean Orronville, 117. —, St., Romance, Joinville, 117. Love and Galantry, Poem, 29. — freed from Ignorance and Folly, Masque, B. Jonson, 586. —, Play of, 683. — Song, the earliest, 24, 26. Loves of Rhodante and Dosicles, Romance, 230. Lover and a Jay, Dialogue, Thomas Feylde, 465, 681. Love's Labour Lost, Shakespeare, 477, 926. Lowth's Life of Will. of Wykham, 169.
- Lucan, 261, 286, 391, 428, 552. —, First Book of, C. Marlowe's, 906. Lucanus Nicholaus, 232. Lucas, Chevalier, *Sieur du Chastel du Gast*, pres de Salisberi, le Roman de Tristram et Iseult, 80. — or Luce, 393. Lucian, Dialogue of, in Verse, John Rastall, 561; *icrominippus* of, Erasmus, 610. Lucillius, 552. Lucinda and Arnalt, 933. Lucius, King of Rome, and the King's Fool, Story, 320. Lucrece, grievous Complaynt of, 893. —, Rape of, by Shakespeare, 894. Lucretia, Poem on, 894. Lucretius, 238, 761, 766. Lucydayre, 679. Ludensis Gilbertus, Monk, 517. Ludicra seu Epigrammata Juvenilia, Parkhurst's, 905. Ludus, Filiorum Israelis, 158. Pascalis, 457. Resurrectionis Domini, 164. Scaccorum, Jacobus de Casulis, 340. Lully Raymond, 406, 469. Lumnalia, Festival of Light, Masque, 586. Lusores, the, 64. Lusty Juventus, Interlude, by R. Weever, 570, 755, 756. Luther, Martin, 411, 442. Latin Play on Heresy of, 509. —, the Pope, Cardinal and Husbandman, Ballad of, 752. Luxembourg, Jean de, 395.
- Lwyhd, Edward, 24, 158.
- Lybister and Rhodanna, Greek Poem, 228. Lycurgus, Story of, 364. Lydgate, 87, 92, 121, 124, 143, 156, 227, 253, 265, 270, 275, 283, 299, 315, 322, 341, 346, 348, 415, 428, 430, 446, 452, 459, 465, 468, 471, 477, 491, 497, 500, 530, 552, 679, 690, 766, 804, 843, 854. Lynne, Nich., 281. Lyndsay, Sir David, 492, 492, 515, 534, 658, 921. Lyra, Nich. de, 193, 345. Lyttleton, Lord, 47, 60, 89. Lytel Treatise, called the Disputacyon of the Heart, 450.
- M. A. i. e: Anthony Mundaye. Mabillon, 10, 91. Macaber, Dance of Death, German Rhymes, 350. Macbeth, Play of, 575, 892. Maccabee, Judas, Hist. of, 323. Maccabre, Dance of, on tapestry, 143. Maccabus, Romance, 147. Mace, 388, Macer, 324, 428. Machiavel, 931. Mackenzie, 540. Macon, Antoine le, 396; Count de, Hist. of, 263. Macrobius, 260, 464, 552. Mad Men of Gotham, Merry Tales of the, 673, 679. Madeley, Will. de, 445. Madox, 105. Magdalene, Marie, Mystere, 557, 559; Queen, Poem on Death of, 527. Magna Charta, from the French into Latin and English, Geo. Ferrers', 763. Magnamontacus Banatusius, 602. Magnificence, a merry Interlude, Skelton, 541. Magnus, Jacobus, 396. Maier, Michael, 405. Maillorie, Sir Thom., 476. Maimonides, Moses, 294. Major, John, 540. Makgreggor's Testament, Poem, 504, 535, 539. Mallard, John, 403. Malverne, Will., 437. Mamillia, Greene's, 885. Mancini, Dominic, 483. Mandeule, John, Parson of Burnham Thorpe, 46. Mandeville, Sir John, 71, 266, 467, 473. Mantuan, Tuber ville's, 483, 489, 897. Manual of Sins, Rob. de Brunne, 53. Mapes, Gualter, 476, 557, 606; Walter, 46, 278. Mappa Mundi, Sir J. Mandeville, 71. Marbeck, John, Musician, 736, 750, 828. Marbode, Bp. of Rennes, on Precious Stones Marbo deus, 387, 430. Marcell Amergot, the Robber, 539, 542. Marcellinus Amineanus, 319. Marchaunt's Second Tale, 291, 294, 104, 250. Marchion of Arezzo, 376. Marcianus, 364. Marcus Aurelius, 807. Mardiley, John, 750. Margaret, Queen, Wife

- of Henry VII., 452; St., Life of, 15, 17. Marian, Mayd, and Robin, Play, 163. Marie, a French Poetess, 462. Marine, Saint, Life, 20. Marius Antonius, Scribe and Illuminator, 600. Markham, Jervis or Gervaise, 808, 832. Marloe, or Marlowe, Christ., 807, 879, 897, 906, 910. Marot, Clement, 729, 730, 733, 734, 739. Marshall, Geo., 832. Marston, John, 802, 808, 825, 895, 908, 915. Martial d' Avergne, French Poet, 304, 640, 881, 905. Martin, Mr., 88. Martius Galeotus, 602. Martyrs and Confessors, Register of, in Metre, Thos. Brice, 855. Mary Magdalen, Mystery of, 557, 559; Magdalen, Repentance of, Interlude, 838; Queen, 622; Queen, Accession of, celebrated in a goodly Psalm, Rich. Beearde, 832; Queen of Scots, a Poem, by, 662; Queen, Latin Life of, Saml. Fleming, 885. Mason, Will., 909. Mason's English Garden, 826. Masques, the, 169, 584, 725, 727. Mass of the Gluttons, Bale, 677; the Antichrist's, Downfall of, 721. Massacre of Holy Innocents, Mystery, 141. Massieu, Mons., 308. Master of Revels, the, 571, 588. Matthæus of Vendosme, 430. Mauleon, Savarie de, 77. Maurilianus Pamphilus, 395, 430. Maurus Rhabanus, 14. Maximilian I., 595, 526, 552. Maximus Valerius, 276, 275, 286, 320, 322, 346; Simon de Hesdin's, 391. Maximianus, 429, 552. May Day, Comedy, Chapman, 807. May's Lucan, 585. Mayden's Dreame, Poem, by Chris. Goodwin, 681. Maymonde, the froward Tale of, by Lydgate, 471.
- Medea and Jason, History of, 276, 318. Tragedy of, by Geta, 430, 889. Medææ et Jasonis, Hist., a Guidone de Columna, 291. Medici, Laurenzo de, Cosmo de, 604. Meditationes Piaæ, Alcock, 484. Medusa, Ballet of, 896. Medula, Ripley, 407. Medwall, Hen., Interlude of Nature, 478, 561. Medytaciuns of the Soper of our Lorde Jhesu, and also of his Passyun, and eke of the Peynes of his sweet Modyr, Mayden Marye, yn Latin, Bonaventure, Cardynall, Rob. de Brunne, 126. Megacosm and Microcosm, Sylvester, 430. Mela, Pomponius, Geography, Golding, 893. Melancthon, 526. Meleager, Latin Play, Dr. William Gager, 573. Meliader, Knight of the Sun of Gold, Romance, 223. Meliado, Sir, the Life of, 932.
- Melibæus, Play, Radcliffe, 576. Meliboeus, Tale, Chaucer, 256. Memoria Seculorum, the Pantheon, Godfrey of Viterbo, 232, 316, 320. Menæchmi of Plautus, W. W., 916. Menander, 323, 365. Mendoza, Lopez de, Proverbs, Gooze, 922. Menesier, 97. Menestrier, 566. Merchant of Venice, Shakespeare's Play of the, 320, 322, 573, 663. Meres, Francis, 546, 656, 763, 813, 848, 883, 884, 893, 905, 911, 920. Meri, Huon de, 189. Merie Devil of Edmonton, Play of, 679, 680. Merlin, Ambrose, 265, 266, 269, 271; Prophetiæ, versifice, 135; Vita et Prophetiæ, 719. Merlyn, his Prophecies in Verse, 719, 722. Merser, 531. Merveilles du Monde Hist. des, et de Graunt Kaan, 70. Mery Jest, &c., by Sir Thos. More, 689. Merry Andrew, 672; Passages and Jeastes, 893; Wives of Windsor, Shakespeare, 556, 909. Metaphrastes, Symeon, 445. Meteranus, 852. Metristenchiridon, by John Seguard, 401. Metrical Preface to Heywood's Thyestes, 802, 875. Metropolis Coronata, a City Pageant, by A. Munday, 813. Meun, John de, 312, 359, 390, 477. Meurvin, preux fils d' Ogier le Danois l'Histoire de, 98. Mezeray, 76.
- Michael De Harnes, 388. Microcosm, Sylvester, 430. Midas, King, Ballad, 895. Middleton, Chris., 807, 808; Thos., 584. Midsummer Night's Dream, Play of, 556, 895, 896, 967. Mifyn, Rich., 176. Miles Owayne, a Poem, 446, 450. Milet, Jaques, 98, 370. Military Precepts, Phil. Betham, 882. Millemetre, Walter, de, 314. Miller's Tale, Chaucer, 430. Millot, Mr., 468, 473. Millyng, Abbot of Westminster, 599. Milton, John, 84, 310, 318, 509, 518, 520, 587, 728, 781, 786, 910. Mimi, Mimici, 64, 158, 159. Minerva, Book of Emblems, Peacham, 819. Minot, Laur., 693, 719, 721, 722. Minstrells, the, 54, 64, 85, 158, 385, 405, 434, 821. Mirabilia, Hiberniæ, Angliæ, et Orienstatis, Mundi, Terræ Sanctæ, 71. Miracles, 836; of the Virgin, French Romance, 201; or Miracle Plays, the, 156, 157. Mirandula, John Picus, Lyfe of, Sir Tho. More, 693. Mirroure for Magistrates, 156, 446, 690, 761, 763, 766, 780, 788, 791, 807, 808, 809, 815, 816, 818, 844, 858, 859, 899; by Whetstone, 807, 813; of Good Manners, Alex. Barclay, 479, 483; of Love, Miles Hoggard, 625; of the Church of St. Austine of Abyngdon, 828; of the Mathematikes, of Mirth, by R. D., of Monsters, 259; Mirroure, 793, 808; which reflects the World, 268. Miseriæ Curialunn, Æneas Silvius, 484. Misrule, Lord of, 571; Abbot of, 572. Mithridates, Play Nat. Lee, 586.
- Moderation, Poem in Praise of, M. Grimoald, 669. Moller, Hartlieb, Pilpay's Fables in German, 91. Monachus, Johannes, 91. Monge, Negro, 851. Moore, Peter, 832. Montaniero Raymond, 306. Montanus, Ferrarius, 809. Monte, Petrus de, 346. Montfaucon, 98, 103, 221, 232, 250, 274. Montfort, Countess of, 158. — Simon de, Ballad, 71. Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious, the Muses Mercury, 715. Month's Minde of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, a Sermon, by Bp. Fisher, 834. Mopsus and Melibæus, Dialogue, John Opicius, 599. Moralities, the, 161, 162, 163, 165, 189, 505, 557, 562, 852, 853. More, Sir Thomas, 561, 576, 604, 619; Laur., 602, 611, 618, 661, 662, 683, 689, 693, 713, 728, 839, 883, 905. Morgan, Bp., Testament into Welch, by, 296. Morisotus, 270. Morley, Lord Hen., Parker, 681; Edw., 883. Morlier, 340. Mornay's, Philip, on the Truth of Christianity, Sir P. Sydney & A. Golding, 893. Morte D'Arthur, 703, 705, 924, 925. Morterius, Ab., 450. Mortimer, Roger Earl, restored Rites of the Round Table, 85. Morton, John, Abp. of Canterbury, 478; an Augustine Friar, 396. Morys, John, 718, 720, 722. Moschea, or the War with Flies

- and Ants, 554. Moses, 523. Mousques, Philipps, 99, 558.
- Much Ado About Nothing, Play of, Shakespeare, 755. Mulcaster, Rich., 829, 849. Mummeries, the, 454. Munday, Musician, 736. Mundaye, Anth., 813, 814. Muratori, 316. Murray, Mr., 66. Musaeus, 881. Muses Library, 73, 635. —, Mercury, called the Monthly Miscellany, 715. Mussato's Alberti, Dramatist, 591. Mustapha, Tragedy, Greville, Lord Brook, 806.
- Mylner of Abingdon, a ryght pleasant and merry History, 286, 675. Myce and the Frogges, 906, 907, 914. Mystere de Gresidis, Marquise de Saluce, 165. Mysteries, the, 161, 163, 450, 458, 515, 564, 567, 579, 757, 836.
- Nænia, by Stephanus Surigonijs, 854. Nangis, Guillaume de, 391. Naogeorgii Regnum Antichristi, 834; Papisticum, 922. **NAOΓEOΠΤΟΣ**, or Kirchmaier, 922. Narcissus, Ovid's, in English Mytre, 895. Narrationes Aureæ, Gawin Douglas, 514. Nash, Thos., 884, 907. Nasrallah, Pilpay's Fables, 95. Nassyngton, Will. of, 431, 432, 434. Nastagio and Traversari, History of, out of Italian into English, by C. T., 750, 929. Nature a goodly Interlude, Master Henry Medwall, 478, 561. Nazianzen's, Greg., Greek Epigrams, Drant, 563.
- Necham, Alex., 365. Necromantia, John Rastall, 562. Nennius, 93. Nepos, Cornelius, 70, 91. Nesle, Blondell de, 77, 85. Nestradamus, 77, 87. Neus Preux, le Graunt Tappis de, 143; le Triumphe des, Romance, 232. Nevil, Sir Ed. 726. Nevill's Kettus, 904. Nevyle, Alex., 813, 873. New Cæsar, or Monarchie depraved, Bolton, 882 — Years Gift, Ancient Scots Poem, Alex. Scott, 55. Newbery, Jack of, 904. Newce, Thos., 873. Newe Sonnettes and Pretty Pamphlettes, 818. News oute of Kent, a Ballad, 824; out of Heaven and Hell, 824. Newton, John, 393, 596. —, Thomas 675, 728, 795, 799, 829, 872, 877, 879.
- Niccols, Rich., 796, 801, 816 —, Will., 446. Nicene Creed, versified, W. Whyttingham, 23, 733. Nicholas, Henry, 756. Nicholas de Lyra, 193, 359. —, St., 568; Pope, the Fifth, 592. Nicodemus, Legend, 457. Nicolson, Bishop, 506. Nidzarde, Adam, 250. Nigellus de Wireker, 276. Nightingale, French Rymes, 60. Nigramansir, Morall Enterlude, and a Pithie, Maister Skelton, 557, 559. Nigro, Andalus de, 361. Nine Daies Wonder, Kemp, 813, 904. Worthies, Pageant of, 837. Nivelois, by Jehan le, 100.
- Nobilitie, Treatise of, John Clerc, 644; Nomenclator of Adrian Junius, translated by Higgins and Fleming, 794. Norden's Speculum Britaniæ, 675, 680. Normandy, Metrical Chronicle of Dukes of, Master Benoit, 469, 478. North, Sir Thos., 802, 815. Northampton, Hen. How., Earl of, 897. Northern Mother's Blessing Poem, 478. Northumberland, Fifth Earl of, 542, 544. Norton, John, 406; Thomas, 583, 734, 803, 855, 856, 865, 893. Norvicus, by Nevyl, 875. Nosegay, 899. Nut Browne Mayde, 407, 712, 716.
- Nugæ Antiquæ, 664. Curialium, Walter de Mapes, 606. —, or Latin Epigrams, Borbonius, 905. Nuremburgh Chronicle, the, 518, 526.
- Nykke, Bishop of Norwich, 542. Nynne the Worthys, 143.
- Obsopæus, 596.
- Occleve, 244, 316, 337, 339, 340, 527. Ochyn, 742. Ocland, Chris., 828. Octavia, by T. N. or Thos. Nunce, 873. Octavian, a Romance, 140, 433.
- Odo or Odobonus, 428. Odoeporicon Ricardi Regis, Poem, by Peregrinus, 154. Odorick, a Friar, 70. Odoricus, 839. Odyssey of Homer, Spanish Blank Verse, 643.
- Oedipus and Jocasta, 365. (Edipus, Lamentable History of the Prince, 873. — of Seneca, Neville's, 813. Oeni de Visione in purgatorio, 517. Oenone to Paris, 897. Offa, King, Life of, 547.
- Oger, or Ogier, or Oddegir the Dane, the Romance of, 98.
- O'Flaherty, 207.
- Olave, St., Play of the Life of, 837. Old and New Testament, Mystery of, 102, 103; Old and New Testament, in Verse, 21, 22. Oldys, Will., 808. Olpe, Bergman de, 569. Olynthiacs of Demosthenes, in English, Thomas Wilson, 620.
- Opicius, a Latin Poet, 599. Opilio, or Lucas Shepherd, 830. Oporinus's Religious Interludes in Latin, 838. Opus Majus, Roger Bacon, 269.
- Ordre de Bel Eysse, humorous Panageric on the, 30. Oresme, Nich. de, 393. Orientis de Regionibus, 70. Orlando Furioso, 853. Orleton, Adam de, Bp. of Winchester, 63. Orosius, 316, 526. Orronville, Jean d', 117. Orthographie, Treatise of, Bulloccars, 850.
- Osma, Don Bernardo Obispo de, 340.
- Otfrid, Monk of Wiessenburgh, 13, 14.
- Othea a Hector, L'Epitre d', by Christina of Pisa, 371. Othello, Tragedy of, 812.
- Otheniem, Empereur de Rome, Romance, 141. Otuel, Romance, 62.
- Oure Saviour's Crucifixion, Elegy, 28. Our Saviour's Descent into Hell, poem, 20.
- Overbury, Sir Thomas, 896. Overthrow of Stage Plays, Dr. Rainolds, 574. Ovid, 238, 253, 256, 257, 260, 311, 317, 327, 378, 428, 460, 552, 557, 889, 892, 893, 897; Art of Love, Gawin Douglas, 506; Banquet of Sauce, Geo. Chapman, 914; elegiacs of, by Gower; Elegies, translated by Marlowe, 897; Eneid, G. Douglas, 506; Epistles, 663, 897; Fasti, translated, 894; Ibis, Thomas Underdown, 896; Metamorphoses of, 318, 344; Golding, 889, 893; by Sandys, 892; by Peend, 892; Guillaume de Nangis, 391, 395; Remedy of Love, Underdown; Overbury, Sir T.. Marlowe.
- Owayne, Miles, a Poem, 446, 517. Owen's Epigrams, 906. Owland the Nightingale, Contest between, 24.
- Oxford, Edward Earl of, 813, 814.
- Pace, Richard, 603, 611, 644. Paget, Will., Lord, 819. Pageants, 159, 450, 454; of

- Popes, by T. S., 873; the Birth of our Saviour, 153. Pageantries, 722; Pageants, Nine, of the Stages of Life, Sir Thos. More, 692. Painter, Will 926, 927. Palace of Pleasure, 926. Palamon and Arcite, 226, 228, 231, 233, 234; Chaucer, 235, 243, 654, 894. Play of, by Edwards, 573, 809, 812. Palamon and Emilia, 276. Palaye, M. de la Curne de Sainte, 54, 106, 223, 275, 304, 305. Palermo, Roger de, 105. Palice of Honour, Gawin Douglas, 515. Palingenius, 625, 805, 875, 887, 893, 916, 809, 812. Palladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury, 546. Palmerius, Mattheus, 394. Palsgrave, John, 483. Pammachius, Latin Comedy, acted at C. C. C. 1544, --542; Tragedy, Bale, 677. Pan, his Pipe, a Poem, 887. Pandas, Pandulph, 323. Panegyric on the Month of May, Poem, Froissart, 308. Panoplie of Epistles, Fleming, 886. Pantaleone, Chronicle by the Monks of Pantaleon, 316. Pantasia Macaronicæ, Theophilo Folergio, 554. Pantheon, or Memoria Seculorum, Godfrey of Viterbo, 316, 320. Papal Dominion, Gooze, 922. Parable of the Vineyard, Comedy, Lord Berners, 663. Paradise of Dainty Davies, 655, 670, 742, 808, 812, 818, 876, 882; of Love, Poem, Froissart, 308. Paraisols, Cinque belles Tragedies des Gestes de Jeanne Reine de Naples, par, 156. Pardoner and the Frere, Play of, 683. Parement des Dames, 275. Paris, Alexander, de, 100; Hist. of, Romance of the, 105; Matt., 118, 157, 450. Parker, Archbishop, 571, 625, 628, 742, 862, 874, 875; Hen., Lord Morley, 684. Parkhurst, John, Bb. of Norwich, 905. Parlyament of Devylls, 451. Parnassus, England's, 807, 910, 930. Parnel's Hermit, 457. Parr, Queen Catherine, 622. Parsons, a Musician, 736. Partonepex, French Romance, 256. Parvum Job, Book of Job, paraphrased, 175. Pasetes, a Jugler, 266. Pasquier, 307, 308. Pasquill's Madness, a Poem, 900; Mad Capp, 914. Passio Domini Jesu, Gilbert Pilkington, 693. Passion and death of our Saviour, Poem, 29; of Christ, acted at Anjou, 164, 837; of our Lord, an Interlude, Bale, 677, 678; Chertsey, 828. Passionate Shepherd to his Love, 909. Passyun a Jhus Christ, en Englys, 24. Pastime of Pleasure, Hawes, 144, 239, 460, 465, 470, 475. Pastor Fido, in Greek, 231. Pastorals, Froissart, 308. Patch, Cardinal Wolsey's Fool, 683. Pater Noster, versified by Forrest, 828. Pathway to the Tour of Perfection, Miles Hoggard, 625. Patient Grisilde, Story of, 164, 273, 276, 827. Patrarch, 87, 106, 225, 226, 253, 254, 260, 274, 275, 280, 281, 290, 305, 307. Patrick, Life of, 19; Cave, Legend of, 450. Patrum Vitæ, 17. Patten, Will., 763. Paynter, Will., 926, 927.
- Peacham, Hen., 182, 819. Peckham, Abp., 836. Peckward, 46. Pedigrees of British Kings, 436. Peele, George, 669, 868, 838, 895, 907. Peend, Thos., 894, 895. Peeris, Will., 199. Pelens and Thetis, 888. Pelerin, l'Ame de, 395. Pelletier, Jaques, 852, 853; Pembroke, Countess, Poem on Death of, 650. Pencriche, Rich., 12. Penelope, Romance, 276; Webbe, 896. Penetential Psalms of David, Sir Thos. Wyat, 652. Pennant, 529. Pennel, Maistresse Isabel, Poem, Skelton, 368. Penny, Sir, Poem, 371. Pentham, Jean de, 391. Peny, Sir, Romance, 687, 696. Percaval le Galois, par Messenier, 97. Perceforest, Romance, 228, 307. Percival, Sir, Romance, 97. Percy, Dr. Bishop of Dromore, 44, 141, 166, 186, 207, 393; Hen., Fifth Earl of Northumberland, Household of, 186, 543, 544. Pere, l'Abbe, 103. Peregrinus Guliemus, 152. Perez Gonsalvo's, Homer's Odyssey, in Spanish by, 643. Pergamo, Philip de, 430. Pericles, Prince of Tyre, Play, 232, 807. Perizon, gr. Perseus and Andromeda, 914. Persius, 552. Pertonape, Romance of, 256; and Ipomedon, 112. Perusinus Paulus, 367. Perymus and Thybye, 888, 927. Petavius, a Jesuit, 569. Peter de St. Clost, 113; of Blois, 364, 395, 552, 558, 604, 605; of Poitou, 964. Petite Palace of Petie, his Pleasure, 927; Will., 927. Petowe, Hen., 906; Will., 906. Petrarch, 128, 370, 391, 393, 403, 476, 591, 592, 989, 990, 634, 635, 644, 647, 653, 663, 729, 827, 853, 915, 925; Epitaph, John Phreafor Tomb of, 601; Seven Penetential Psalms, Chapman, 915. Petronylla, Life of, Poem, 452. Petrus de Monte, 346.
- Phaier, Thos., 764, 813, 881, 882, 883, 890, 893, 911. Phalaris' Epistles, in Tuscan, Bartholomew Fontius, 596. Phebe and Endimion, 896. Phelyppis, or Phillips, Sir Thos., 656. Philargyria, the great Gigant of Great Britain, Fable, Robert Crowley, 529. Philephus, Francis, and Historian, 344. Philip Sparrow, Skelton, 481, 492. Phillipeis, Latin Poem, Guillaume le Breton, 112. Phillips, John, 634, 910; Robt., Poem on Death, 656. Philippa, Queen of Edward III., 168. Phillis and Flora, Amorous Contention of, Chapman, 914. Philobiblion, Richard de Bury, 172. Philotas, Comedie, 683. Phist's, Will., Well-spring of Wittie Conceights, from Italian, 825. Phoenix Nest, by R. S., 884, 885. Phonurgia, 315. Phrea, or Free, John, Bp. of Bath and Wells, 600, 601, 603.
- Pictorius Epigrams, Kedall's, 905. Pic and Falcon, Poem, 696. Pierce Plowman's Vision, 45, 122, 176, 190; his Creede, 157, 190, 195, 196, 198, 203, 437, 485, 507, 557, 699, 708, 746, 752. Pierce Plainnesse, Seven Yeres Prentiship, Romance, H. C. i. e. Hen. Chettie, 814. Pignatelli, 463. Pilkington, Gilbert, 693. Pilpay's Fables, 94, 96. Pindar, 565. Pinner of Wakefield, Comedy, 683. Pisander, 552. Piscatory, Eclogue by Fiorino Buoninsegni, 490. Piscator, or the Fisher Caught, Comedy, John Hooker, 681. Pithias and Damon, Ballad, intitled two lamentable Songes of, 813. Piteaux, or Pitoux, i. e. Religious Mysteries, 164. Pits, 809. Plaids et Gieux sous l'Ormel, 394.
- Planudes Maximus, Boethius, in Greek, 336, 430, 644. Platina, Baptista, 599. Plato, gr., 238, 250, 324, 346, 368, 525, 565, 585, 595, 613, 622, 625, 839. Plautus, 552, 592, 611, 619, 916. Play of Love, John Heywood, 683; of Pyles, 812. Plays, 754. Account of,

- 159, 163; prohibited by Bp. Donner, 162; confuted in Five Actions, 812; French, the, 389; English Origin of, 562; overthrow of Stage Plays, 572, 574. Players, a Company of, under John Inghish, at Marriage of James IV. of Scotland with Margaret Tudor, 493. Plea of the Rose and the Violet, Poem, Froissart, 308. Pleasant Poesie of Princelie Practice, Poem, Forrest, 827. Pleasure and Pain, Metrical Sermon on, Crowley, 747. Pliny, 520. Plowman, Pierce, 203, 286, 437, 505, 507. Plutarch, 564, 879; Commentary, English Meeter, by Thomas Blundeville, 803.
- Poem of Poems, or Sion's Muse, by J. M., 821. Poemata Varia et Externa, Drant's, 904. Poenulus of Plutus, 592. Poetaster, Play, B. Jonson, 581, 579. Poetical Biblical History, 22; Inscriptions on the Walls of Wressell and Lekingfield Castle, 544. Poggio, 392, 439, 542, 552. Poinces Maximilian, one of the Children of Pauls, 579; John, 699, 650. Pole, Cardinal, 633. Pollicente, Kynge, Ballet, 899. Policaricon of John of Salisbury, 429. Politian's Epigrams, Kendall's, 906. Politiano Angelo, 601, 602, 622. Polixine, and Astionax, 875. Polo Marco, de Regionibus Orientis, by, 70. Polybius, 806. Polychronicon, Higden, 11, 58, 226. Polyhistory of Julius Solinus, 71, 893. Polyolbion, Drayton's, 798. Pontanus, Isaacus, 851; Ponthus and Galyce, and Lytel Brytaine, History of, 471; and Sidonia, French Romance, 470. Pope, a, 634, 669, 856; and Popery, Ballade made against, Will. Punt, 813; and the Turk, a Metrical Prayer, Rob. Wisdome's, 735; Mr., 261, 279; Sir Thomas Life of, 649, 655, 656, 876. Popinjay, Poem, Skelton, 542. Popish Kingdom, Poem, Googe, 834. Pore Helpe, Poem, 753. Porphyrogenitus, Constantine, 445. Porter, Hen., 540; Endimion, 806. Positions, by Mulcaster, 849. Postils of Chrytæus, 992. Poul, St. Visions of, won he was wrapt in Paradys, 21. Powell, Thos., 901. Powell's Cambria, 65, 85. Poynter, Bp. of Winchester, 672, 747.
- Precious Stones, Saxon Treatise on, 259. Premierfait, Lawrence, 395, 396, 602. Preservative, a Tract against the Pelagians, Turner's, 855. Presles Raoul de, 389. Prester, John, 71. Preston, 813. Pricke of Conscience, Rich. Hampole, 170, 175; of Divine Love, 393; of Love, 175. Prickynge of Love, Bonaventure, 52. Pride and wast Clothing of Lordis Men, Poem, Occlve, 534. Princelie Pleasures of Kenilworth-Castle, Gascoigne, 815. Principles of Astronomical Prognostication, Borde, 676. Prior, Matt., 712, 713, 715. Proclus, 618. Procopius, 111, 232, 728. Procris and Chepalus, 875. Prodicus, 982. Prodigal Son, Story of, 143. Prodromus Theodorus, 230. Progne, Latin Tragedy of, 573. Progymnasmatia aliquot Poemata, 879; Scenica, seu Ludicra Præexercitamenta varii Generis, per Johannum Bergman de Olpe, 569. Prousions, E. Cape's, 713. Promptuarie of Medicine, Borde's, 676. Propertius, 552. Prophecies of Banister of England, 55. Proserpine de Raptu, Claudian, 258. Prosopopeia Basiliica, Latin Poem, Boltens, 807. Prosper, 323. Protestants, their sundry Practices, Miles Hoggard, 624. Prudentius, 625. Proverbes, &c., John Heywood's, 685, 847; Exposition on the, Th. Wilson's 848; of Lopez de Mendoza, Googe's, 922. Prynne, William, 828, 926.
- P's, Four, Play of the, John Heywood, 683. P. S. a Child of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel, Epitaph on, Ben Jonson, 582. Psalms, Book of, translated, 23. Psalms of David translated; — the first, 317, 322; in English Prose, Chris. Carlile, 917; Crowley, 746; Exposition, Drant, 904; in Hebrew Meter, Etheredge, 809; in English Meter, Sir Will. Forrest, 828; John Hall, 742; Will. Hunnis, 741; Seven, in Meter, Will. Hunny's, 865; King James I. 737; Treatise in Meter on the 119th, Miles Hogard, 832; John Keeper, 745; John Mardiley, 750; in French Rymes, Clement Marot, 729, 733; Ninety-fourth, paraphrased, Lord Morley, 682; Thos. Norton, 734; Abp. Parker, 742, 745; Frs. Seagar, 742; fitted to Tunes, Will. Slatyer, 718; Four First, in Latin Measures, Rd. Stanyhurst, 883; Lucas Shepherd, 830; Lord Surrey, 644, 732; Exposition, Thos. Wilson, 848; R. Wisdome, 735; Wyatt, 742; Anonymous Authors, 743, 745; Psalms, Seven Penitential, Comment on, supposed to be written by Bp. Alcock, 485. Psalter, A. Golding, 893. Psyche and Cupid, the Play of, 812.
- Ptolemy, Account of, 270, 529. Science of Astronomy, by, 281.
- Pulci Bernardo, 490. Pullayne, John, 830, 831. Punt's, Will., Ballade made against Pope and Popery, 833. Puttenham, Art of English Poetry, 545, 655, 658, 689, 763, 814, 815, 841, 884, 893, 901.
- Pygmalion's Image, Marston, 802, 895. Pylgrimages of the Holy Land, 145. Pymlico, or run away Red Cap, 807. Pyramus and Thisbe, Romance, 233, 276, 895. Pythias and Damon, Play of, 809, 813.
- Quadrupartitum of Ptolemy, Nich. D'Oresme's, 393. Queens, Masque of, Ben Jonson, 586, 709. Quilichinu Arsetinus, 96. Quin, the Comedian, 489. Quintil, 852. Quintilian, 552, 596, 620, 843, 844. Quintus Curtius, in French, 97, 395, 552, 605, 606. Quintyn, 531.
- Rabelais, 555. Radcliffe, Ralph, 576. Ragusinus Felix, 596. Rainolde, Rich., 848, 849. Rainold's, Dr. John, 573. Raleigh, Sir Walter, 804, 806, 909. Ramsay, Mr. 233. Randal of Chester, 63. Randolph's Muses' Looking Glass, 293. Randolph, Thos., 896. Raoul le Feure, 100, 375; de Houdane, Provençal Bard, le Voyer ou le Songe d'Enfer, par, 307. Rape of Helen, Marlowe, 906; — of Lucrece, 894. Raphael, Raphael, 593, 728. Rastall, John, 562, 564. Rattlesden, or Bloomfield, Will. 681, 682. Raoul de Biavaix, 97. Raus, Art de Kalender, par, 54. Rause de Boun, le Petit Bruit, par, 46. Ravalerie l'Eve-

- que de la, *Revolution de Langue Francoise*, 76. Raydon, Matth., 808.
- Reason and Sensualitie, Poem, Lidgate, 283.
- Recreations on Adam's Banishment, in Verse, W. Hunnis, 741. Redford, John, Organist of St. Paul's, 818. Refutation of Heywood's Apology for Actors, 813. Register of York Cathedral, 821. Registrum Librorum Omnium et Jocalium in Monasterio S. Mariæ de Pratis Leycestriam, 62. Renaud of Montauban, Romance, 307. Reson and Sensualitie, Lidgate, 469. Resurrectionis Domini Ludus, 164. Resurrection of Lazarus, Interlude, John Bale, 677. Return from Parnassus, Play of, 907. Reuchlin, early Dramatic Writer, 569. Reulidge, Rich., 813. Reve of Totenham, 694. Rex Stultorum, Office of, 164. Reynault de Louens's, Romance, de Fortune et de Felicite, 303. Reynard the Fox, 673. Leyne d' Ireland, Hist. of, on tapestry, 143. Reynholds, Hen., 655, 907; Thos., 848, 849; Sir Joshua, 258.
- Rhasis, an Asiatic Physician, 291. Rheas ap Gryffyth, 85. Rhetoric, English, &c., 840. Rhetorick, Grimoald's, 665. Rhetoricke, Arte or Crafte of, Leonard Coxo, 616. Rhodante and Dosicles, Loves of, Romance, 230. Rhodes, Latin Hist. of Siege of, John Kay, 401. Rhodes, Hugh, the Boke of Nurtur for Men's Servants and Children, or Governance of Youth, 833.
- Riccomboni, 166. Richard, a Poet, 29. Richard Roi d'Angleterre, et de Maquemore d' Irelande, Hist. de, en Rime, 89; Richard of Alemaigne, King of the Romans, Satirical Ballad on, 34, 36. Richard I., a Poet, 144, 530; II., 492, 535; III., History of, Sir Thos. More, 839; — Play of, 844, 859; Tragical Report of, a Ballad, 844; Cœur de Lyon, 50, 54, 61, 87, 102, 103, 108, 118, 136, 140; Romance, 716, 850, 851; de Bury, of Durham, 102; de Lisle, Romance, 303; Lewis, Master of Music, 586; Seigneur de Barbezeiuz, 463. Richmond, Hen. Fitzroy, Duke of, Poem on, Lord Surrey, 644. Riga, Petrus de, 430. Rightwise, John Master of St. Paul's School, 608, 907. Ripley, Geo., 405, 407. Rippe Guillaume, 395. Rivalet, a Latin Play, Dr. W. Gager, 573.
- Robert de Brunne, 32, 35, 44, 46, 47, 53, 56, 67, 68, 72, 79, 88, 111, 112, 114, 117, 121, 133, 136, 151, 168, 529, 707; Earl of Huntingdon, Downfall of, a Play, 556; le Diable, Roman de, 130; of Gloucester, 11, 35, 37, 46, 47, 52, 67, 79, 87, 133, 463, 502; of Sicily, Romance, 128, 130. Robin and Marian, Play, 163, 575; Hood and Little John, 477, 572, 813. Robinson N. Bishop of Bangor, 572; Richd., 878; Clement, 878. Rock of Regard, Whetstone's, 886. Rochford, Earl of, 653. Roger de Palermo's Sidrac, 108. Rois d' Angleterre, Roman de, 46. Rolewinch Wernerus, 526. Rollo, the Story of, Romance, 46. Romain Henri, 394. Roman de la Rose, 47, 62, 191, 243, 246, 250, 253, 259, 306, 312; de Rois d' Angleterre, 46; de Liebes, qui fut Racine de Troye la Grande, 92; du Graal, or the Adventures of Sangral, by Chretien of Troys, 97; le Rou, et les Vies
- des Ducs de Normandie, 46, 223. Romanus, Ægidius, Book de Regimine Principum, by, 226, 378, 828. Romaunt of the Rose, Chaucer, 49, 62, 121, 124, 226, 243, 252, 298, 300, 309, 464, 495. Romeo and Juliet, Tragedy of, 581, 812, 931. Romuleon, 391, 395. Romulus and Remus, Story of, 143. Rondeaus, Froissart, 308. Roos, or Roo, John, 583. Rosa Medica, John Gatisden, 294. Rosa Rosalynd and Rosemary, Romance, Newton, 879. Rosamund's Chamber, 521; Fair, History of, 521. Rosarium de Nativitate, Passione, Ascensione Jhesu Christi, or the Nightingale, a Book in French Rhymes, 371. Rosiar, by Skelton, 541. Rosse, J., 547, 599. Rotherham, Abp., 578. Roudeki, Persian Poet, 407. Round Table of Arthur revived by Roger Earl of Mortimer, 393, and by Ed. III., 486. Rouroy, Jean de, 395. Rouse, John, 412. Rowland and Olyvere, Romance, 397. Rowley, 813. Rowlie's Poems, 408, 424, 465. Rowls' Cursing, Poem, 531. Roy Marc, Romance, 405. Royal Ballads in Honour of Our Lady, Froissart, 623. Roydon, Matt., 808.
- Rubric explained, 906. Rubruquis, Will. de, 381. Rucher, Guillaume, 541. Rudell, Jeffrey, 394. Rufull Lamentation, Poem, Sir Thos. More, 690. Rufus, a Physician of Ephesus, 612. Rule of Life, or the Fifth Essence, Bloomfield, 681. Runcivallum. Bellum contra, 372. Rusinus, 323. Rutebeuf a Troubadour, 626.
- Rymer, 391, 530. Rythmi Elegantissimi, of George Boleyn, 654.
- Sabio, or Sabius, Stephen, his Greco-barbarous Lexicon, 531. Sachetti, 931. Sacra Dramata, 922. Sackefull of Newes, 819. Sackville, Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, 583, 734, 761, 762, 769, 777, 797, 802, 805, 808, 810, 815, 835, 860, 882. Sadler, John, 904.
- St. Alban, Martyrdom of, a Poem, 379. St. Alboon and St. Amphibalus, Lidgate, 552. St. Alexius the Confessor, Legend of, Ad. Davie, 464. St. Ambrose, 581. St. Athanasius, Creed of, versified, 325. St. Austin, 389, 390, 581, 599. St. Bernard, Lamentations of, 393. St. Catherine, Life of, Barclay, 483. —, Play of, 477, 835. St. Clost, Peter de, 408. St. Dorman, 321. St. Edmund, Hist. of, Lidgate, 351, 353. St. Etheldred, Life of, Barclay, 413, 436, 443. St. Frideswide, 389. St. George, Feast of, celebrated at Windsor, Description of, 538. Hist. of, 459. —, Life of, 483. Play, 837. St. Graal, Romance, Gualter de Mapes, 459, 476. St. Gregories Homilies, translated. St. Hugh, Martyrdom of, in French, 389. St. Jerome, 14, his French Psalter, translated, 325. St. Jerom, 317, 325, 393, 523. St. John's Descent into Hell, Greek Homily on, Eusebius Alexandrinus, 457. —, Erasmus' Paraphrase on, translated by Queen Mary, 622. St. Josaphas, Life of, 321. St. Julian, 450. St. Katherine, Life of, 319. St. Kenelme, Life of, 599. St. Louis, Romance, Joinville, 428. St. Margaret, Life of, Poem, 318, 319, 407, 483. St. Marine, Life of, 321. St. Nicholas Day, 834, 836. St. Paul's Epistles, versified

- John Hall, 742. St. Peter's Complaint, Southwell, 805, 831. St. Radegunda, Life, 452. St. Sexburgh, 436, 443. St. Theuseus, le Tappis de la Vie de, 459. St. Thomas of Becket, Legend of, 319, 321, 407, 478. St. Werburgh, Life of, in verse, Bradshaw, 435, 438, 443. St. Winifred, Life and Miracles of, 318. St. Wolfeade, Life of, Gilbert de Stone, 444. Saintre, John, French Romance of, 558, 540, 541. Saints, Life of the, 443. Poem on, 452. Salade, la, a Booke of Ceremonies, by Anthony de la Sale, 540. Saladin, Sultan, Life of the, 397. Salamonis Christiani Labyrinthus, 596. Sale, Anth. de la, 540. Salisbury, Earl of, a Poet, 546. Salmacida Spolia, a Masque, Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, translated, Peend. 895; Beaumont, 895. Salomon, Kynde, a Ballad, 824, 895. Salpicius Claudius, 323. Salus Anime, or Sowle Hele, a Poem, 319, 322. Salust, 391. Barclays, 483, 552. Samson and Dalila, 326. Sanctorum Loca, &c., 382. Sandaber, an Indian Writer of Proverbs, and the Romance of the Seven Sages of Greece, 626. Sandford, James, Cornelius Agrippa, 591. Sandys, Lord, 591. Sangral, Adventures of, a Romance, 475. Sappho and Phao, Play, by Jilly, 896, 897. Saracens, Notable History of the, Thomas Newton, 879. Sardanapulus, Story of, 320. Satire on the Monastic Profession, a Poem, 316, 318. Satiromastix, Play by Decker, 580. Savile, Sir Henry, 577. Saxon Homilies, 313.
- Scalds, 390, 401. Scalæ Chronicon, an Ancient French Chronicle of England, 364. Scaliger, 913. Schedelius Hartmanus, 526. Schilterus, Johannis, 315. Scholastica Historia, Peter Comestor, 387. Schoole of Abuse, Gosson's, 312. School of Vertue and Book of Good Nurture a Rhyming Manual, Crowley, 747. Schoolmaster, Ascham's, 840. Scogan, John, Jests, 405. Scoggin's Jests, 675, 833, 899. Scole House of Women, 717. Scot Ales, and other Ludi on Holidays forbade, Bishop Grossthead, 563. Scot, Dr. Cuthbert, Latin Elegy on, Drant, 904. Scotch Prophecies, 364. Scotland, Latin Hist. of, Gawin Douglas, 515. Scots, Queen of, Mary, 662. Scott, Alexr., 364. —, Johan, 367. Scottish Field, a Poem, 529. Scotus Duns, 618. —, Michael, 514. Scourge of Villanie, Marston's, 802. Scourging of Tipler's, Reulidge, 813. Scripture Histories, Adam Davie, 464. Scylla and Glaucus, 896.
- Seagar, or Seagers, Frs., 742, 765, 799, 802. Secrete of Secretes of Aristotile, Copland's, 828. Secretum secretorum Aristotelis, 314, in English, 316. Seculorum Memoriz, or the Pantheon, Godfrey of Viterbo, 316, 320. Sedulus, 625. Seguard, John, Latin Poet, 401. Seinte Juliane, Legend of, 318. Selden, 393, 602, 606. Sellyng Will., 601. Seneca, 363, 394, 428, 802, 813, 872, 875, 893, 895. Septimuss's, Paraphrase of Dictys Cretensis, 399. Serapion, John, 612, 614. Sergeant and Freere, Mery Jeste of, Sir Thos. More, 689, 680, 778. Sergius, seu capitis caput Comædia, by Reuchlin, 568. Seth, Simeon, 401, 404, 408, 409, 465.
- Seton, John, 904. Settle, Dennis, Voyage of, 886. Seven Champions, Hist. of, R. Johnson, 473. Seven Deadly Sins, Poem on the Daunce of, Dunbar, 459, 501. — Seven Penetential Psalms, Hampole, 509. — Sages of Greece, Romance of, Hebers, 388, 626. —, Sleepers, Martyrdom of, 434, Life of, translated by Syrus, 435. — Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sin, Will. Hunnis, 741. — Steppes to Heaven, 863. — Wise Masters, Romance of the, 591, 594. Sexton, Maister, real Name of Patch, Cardinal Wolsey's Fool, 684.
- Shakespeare, 313, 320, 324, 400, 421, 456, 466, 477, 486, 556, 562, 567, 573, 574, 575, 580, 586, 591, 655, 663, 669, 699, 724, 797, 798, 812, 813, 815, 816, 817, 844, 859, 862, 879, 883, 894, 907, 915, 926, 931, 933, 936, 940, 942. Sheffield, Edmund, Lord, 663. Shelton, 644. Sheldon, Ralph, 318. Shepherd's Kalender, 448, 449, 450. —, Lucas, 830. Sheppard, 828. Shepreve, John, 809. Sherlock, Roger, 904. Sherry, Rich., English Rhetoric, 848. Shew of Beards, 558. Ship of Fools, Alex. Barclay's, 477, 479, 483, 549, 602. Shirley Jas., 584. Shirwoode Rob., 614. Shoemaker's Holyday, or the Gentle Craft, Play of, 904. Shore, Jane, 765, 800, 807. Short Resytal of certyne Holie Doctors, collected in Myter, John Mardiley, 750.
- Sibelet, Thos., 852, 853. Siculus Diodorus, 600. Sidonia and Ponthus, old French Romance, 470. Sidonius, 430. Sidrac, Romance of, 381, 403, 411, 412, 457. Siege of Thebes, Lidgate, 355. Siege of Tournay, Minot, 720. Sigeros, Nich., 581. Sigismunda and Guiscard, W. Walter, 478. Silentiarius Paulus, 467. Silkestede, Prior, 463. Simlerus, 568. Similies and Proverbs, Baldwyn, 763. Simon. Alexr., celebrated by, 408. — the Leper, Interlude, John Bale, 677. Simony, Trial of, Skelton, 572. Sincerus, Theophilus, 340. Sinclair, Lord, 514. Sion's Muse, or the Poem of Poems, 831, 832. Sir Beavis of Southampton, Romance of, 372, 409, 412, 430, 436, 446, 456, 457, 459, 486, 716, 717. Sir Blandamour, Romance, 412, 457. Sir Degore, or Sy Dyare, 438, 441. Sir Eglamour of Artoys, 412, 430, 533. Sir Gawaine, Romance, 457. Sir Guy, Romance, 430, 434, 459. Sir Hugh of Bourdeaux, Romance, from the French, Lord Berners, 663. Sir Ippotis, Romance, 457. Sir Ipomedon, Romance, 450, 455. Sir Isebras, Romance, 434. Sir Lancelot du Lac, Romance, 318, 325, 391, 392, 405, 476, 541, 599. Sir Libeaux, or Libius Disconius, Romance, 449, 457. Sir Peny, Romance, 687, 695. Sir Penny, a Poem, by Stewart of Lorne, 557. Sir Percival, Romance, 405. Sir Topas, Rime, by Chaucer, 339, 411, 434, 449, 457, 468, 605, 610. Sir Thopas, Poem, Chaucer, 650. Sir Triamour, Romance, 412. Sir Tristram and Bel-Isoulde, Romance, 319, 363, 372, 392, 405, 468, 596, 897. Sismund and Guiscard, by Walter, 478. Siworix and Camma, 927. The Six Yeomen of the West, 904.
- Skelton, John, 402, 403, 435, 481, 483, 489, 492, 655, 674, 680, 755, 765, 800, 804: Life

- of, 541, 558, 552. Skogan, 405. Skotte, Cuthbert, 904.
- Slatyer, Will., certaine Psalms of David, fitted to Tunes, 784.
- Smarte, John, 541. Smith, or Smyth, Sir Thos., 918. Rob. 481. Will., 402. Rich., 917. Smithus, Gabriel Harvey, 854. Smyth, Walter, 562.
- Socrates, 326. Sodom, the Burning of, a Tragedy, Radcliffe, 376. Solinus, Julius, Polyhistor of, 316, 323, 382; Golding, 893. Solomon, 326. Solomon and Queen of Sheba, Ballad, 824. —, Canticles or Songs of, W. Baldwyn, 743, 763. —, King, Book on Gems, by, 570. —'s Proverbs, in English metre, John Hall, 742. —'s Song, 831, 832, 918. Some, John, 602. Somerset, Edw. Duke of, Expedition into Scotland, Wm. Patten, 763. —, John, 615. —, Lord Protector, 754. Sommers, Will., 843. Somnium Scipionis of Tully translated, 464, 778. Song of Songs, in English metre, 831. Sonnets, B. Gooze, 917. —, Henry Lock, 914. —, Sackville, 802. —, Turberville, &c., 811, 817, 855. Sonnets, Watson, 906. Sophocles, 563, 619. Soulechart, Denis, 390. Southwell, Rob., 805, 831. Sir Rich., 819. Sowle-Hele, or Salus Anime, a Poem, 319, 322. Spectacle of Lovers, W. Walter, 478. Spectacula, or Dramatic Spectacles, 479. Speculum Britannia, Norden, 675, 680. — Christiani, 446. — Ecclesiaz, 389, 430. — Historiale, 518. — Meditantis, Gower, 311. — Mundi, 388. — Parvulorum, 690. — Regiminis, Philip de Pergamo, 430. — Regum, 316. — Stultorum, 456. — — Stultorum, Latin Poem, 597. Speed, 807. Speight, 570, 618. Spence, 862. Spencer, Edmund, 393, 436, 446, 452, 478, 501, 520, 540, 562, 576, 587, 588, 590, 593, 636, 661, 683, 777, 778, 780, 795, 804, 807, 884, 887, 889, 897, 898, 907, 914, 918, 942. Spicelegium of the Greek Tongue, Edw. Grant, 885. Spider and the Flic, a Poem, J. Heywood, 686, 689. Spiritual Agriculture, Barnaby Gooze, 922. Spondanus, 913. Spouse of a Virgin to Christ, Bishop Alcock, 485.
- Squire of Low Degree, 373, 430, 434, 468. S. R. i. e. Robert Southwell, 885, 912.
- Stage of Popish Toyes, written by T. N., 865. Stafford, Lord Hen., 766. Stanbridge's Latin Prosody, 879. Standish Henry, Bp. of St. Asaph, 610. Stanley Family, Poem on the Antiquity of, 452. Stanley, Mr., 552. Stanyhurst, Rob., 883, 884, 885. James, 883. Staple of Newes, Ben Jonson, 577. Stapylton, Rich., 885, 912. Starkey, Oliver, 833. Statius, 363, 378, 399, 552, 557, 558, 577, 581, 790. Steevens, Hen., Epigrams of, Kendall's, 905. —, Monasticon, 376. Stem of Jesse, Story of, 459. Stephonius, 555, 569. Sternhold, Thomas, 652, 729, 732, 733, 735, 738, 740, 742, 745, 748, 749, 828, 832, 911, 921. Stewart of Lorne, 492, 531, 557. Stimulus Conscientia, R. Hampole, 490, 494, 496. Stoke Clare, College of, 743. Stone, Gilbert de, 445. Stonehenge, by Geoffry of Monmouth, 348, 350, 806. Storer, Thos., 808. Stories of Men's Lives, 757. Stowe, John, 399, 477, 482, 489, 814, 900. Strabo, 316. Stricker, 315. Strode, 577. Strype, John, 747, 749, 756, 757, 820, 837, 855. Stubb's Anatomie of Abuses, 813. Studley, John, 813, 872, 873, 895.
- Suetonius, 316, 606. Suffolk, Hen., Duke of, 846. Sulpicius, Johannes, 607. Sundry Christian Passions in 200 Sonnets, Lock, 914. Supposes, a Comedy, G. Gascoigne, 583, 936. Surfeit to A, B, C, Dr. Philip King, 807. Surrey, Lord, 591, 628, 633, 645, 663, 668, 671, 681, 732, 743, 802, 805, 808, 872, 893, 901. Suron, Henri de, 390. Susannah, Book of, by Pullaine, 830; Delivery of, a Play, by Radcliffe, 576; the Play of, 328; the Ballad of, 812; the Story of, 459.
- Swift, Dean, 636. Swithin, Saint, the Life of, 320.
- Sydney, Sir P., 634, 734, 802, 805, 808, 860, 875, 893, 896, 897. Sylva, by Drant, 904, 942. Sylvan, Alex., 942, 943. Silvester, John, 808. Sylvester or Bernardus Carnotensis, 430; Pope, the Second, 586. Sylvius, Aeneas, 894. Symeon, a Friar Minor, 463; Metaphrastes, 445. Synesius, 600; Greek Panegyric on Baldness, Abraham Fleming, 886. Syrxin, or a Seavenfold Historie, Warner, 936.
- Table of Aristotle's Ten Categories, Gooze, 922. Tacitus, 592, 605. Tale of Two Swannes, in Blank Verse, Wm. Vallans, 668. Tales in Prose, Edwards, 815. — Utility of, 845. Tallis, a Musician, 736, 750. Tamberlain the Great, Play of, 879. Taming of the Shrew, a Play, Shakespeare, 816. Tancreed and Gismund, 869, 932. Tancreed and Sigismunda, Boccacio, 445. Tanner, Bishop, 818, 900, 904, 917, 935. Tapestry, Account of various Romances upon, 458, 459. — of the Norman Conquest, 357. Tarlton, Rich., 814, 848, 943. Tarquin and his Son Arrous, Story of, 320. Tars, King of, and the Soudan of Dammiis, Romance, 132, 135. Tasso, 49, 107, 113, 128, 518. Tattius, Achilles, 230. Taverner, John, 828. Taylor, Silas, 17.
- Teares of the Muses, Spenser, 889. Tebaldus, 430. Te Deum, versified, Whytingham, 733. Forrest, 828. Tempe, restored, a Masque, 586. Tempest, Play of the, 709, 967, 992. Temple of Glass, Lydgate, 227, 270. — Steph. Hawes, 459, 462. — of Love, a Masque, by Davenant, 586. — of Honour, Poem, Froissart, 308. Templum Chrystallinum, Steph. Hawes, 460. Ten Commandments of Love, Chaucer, 305. — Versified, W. Whittingham, 733. Ten Kings of France, Hist. of, 143. Terrayne of Judge Apius, Ballad, 894. Terence, 395, 552, 571, 596, 598, 606, 916. — Andria of, Commentary on, N. Grimoald, 664. Terge, Golden, Sir D. Lyndsay, 650. Ternegis, 532. Teseide, Le, Boccacio, 227. Tesoretto, a Poem, Brunetto Latini, 779, 790. Tesoro, by Brunetto Latini, 106. Testament, the Old and New, in Verse, 21, 22. — of Love, Chaucer, 304, 309, 328, 336. — of the Twelve Pa-

- triarchs, Pullaine, 830. Testwood, a Singer, 656. Tethy's Festival, a Masque, S. Daniel, 586. Textor's Epigrams, Kendall, 905.
- T**hakesi, Hegiage, Ebn Youself by, 273. Theatre of God's judgments, 813, 908. Theatrum Chemicum, Ashmole, 316, 405; — Poetarum, Phillips, 634, 879. Thebaid of Statius, 256. Thebais, Newton, 878. Thebes, Geste of, 256; Thebes, Story of, Lidgate, 361. Thebis, Romance, 256. Theocritus, 552. Theodore and Honoria, 929. Theodosius, 457. Theodulus, 428. Theopilus, Miracle Play, 164. Theophrastus, 278, 287. Theophylact, 564, 565. Thersytes, his Humours and Conceits, Interlude, 914. *Θησέος και γαμου της Έμυλίας* 228. Thesei in Lingua vulgari Historia, 164. — et Æmilie, de Nuptiis, Theseid of Boccaccio, 228, 230, 462, 467; — and Troilus, Boccace, 926. Theseus and Ariadne, excellent Historie of, 897; — et de Gadesir, Roman de, 227; — Histoire du Chevalier, 228; — St. le Trappis de la Vie, de, 143. Thibaud de Vernon, 387. Thiebault, King of Navarre, 307. Thignonville, William de, 323. Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies, 161. Thistle and the Rose, W. Dunbar, 491, 495, 505. Tholouse, Erle of, Romance, 384, 385, 704. Thomas, Author of Romance of Syr Tristram, 54; — de Hales, 56; — Plenus Amoris, 101; — the Rymer, Prophecy of, 56; — of Shaftesbury, 292; — Will., Italian Grammar, by, 926. Three Bookes of Moral Philosophy, W. Baldwyn, 763. Three Kings, of Cologne, 434. Three Laws, Comedy, John Bale, 754, 755. Three worthy Squires of Darius the King of Persia, 838. Thucydides, 619. Thurkhill, 450. The Thyestes of Seneca, translated, 802.
- T**iberius, Life of the Emperour, Bolton, 806. Tibullus, 889. Tiburtine Lucubrations, Latin Poem, Rob. Flemmyng, 599. Tiebes qui sut racine de Troy la Grande, le Roman de, 92. Tignonville, Guillaume de, 395. Tilliot, M. du, 563. Timon of Athens, Shakespeare, 550, 725. Tinmouth, John of, 351, 443. Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, 395, 600, 602. Tirante il Blanco, Romance, 103. Titerus and Galathea, Comedie, 887. Titian, 728. Titus and Gesippus, W. Walter, 478; — R. Radcliffe, 576, 929. Titus and Vespasian, a Romance, 147.
- T**obiad, or Tobit, paraphrased by Mattheus of Vendosme, 430. Tobiah, Metrical Life of, in French, 60. Toison d' Or, Order of the, 167. Tom of all Trades, Thomas Powell, 901. Tom Thumb, Hist. of, 256. — Origin of, 672. Tonellus and Zanina, Amours of, 554. Topas, Sir, Rime of, Chaucer, 31, 105, 122, 135, 141, 150, 283, 286. Torkyngton, Sir Richd., Pylgrymage to Jerusalem, 603. Totell, Rich., 645, 657, 664, 670. Touchstone for this Time present, Edward Hake, 901. — of Wittes, Edward Hake, 804. Toure of Vertue, and Honour, Barclay, 484, 489.
- Tourtier's Jean, Hippocrates and Galen, 395. Tournament of Tottenham, 692, 696. Toxophilus Ascham, 820. Townsend, Aurelian, 586.
- T**ractatus quidam in Anglico, a Moral Ode, 13. Traheron Bartholomew, 617. Tragedy of Princes that were lecherous, Lydgate, 356. Trayl-baston, Libel on Commission of, 94. Trebizonde, Hist. of, 75. Tresor, Pierre Corbian, 467, 469. Trevet, Nich., on Seneca's Tragedies, 363. Trevisa John, 11, 58, 192, 340, 359, 392. Triamoure, Sir, Romance, 104. Trinity and Unity, Treatise on the, and translated by Will of Nassyngton, 432. Trionli d'Amour, of Petrarch, 925. Trionso Magno, Poem, Dominicho Falugi Anciseno, 100. Trismegistus, 325. Trissino, 644. Tristram, Sir, Romance, 54, 62, 79, 97, 156, 276, 319, 783. — and Bel Isoulde, 897. — et Iscult, Roman de, Latin en Francois par Lucas, 79. Triumphes, Booke of certaine, 221. — of Old Drapery, 813. — of Peace, James Shirley, 584. — of reunited Britannia, 813. Triumpho di Amore of Petrarch, 80. Trivett, Nich., 103. Troas of Seneca, Jasper Heywood, 813. Troilus, Hist. of, a Ballet, 895. — and Cressida, Play of, 92, 663, 699. — and Cressida, Story of, in Greek Verse, 232. — and Cresseide, Chaucer, 148, 239, 253, 257, 320, 470, 635, 663. — le Roman, 220, 253. Trojae Chronicum, 62. — Liber de Excidio, 62. Trojano de Bella Historia, 92. Trojan War, by Iscanus, 665. Trojomanna Saga, 100. Troleo et Griseida l'Amore di que si tratta in buone parte la Guerra di Troja, 232. Troubadours, 75, 76, 87, 105, 302, 306. Trouthe and Information, Treatise between, William Cornish, 562. Trovar, Libro de la Arte de, o Gaya Scienica, por Enrique de Villena, 851. Troya, Lelenguer de, 851. Troy, Destruction of, a Romance, 62, 90, 98, 99, 105, 143, 243, 227, 254. Troy, Romance of, Guido de Colonna, 318. In Italian by Philipp Cessi, 319. In English by Lydgate, 355, 368, 375, 380. Caxton, 471. — Recuel, Histories of, Caxton, 92.
- T**ully's Dream of Scipio, Parker, Lord Morley, 682. — Offices, N. Grimoald, 664. — Somnium Scipionis, 260. — Tusculane Questions, I. Dolman, 765. Tumblers, 822. Tundal or Tungal, Visions of, 518. Tunstall, Cuthbert, Bp. of Durham, 603. Turberville, Geo., 634, 663, 808, 811, 897, 898, 921, 934. Thomas lege George, 897. Turke and Gawaine, Romance of the, 138. Turner, Dr. Will., a Poem against the Papists, 747. Turnoyment de l'Antechrist, Huon de Mere, 188, 189. Turpin, 62, 94, 96, 98, 99, 141, 270, 286, 437. Tusser, Thos., 818, 826.
- T**welfth Night, Comedy of, 812. Twelve Patriarchs, Testament of, versified, Pullaine, 830. Twici Guillaume, grand Huntsman to Edward II., 466. Two Gentlemen of Verona, Play of the, 848. Two Synnes of King Davide, enterlude, 838. Twyne, Thomas, 286. John Lawrence, 882.

Tye, Dr. Christ., 735, 748, 750, 929. — the Mare Tomboye, Ballad, 896. Tyndale's Bible, 757. Typheras Gregory, 593, 610. Tyrensis, Wilhelmus, 49. Tzetes's, of the, Chiliads, 231.

Udall, Nicholas, 793, 818. Ulysses and Circe, Masque of, W. Brown, 586. Underdown, Thos., 896, 897. Ungodliness of the Hethnicke Goddess, a Poem, by J. D., 828. Union of the two Noble and Illustrious Families of York and Lancaster, Hall, 771. Untrussing of the Humorous Poet, Play of, Dekker, 945. Upton, Nicholas, 432. Uranie, Romance, Lady Mary Wroth, 913. Ury, Romance, 141. Use of Adagues, W. Baldwyn, 763. Uselt le Blonde, Romance, 97.

Vaez, Hussien, Popay's Fables, by, 95. Vaghane or Vaughan, Rob., 696, 697. Valentine and Orson, Romance, 265, 273. Valerius Flaccus, 95, 889. — ad Rurinum de non ducenda Uxore, Walter Mapes, 278. — Julius, 95. Valla Laurentius, 345, 370, 665. Vallans, Will., 668, 669. Valois, Margaret de, 586. Vandyke, 232. Van Wilder, Philip, 820. Vanity of Riches, Poem, Michael Kildare, 452. Varchi, 307. Vasque de Lucerie, 392. Vaulx or Vaux, Lord, works of, 653, 654, 655, 663, 765.

Vegetius, John Newton, 391, 392, 603, 606. Vegetius's Tactics, English Version of, Sadler, 909. Vegius Mapheus, 506. Velsorius, 234. Venerie L'Art de, Guillaume Twici, 466. Ventadour Bernard, a Troubadour, 462. Vergerius Angelus, Secretary to Francis I., 593. Vernon, E., 17. Versteegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, 883. Versus de Ludo Scacorum, 62. Versus Politici, 231. — Vaticinales, John Bridlington, 55. Vertue the Engraver, 101. Vertumnus, Latin Play, 574. Vetula De, by Jean Le Fevre, 392, 492.

Victor, Aurelius, 317. Vidal, Raimond, Troubadour, 465. Vignay, Jehan de, Legend Aurea, by, 17, 389. Villani, Giovanni, 106. Villon, 259. Vincent de Beauvais, 99, 115, 390. — Jaques, 233. — Magister, 602. Vindicie Britanicæ, Bolton, 807. Vinesauf, Jeffrey, 278. Vineyard of Virtue, Robinson, 873. Violenta and Didaco, 893. Viridungus, Masfurus Joannes, 291. Virelais, Froisart, 308. Vireli Le, a Sport celebrated on the Feast of St. Nicholas, 568. Virgidemarium, Hall, 270. Virginia and Appius, a poem, 893. Virtue, Court of, 889. — and Vice Fighting, Story of, 143. — an Interlude, Skelton, 541. Virtues and Vices, Battle between, A. Fleming, 886. Visions, Ad. Davie, 145, 146. — d' Ogeir le Danois, au Royaume de Faerie, en Vers Francois, 98. — of St. Paul won he was rapt in Paradys, 21. Visions of the Four Goddesses, a Masque, Sam. Daniel, Vitæ Patrum, 17. Vitellio, 268. Vitellus Cornelius, 602. Vitri, Philip de, 392. Vitriaco, Jacobus de, 341, 389. Vives Ludovicus, 232, 591, 816.

Virgil, 128, 238, 258, 260, 641 to 644, 761, 780, 805, 882, 885, 886, 888, 893. — *Æneid* of, 319, 326: by Gawin Douglas, 460, 461: Guil laume le Roy, 336, 395, 397, 428, 525, 552: Books II and IV., Lord Surrey, 640 to 643, 806, 897: Past II., Sir Thos. Wroth, 886: Phair 881 to 893: Stanyhurst, 883, 884. — *Bucolics* in Italian, by Bernarda Pulci, Fossa de Cremona Benivieni, and Fiorini Buoninzeigni, 554: Antonio de Felriza, 596: Abra. Fleming, 644, 885. — And Fourth *Georgic*, Mr. Brinsly, 886. — *Georgic*, Alx. Fleming, 644, 834, 835. Will. Weldea, 837. Nicholas Grim oald, 664. — *Alexis*, Abr. Fraunce, 837. — *Culex*, Edm. Spenser, 838. Ceivis or the Fable of Visus and Scylla, Poem, attributed to, 839. — The Nicromancer, Life of, 472. — Polydore, 506, 602, 814.

Virgin, Five Joies on the Blessed, Song, 26. — Seven Joies, Eng. Rhyme, 446. — Mary, Antient Hymn to, 208, 447. — Epithalamium, by Johannes de Gorlandria, 430. — Miracles of the, French Romance, 201.

Voice of the last Trumpet, blown by the Seventh Angel, Crowley, Voinuskus, 602. Voltaire, 563, 739, 789, 793, 746. Volusenus Florentius, 515. Voragine, Jacobus de, 341, 389. Vox Clamantis, Gower, 311, 597. Voyage Liturgique, Sieur Le Brun, 723. Voye ou le Songe d' Enfer, Raoul de Houdane, 307. Vyenne, History, the, of, 105.

Wace, or Gasse, Maister, 46, 49, 223. Wade, Law., Benedictine Monk, 478. Wakefield, Robert, 609, 616. Waldenby, John of, 432. Wallace, Sir William, Acts and Deeds of, by Blind Harry, 213, 218, 549. Waller, Ed., 636, 638. Wallden John, 193. Walo, versificator, 46. Walpole, Mr., 60, 77: — Horace, 639. Walter de Millimete, 314: — of Exeter, Author of the Romance of Guy, Earl of Warwick, 61: — Will., Boccacio's play of Guiscard and Sigismunda, versified, 478. Walton, Bertram, Satyrical Poem on the Nuns, 437: — Isaac, Author of Speculum Christiani, 193, 401, 446, Wanley, 110, 139. Warburton, Bp. of Gloucester, 190. Warner, Will., 802, 808, 916, 935. Warres of the Jews, Romance, 311. Watkins Ale, a Ballad, 814. Watson, Ed., 156, 193: — John, Author of Speculum Christiani, 401, 446: — Thos., 897, 808, 829, 884, 906. Way to thrist, 478. Wayer, 899. Waylings of the Prophet Hieremiah, in verse, T. Drant, 899. Waynslete, Will., Bp. of Winchester, 298, 603.

Weathers, Enterlude of all, 683. Webbe John, 616: — William, 655, 804, 814, 859, 883, 884, 893, 935. Weedes, George Gascoigne, 936. Weever's Funeral Monuments, 679. Weever, John, 807. Will., 808: — R., 579, 755. Wellesing of Wittie Concepts, out of the Italian, W. Phist, 825. Wentworth, Lady, Poem on the Death of, 656: — Maistress Margery, Poem on, Skelton, 551. Werburgh, St., Life of, 435. Way Will., 604.

- Whetehamstede John, Abbot of St. Albans, 345, 350. Whetstone, Geo., 807, 813, 886, 906, 945. Whipping of Runawaies, by Petowe, 906. White Friars of Drogheda, Poem on, Mich. Kildare, 452. Whitgift, 616. Whiting, Rich., 200, 445. Whitsun Playes, 438, 457, 458. Whittington, Poet Laur., 403. — Sir Richard, 192. Whore of Babylon, a ballad on the Fall of the, 896. — Comedy of the, 751. Why come ye not to court? Poem, by Skelton, 548, 549. Why Poor Priests have no Benefices, by Wicliffe, 203. Whyte, Nycholas, 889. Whyttingham, William, 733, 736.
- Wicliffe, 115, 187, 190, 203, 205, 226, 236, 433, 538, 539, 551, 605, 854. Widville, Earl of Rivers, 323, 407. Will of Wit, Nich. Breton, 885. Wilford, Sir Jas., Poem on the Death of, 656, 664. William de Brooke, 191. — de Rubruquis, 70. — de Thignonville, 323. William I., King, Precept in Saxon, to Sheriff of Somersetshire, from, 10. — of Lorris, 244, 247, 252, 259. — of Malmesbury 268, 445. — of Nassyngton, 433, 436. — Prior of Kenilworth, 60. Williams, R., 485. Hen., Poem on the Death of, Sir John, 656. — Rich., Dean of Lichfield, 204. — Speaker House of Commons, Time of Elizabeth, 615. William of Wykenham, 65, 160, 169, 203. Willow Garland, a Song, 812. Wilmot, Rob., 869, 927, 932, 944. Wilson Florence, or Florentinus Volusenus, 515. — Thos, 685, 814, 818, 840, 841, 848, 854. — Preceptor to Chas. and Hen. Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk, 575, 620. Wilton's Epitaphia, 905. Winchcomb Abbey, History of, Kederminster, 616. Windsor Castle, 635. Winifred, St., Life and Miracles of, 16. Winsore, Miles, Actor, 287. Winter Night's Vision, Niccols, 446. Wircker, 456. Wireker, Nigellus, 276. Wisdome, Robert, 375. Wit's Commonwealth, 813. Wit's Treasury, Meres, 763, 848, 883, 906. Wit's Treasury, or Palladis Tamia, 546.
- Wolsey, Cardinal, 403, 407, 538, 542, 548, 567, 584, 604, 607, 608, 719, 725, 727. Wolston, Bp. of Worcester, 10. St., 18. Wood, Anth., 465, 645, 655, 672, 689, 733, 809, 815, 827, 900, Worke of Sapience, by Caxton, 448.
- Wressel, Castle adorned with Poetical Inscriptions, 543. Wroth, Lady Mary, 913. Sir Thomas, 886.
- Wyat, Sir Thos., 634, 639, 645, 652, 656, 663, 671, 732, 805, 808, 893. Wykenham, William of, 615. Wyvynge and Thryvyng of Tushers, with two Lessons for Olde and Yonge, a Dialogue, 822.
- Xenophon's Cyropedia, in French by Vasque de Lucerie, 392. In Latin, by Reuchlin, 595; by John Phrea, 600, 620. Ximenes, Cardinal, 595.
- Yelverton, Chrstr., 803. Young Bartholemew, 927. Youthe, Charite and Humylite, 938. Ywain and Gawain, Romance of, 697 to 711.
- Zabulus, 259. Zamorensis Rodericus, 350. Zanitonella or the Amours of Tonellus and Zania, a Poem, 554.
- Zeno Apostolo. Dramatist, 275, 403. Zenophon, the Ephesian, Romance of, 230. Zenus Demetrius, 231, 232.
- Zodiacke of Life, B. Googe, 916, 917, 918. Zodiacus Vitæ of Palingenius, 918, 927. Zoroaster, 324. Zorvas, Egyptian Astronomer, Poem on the Death of, Nich. Grimald, 666 to 668.





